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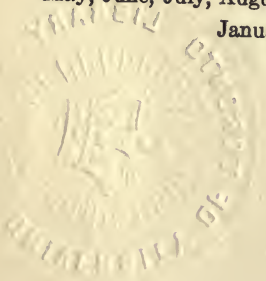

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Modern Philology

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MORALITY FRAGMENTS FROM NORFOLK[1]

In a Commonplace Book compiled by Robert Reynys of Acle, Norfolk, toward the end of the fifteenth century and now preserved in the Bodleian Library (Tanner MS 407), occur two short pieces of verse which are of interest to students of the early English drama. In the account of MS 407 given in the *Catalogue of the Tanner MSS* (Oxford, 1860) these pieces are described as follows:

21. A poem on delight. fol. 43^b.
Begins, "Lo here is a ladde lyght
Al fresch I ȝou plyght."
22. Epilogue to a miracle play. fol. 44^b.
Begins, "Now wursheppful soueryns that syttyn here in syth
Lordys and ladyes and frankelens in fay."

By way of introduction to the text of these poems it will be useful to present first certain biographical data concerning the compiler of the book, gathered from the memoranda relating to business transactions, family history, and parochial activities which are contained in other portions of the manuscript. Acle (or Accle as it is now spelled), the village in which Robert Reynys lived, is situated in eastern Norfolk in the Hundred of South Walsham, and was, according to Blomefield,[2] a market town.

[1] The materials for this paper were collected by Miss Calderhead some three years ago while she was a member of my Middle English Seminary. Unfortunately she was obliged to interrupt her studies before putting her notes into shape for publication. In the belief that these pieces of verse are too interesting to be allowed to remain unpublished, I have embodied in this paper the materials which she has gathered and for which she is to be given entire credit, though for the form in which they are presented I am wholly responsible.—CARLETON BROWN.

[2] *Hist. of the Co. of Norfolk*, XI, 93.

Robert Reynys was the son of John and Alice Reynys, to whom ten children were born as follows: John, Robert, Katharine, James, John, Thomas, Margaret, Alice, Margery, and Jane. From the repetition of the name John one may infer that the eldest son died in childhood, so that Robert was the eldest surviving son. The death of Robert's mother is recorded as follows:

[fol. 8*a*] Obit*us* Alicie Reynys Anno d*omi*ni Mille*s*imo CCCC^{mo} Septuagesimo Tercio Et Anno r*egni* r*egis* Edwardi iiij^{ti}. xiij^{o}. in ffesto S*ancti* Edwardi Reg*is* et m*arti*ris cui*us* A*nime* p*ro*picietur deus. Amen. die m*er*curij

Four years later comes the record of his father's death:

[fol. 16*b*] Obit*us* Iohannis Reynys A*nno* domini Mille*s*imo CCCC^{mo} Septuagesimo Septimo Et A*nno* r*egni* r*egis* E*dwardi* iiij^{ti}. xvij^{o}. xij^{mo} die Mens*is* Maij in festo S*anctorum* Nerei et Achillei atq*ue* pancrac*ij* die lune gandowe[?] cui*us* Anime p*ro*picietur Deus. Amen.

The year of Robert Reynys' birth is not given, but may be determined approximately from the date of his marriage, of which he makes record as follows:

[fol. 8*a*] ij dayes after S. A. [i.e., after St. Anne's day.] In festo Sancti Sampsonis ep*iscop*i et confess*oris* [July 28] Roberd Reynys maryed Anno d*omi*ni Mille*s*imo CCCC^{mo} Septuagesimo Primo. die lune

On the fairly probable assumption that he was between twenty-one and twenty-six years of age at the time of his marriage, the date of his birth may be placed between 1445 and 1450. It is odd that in this entry Reynys should omit to mention his wife's name, but elsewhere we learn that it was Emma. According to an entry on fol. 16*b*, her death occurred May 27, 1479; the names of their children are added as follows: John, John, William, Thomas, and Lewis.

Though Robert Reynys' occupation is nowhere stated, his father was a carpenter,[1] and there is reason to suppose that he followed the same trade himself. At least we find him making a covenant a few days before his father's death for the purchase of his property, including "his place in the Market." This document is sufficiently interesting to be quoted in full. The list of landed property which

[1] In the list of witnesses (fol. 49) to the purchase by Robert Reynys of certain lands and tenements from "Cecilie Grene Wedowe" in 1469 the name of "John Reynys Carpenter" stands first among the laymen.

it contains would indicate that John Reynys was fairly well to do for a person of the artisan class.

[fol. 50*b*] Memorandum that the First day of May Anno *regni regis* Edwardi iiij.^{ti} post conquestum xvij^{o}. Roberd Reynys of Acle made A Covenaunt with his Fader Iohn Reynys be his lyue And bowte of hym his place in the Market with the gardeynys and Closez̄ as it lyeth conteynyth ij rodis with j d. of Rent be yeer takyng of Iohn Tynwhyte for the lane that goyth owte his place to Rekyslane conteyneth j yarde in brede with xvij acres of Ariable lond in dyuers peces clepyd Andrewelond Fre. Also Another Tenement clepyd Baronys with the Closse longyng therto as it lyeth in Kyrgate. Item ij rodes of marsshe clepyd A Stardole as it lyeth in the Marm. Item dim. rod of marsshe clepyd a pytell with wode lyeth at Nethergate. With alle other Comodyes and vayles that to the forseyd place longyth or perteynyth with alle nessarys that ben rote fast and nayle fast lyke as Iohn Reynys held it. For the weche seyd place gardeynys Closez̄ londes tenementes pytell marsshes and Rentes the seyd Roberd schall paye or do pay xxxvj li. of lawfull mony of ynglond for hym aftyr his deceasse Acordyng to his wyll as it Apperith in his Testement how it schall be payed And disposyd for hym. of the weche seyd summe the forseyd Roberd payed in the seyd first yeer At his dirige and berying And at his Terment day And for provyng his Testement and for A quetans with other dyuers costes and paymentes as it Apperit in wrytyng x li. Ferthermore the forseyd Roberd must paye yeerly At the fest of Seynt Iohn Baptist iiij marke tyll the seyd summe of xxxvj li. be full payed and contentyd Acordyng to his wyll. This witnessyth Iohn Hendy of Mowton William Suffolk of Heygham Jamus Reynys Iohn Reynys the yonger and other. z̄oven the day and yeer beforn specifyed.

Of all the information concerning Robert Reynys which is to be gleaned from these memoranda the most important item, in its bearing upon the pieces of verse we are about to consider, is the discovery of his official position as one of the wardens of the parish church. As will be seen from the following entries, his father had held the same office before him, so that it came to Robert in a sense by natural succession.

[fol. 16] Iohn Reynys Iohn Goodwyn tayl*our* and Herry Brandon Chirchereves dedyn maken the Batylment of the stepyll weche coste drow to the valow of xvj li. A*nno* d*omi*ni Mille*si*mo CCCC^{o}. Septuagesimo ij ^{do}.

Iohn Hendy Roberd Reynys and Will*iam* Pey Chircherеves bowte
holl sute
A vestement of Red velvet pouderyd w^{t} floure*s* of gold complet y^{t} is [to] seyn A Cope A Chesapyll and ij tonekyllys with Aubis Amys stolys and parabys longyng to y^{e} same y^{is} was don y^{e} thur[s]day nest Aftyr alle

Seyntes the prec' of the same vestement is xxiij li. y[is] don Anno domini Millesimo CCCC[mo] Septuagesimo quarto [altered from "Secundo"].[1]

The simplicity of the social organization in this Norfolk town revealed by these entries is worthy of remark in passing. Of the churchwardens whose names are here set down, one is the carpenter John Reynys, another is "John Goodwyn taylour," and a third—John Hendy—is elsewhere (fol. 40) designated as a smith.

The duties of the fifteenth-century churchwardens included not only the disbursement of sums for parish expenses but also the raising of the necessary funds for this purpose. Various means were resorted to for this end, and among these one of the most popular was the parish play. A considerable proportion of the records of dramatic performances collected by Mr. Chambers[2] are taken, it will be observed, from churchwardens' account books. In many parishes the churchwardens kept on hand a stock of properties to be used in these performances. And wherever such plays were given it was the churchwardens who looked after the incidental expenses and took charge of the receipts.

The second of the pieces printed below was clearly designed to be spoken as the Epilogue of one of these parish plays. It concludes with an invitation to an "Ale," the proceeds of which were to go to the benefit of "holy chirche." This was a common practice: Bishop Hobhouse, in discussing the financial arrangements of the mediaeval parish, declares that "The Church Ale was, by the end of the 15th Century, the most universal Churchwardens' resort for eliciting the bounty of the parish."[3] Accordingly it is an easy matter to understand how a copy of this Epilogue should be found in the Commonplace Book of Robert Reynys, churchwarden. For aught we know the proceeds from the very "Ale" which is here proclaimed may have gone toward the purchase of the red vestments for which Reynys and his fellow-wardens in 1474 expended the sum of £23. The *Catalogue of the Tanner MSS* terms this the "Epilogue to a miracle

[1] In Blomefield's account of the parish of Accle one finds both of these expenditures mentioned: "The battlements of the steeple made by the church reves in 1472 cost 16*l*." (*Hist. of the Co. of Norfolk*, XI, 94). "A whole suit of vestments of red velvet was bought in 1474" (*ibid.*, XI, 95).

[2] *Mediaeval Stage*, II, App. X.

[3] Right Rev. Bp. E. Hobhouse, *Church-Wardens' Accounts of Croscombe*, etc., Somerset Record Soc., IV (1890), p. xiii.

play," but the text itself hardly warrants such a definite statement. The play which preceded may have been a morality quite as well as a miracle play. Indeed, this detached Epilogue is so general in its terms that it could have been appended to any play given for the sake of raising funds for parish expenses. Possibly it was kept on hand by the churchwardens as a convenient form for use on repeated occasions.

The "poem on delight," which immediately precedes the Epilogue in Reynys' book, is likewise dramatic in character, and appears to be an extract from a morality play. "Delight" announces himself in the typical introductory speech of a morality character:

> Wyl ȝe knowe what I hyght
> My name seres is delyght.

One may compare for example the words with which Delight's prototype, "Lust and Lykynge," in *Mundus et Infans* introduces himself to the audience:

> A ha! now Lust and Lykyng is my name
> I am as fresshe as flourys in Maye.

The phrase "Holy quod sche" at the beginning of the second stanza is not altogether clear. The most probable explanation is that the preceding line, "I hope not ful holy," is not a part of the speech of Delight, but was interjected by one of the virtuous characters in the play, who scented danger in the entrance of Delight. Her deprecatory interruption is treated with scorn by Delight: "'Holy,' did she say? No indeed, this does not belong to me but only sport, mirth, and play."

The rest of the lines were spoken by Delight without further interruption. In their spirit and vigor they will bear comparison with any similar passages in the extant moralities. Reynys, we may easily believe, admired the pictorial quality and the swing of this speech, and for this reason copied it in his book. The Epilogue, on the other hand, has no literary merit and probably owes its preservation, as has been suggested above, to practical considerations.

The stanza divisions in the speech of Delight are indicated in the MS by paragraph marks, but two, sometimes three, lines are run together. In printing this text I have divided the lines and have

introduced marks of punctuation. Italics are used in all cases where contractions have been expanded. Reynys uses *y* without distinction for both *y* and *þ*, but I have restored the *þ* wherever it belongs.

I

[fol. 43*b*] Lo here is a ladde lyght,
Al fresch I ȝou plyght,
galant & Ioly.
Wyl ȝe knowe what I hyght?
My name ser*es* is delyght.
I hope not ful holy.

Holy, q*uo*d sche? nay let be!
be crist, it acordyth not w*ith* me,
but sporte, myrthe and play
me reioyceth for to see;
þe world*es* wunder*es* and vanyte,
ther-inne delyght I ay.

ffor me semet it is to delyght
to be-helde þe firmament lyght,
the cours of sterrys to kenne,
The su*n*ne with his bemys bryght,
þe mone how he refulsyth þe nyght,
the planet*es* in her circumferens renne.

The skyes in her coloures rake,[1]
þe therke[2] sladdes[3] of clowdes blake—
this reioyceth me above;
Than of the erthe delyght I take
to see the florente[4] wod*es* þ*er* leves shake,
the ryver*es* rennyng by, þ*er*-inne dyu*er*s fysshes move.

I se these hey hyllys wher is the holsom ayer,
be-nethe the redolent medowes w*ith* ther flowres fayer,
þe therke mystes how it ascendys.
In the valeys of the cornys ylke ayer,
I se dyu*er*s fowlys to þe wodes repayer—
þ*er* swetly syngang me mekyl a-mendys.

[1] Move rapidly (O.E. *racian*).

[2] Cf. *Ludus Covent.*, ed. Halliwell, bottom of p. 170: "To marre ȝow in a thyrke myste."

[3] Cf. Gower, *Conf. Am.*, IV, 2727: "And falleth into slades depe."

[4] The loop at the end of this word is the same as that which elsewhere stands for *-es*.

I se in these gay gardeynes wher holsum erbys spryng,
þese pereres, þe pomeres, þe venys þat swete frutes brynges,
the reed rosys and the lelyes whyte.
I se in þe gret see ther shyppys euer seylyng,
Also how it ebbyt & flowit & fysshes þerin swymmyng—
the whawys how they waltyr, and se the qwall fyght.

[fol. 44] In þe hore hethys I se the hare sterte,
the forant[1] dere huntyd, the bukke and the harte
and the swyfte grefoundes[2] renne—
The foxe huntyd with howndes in þe gret couerte,
the swyfte flyght of hawkes, þe fowlys reuerte,
the fawkoneres rennyng throw thykke & throwe thynne.

Also I am gretly delyghtand
In fayer courses swyftly renand,
in harneys gledryng bryght,
Stately howsys beheldand,
glased with storys glasand,
pynnakelys ful of fanys[3] gloriously dyght.

Precyos a-ray, that plesyth me gretly,
the swet musyauns in dyuers melody,
the cumlynesse of iche creature,
And þe bewte of women specyaly,
with ther whyte pappys pappyd vp prately—
þat passeth al other as me semet in sure.

Me seyng now these solacious sythys,
ther-for in hem al my delyght is
so souereynlyche a-bouene alle.
This warlde so preciously pyght is,
þerinne delyght I with alle myn mythis,
As for wele most speciall.

II

[fol. 44b] Now wursheppful souereyns þat syttyn here in syth,
lordys and ladyes and frankelens in fay,
With alle maner of Abesyans we recomaunde vs ryght
plesantly to ȝoure persones that present ben in play.
And for ȝoure soferyng sylens that ȝe han kept þis day,
in pleyng of our play with owte ony resystens,

[1] =*farand*, "fine-looking."
[2] Cf. "grifhoundes," *King Alisaunder*, vs. 5284 (MS Laud Misc. 622).
[3] Banners.

Derely we thank ȝow with myght as we may,
and for ȝoure laudabyl lystenyng in good audiens
that we haue had this day.
And if we haue passyd ony poynt in oure pleyng,
or moved ony materes in oure seyng
that schuld be to ȝoure personys displesyng,
We be-seche ȝou reporte it not away.

For trewly oure entent was wel to do,
and if ony fawte be þer fowndyn it is oure neglygensy
And short tyme avysement causet also,
for lytell tyme of lernyng we haue had sekerly.
And euery man is not expert in eloquensy
to vtteryn his mater gayly on to ȝoure audiens.
Wherfor we be-seche ȝou of ȝoure gret gentry
the best to reporte of vs in oure absens,
in euery ilke a place.
Souereyns alle in same,
ȝe that arne come to sen oure game,
we pray ȝou alle in goddys name
to drynke ar ȝe pas.

For an Ale is here ordeyned be a comely assent
for alle maner of people þat apperyn here þis day,
Vnto holy chirche to ben in-cressement
alle that excedith þe costes of oure play.

When the language of these two pieces is compared, certain differences of dialect appear. The forms in the Epilogue, on the one hand, show no variation from the dialect of Reynys himself, as it is exemplified in the personal memoranda in MS Tanner 407. But when one turns to the speech of Delight one notes, mingled with the East Midland forms, certain indications of Northern dialect: (1) present indicative, third person singular, *ascendys*, *amendys;* (2) present indicative, plural, *bryng*[*es*];[1] (3) present participle, *delyghtand*, *renand*, *beheldand*, *glasand*, *syngang*(*?*). So far as the participial forms are concerned, one might regard *-ande* as East Anglian quite as well as Northern.[2] Frequent instances of participles

[1] Possibly the loop at the end of this word is merely a scribal error for a final *e*, as in the case of "florente" (vs. 23). It is only in this way that this word could be made to rime with *spryng*, *seylyng*, and *swymmyng*.

[2] Thus T. L. K. Oliphant remarks: "In Lincolnshire and East Angilia this [*ende*] was often supplanted by the Danish *ande*" (*Old and Mid. Eng.*, ed. 1878, p. 148; cf. also p. 355).

in *-ande* are to be noted in the Norfolk Gild Documents,[1] for example, *folowande* (p. 15), *brennand* (p. 16), *brennande* (p. 17). The occurrence of *-t* endings in the present, indicative, third person singular (*semet, ebbyt, flowit*) and the single instance of *qu* (< O.E. *hw*) might also be explained on the basis of either Northern or East Anglian dialect.[2] Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that in the Memoranda these forms do not appear.

Some difference between the forms in the speech of Delight and those of the Reynys Memoranda might perhaps be accounted for by supposing an interval of time rather than a change of dialect. But such an explanation is found to be unsatisfactory when one compares their usage in the matter of final *-n* in the infinitive and the present indicative, plural. In the case of two documents composed within the same district but at different times, the earlier would, of course, show a larger percentage of final *-n*'s. But Delight's speech, in which according to this hypothesis archaisms would be expected, shows not a single instance of final *-n* either in the infinitive or in the present indicative, plural. In the Epilogue, on the other hand, we find: present, indicative, plural, *ben, han, arne, apperyn, syttyn;* infinitives, *ben, sen, utteryn.* These verb-forms in *-n* are also frequent in the Memoranda. A further indication that this poem was not composed in Norfolk appears in the word *forant* (vs. 38), which is to be identified, I think, with the adjective *farand,* a word of distinctly northern provenance.

But whatever the district in which this poem was composed, the text as we have it shows a decided predominance of East Midland forms. This mixture of dialect, however, is precisely what would be expected in view of the fact that the present fragment was transcribed by a Norfolk man.

IRIS G. CALDERHEAD

[1] Ed. Toulmin Smith, *E.E.T.S.*, Orig. Ser. 40.

[2] Cf. such East Midland texts as the Brome MS (ed. L. T. Smith, *A Commonplace Book of the XV. Cent.*) and Sloane MS 2593 (ed. T. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club).

ANOTHER FORERUNNER OF WARBURTON'S COOK

Professor Baskervill, in *Modern Philology* for May, 1915, suggested the possibility that Warburton in the famous story of his destructive cook was merely appropriating to his own purposes some such anecdote as that provided in the introductory matter to *Naps upon Parnassus* (1658). In a case of this sort, if we are to succeed in relegating Betsy to the limbo of folk-lore, there cannot be too many cooks. Here, then, is another, whose application of literature to life concerned, not pies, but, apparently, the singeing of fowls. In Henry Bold's *Latine Songs, with their English: and Poems* (1685), the occasional omission of the Latin and, in the case of the last two songs, of the English text is accounted for by the poet's father and editor in this way:

> Some again were very hardly recovered out of the hands of an illiterate welch Cook wench, who had designed to sacrifice them to the hoary Hen on the Spit, in which service two of these . . . . lost all their English Tongue.

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ANOTHER PARALLEL TO THE MAK STORY

The incident of the passing off of the stolen sheep as Mak's infant son in the Towneley *Secunda Pastorum* has been paralleled by Kölbing from *Archie Armstrang's Aith*, a ballad composed about the beginning of the nineteenth century by John Marriott, and published in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 3d ed., 1806. Kölbing's paper, which first appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, N.F., XI, 137 ff., was afterward rendered into English, and published in the Early English Text Society's edition of the *Towneley Plays* (1897), pp. xxxi–xxxiv. It begins:

So far as I know, nobody has yet discovered that the leading incident in the Second Play of the Shepherds is repeated in quite another department of English literature, viz., in *Archie Armstrang's Aith, by the Rev. John Marriott*, printed in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 5th ed.,[1] Vol. III, Edinb., 1821, pp. 481 ff.

After relating the tale in its modern form, and adducing various parallels between Marriott's poem and the play, Kölbing proceeds (p. xxxiv):

The only MS of the *Towneley Plays* seems to have been written in the beginning of the fifteenth century, whilst *Archie Armstrang's Aith*, belonging to the "Imitations of the ancient ballad," was scarcely composed long before 1802, in which year the *Minstrelsy* made its first appearance in the literary world. It is most unlikely that John Marriott—who, according to Allibone's *Dictionary*, was Curate of Broad Clift,[2] Devon, and Rector of Church Liford,[3] Warwickshire, and in 1820[4] and 1836[5] published some collections of sermons —borrowed this story from the then unprinted MS of the *Towneley Plays*, and transferred it, of his own authority, to Archie Armstrang, so that the whole of his notes were a forgery. It is much more credible that this funny

[1] The poem was first printed in the 3d edition, III, 460–65, following two others by Marriott, "The Feast of Spurs" and "On a Visit Paid to the Ruins of Melrose Abbey." Marriott (1780–1825) resided at Dalkeith, near Edinburgh, from 1804 to 1808, "and during this period of his life he was on very intimate terms with Sir Walter Scott" (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

The footnotes are mine.—A. S. C.

[2] Clist, 4½ miles northeast of Exeter.

[3] Lawford.

[4] 1818.

[5] Marriott had died in 1825, but his sons published a volume of his sermons in 1838.

tale was preserved by oral traditions,[1] possibly in a metrical form. The tale was first brought into the Christmas story by the author of the *Towneley Plays*, and afterward, in the seventeenth century, transferred to the famous thief and jester, Archie Armstrang.[2]

Another parallel presents itself as part of a footnote near the close of William Hutchinson's description of the parish of Bewcastle, in his *History of the County of Cumberland*, 1794, I, 96. Here we have, from the pen of Jonathan Boucher (1738–1804), a friend of Washington's, a sketch of one *Thomas* Armstrong, who must have died not later than 1779, and who is credited with the same device for ridding himself of searching-parties as that described in the *Secunda Pastorum*. Boucher's account is as follows (the *Biographia Cumbrensis*, referred to at the end, was never separately published by Boucher; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*):

Our plan of noticing not only men of great merit, but also men of eccentric characters, and even notorious malefactors, requires us to record here a remarkable free booter, or land-pirate, of this place, who died about fifteen years ago in Morpeth jail. This man was named *Thomas Armstrong;* but, as is common among vagabonds and thieves, he went by the nick-name of *Socky Tom.* We know not whether such lawless men remained longer in these obscure parts, than in some others: but, some of the feats of this man, who avowedly followed thieving as a trade, are hardly exceeded by the companions of Gil Blas, or by Robin Hood and Little John. Two or three of them we will here set down.

Riding to a fair at Newcastle, he saw an horse tethered in a field adjoining to the road: it was much better than his own; and so he dismounted, and

[1] The note in the *Minstrelsy* (p. 470) says: "The exploit detailed in this ballad has been preserved, with many others of the same kind, by tradition, and is at this time current in Eskdale."

[2] In the preface to *Archie Armstrong's Banquet of Jests* (Cambridge, 1872), pp. vii–viii, the story takes this turn: "A border sheep-stealer, with the corpus delicti upon his shoulders, was tracked by the minions of justice to a moorland cottage, where they found no one but an apparently 'half-witted' lad vacantly rocking the cradle of some younger relative. The baffled officers were on the point of retiring, when a sudden thought instigated them to turn over the infantile couch, and to their amazement the sleeping innocent turned out to be the missing sheep. The astute but discomfited delinquent was at once seized upon and carried to Jedburgh, where James the Sixth was holding a Justice-aire.

"Condemned to die for his crime, Archie Armstrong—for it was he—pleaded with the King that he was a poor ignorant man, who had but recently heard of the Bible, and who was desirous, for his soul's sake, of reading through the precious volume: would his Majesty's grace be pleased to respite him until he had done this? The good-natured monarch easily acceded to the petition, on which Archie immediately rejoined, with a sly look, 'Then de'il tak' me an' I ever read a word o't as lang as my een are open!' The King was so pleased with the fellow's ready wit, that he forthwith employed him in his service."

put his saddle on it, leaving his own in its place. This horse he sold at the fair to a gentleman, whom, with an appearance of great candour, he thus addressed,—*Sir, this horse is ticklish and troublesome to dress: if you will give me leave, I will shew your servant how to manage him.* The gentleman accepted his offer; and Tom having thus made himself acquainted with the stable, that night again stole the same horse, which he actually left in the tether where he had first found him.

The fellow had much personal courage; as such outlaws often have. On the commission of some daring crime or other, the constables, aided by a party of soldiers from Carlisle, had beset his house; in which there was but one room, serving him for *parlour and kitchen and hall.* Here, to the foot of his bed-post, his horse stood tied: and when the danger became imminent, he mounted this horse, rushed out of the door, and forced his way, in full gallop, through the surrounding crowd, though fired at by several, and his horse wounded by one of them in the thigh.

At another time, having stolen a fat hog, he was pursued by a search warrant. The bailiff and his posse found him rocking a cradle; and he received them with the utmost composure and courtesy. On being informed of their errand, he coolly observed,—Ay, you are much in the right to search; pray search well, and examine every corner: let me request you only not to make a noise, as the *child* with which my wife has left me in charge is cross and peevish: I beg you not to awaken it. The pig was in the cradle.

Many more such feats might be related; which prove only his miserable misapplication of very good parts: the consequence of which was a wretched life and an ignominious death.

The problem presented by Marriott's ballad becomes rather more than less perplexing in the light of this account. On the one hand, can we be sure that Boucher is relating facts, or is he merely recording legends? He would seem dependable enough, if we refer to his biography. He was tutor to Washington's stepson, rector of three successive parishes in the South (1762–75), and ready to forfeit, or at least endanger, his intimate friendship with Washington for the sake of what he deemed the truth. Besides, he was a man of intense affection for his native county of Cumberland, and considered one of the best preachers of his time (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). What motive could he have had for making mythical statements concerning Thomas Armstrong, who had been dead only fifteen years when he wrote, and who must at least have been sufficiently well known to the officers of the law? If Thomas Armstrong was an actual person, only recently deceased, is it likely that the legendary trait had in so short

a time attached itself to him, unless, indeed, he had merely rehearsed a performance known to him from tradition (Eskdale, the reputed scene of Archie Armstrong's exploit, was, we must remember, not far from Bewcastle)? However, there are difficulties in Boucher's tale. A hog, unless he had been slain, would surely have struggled against imprisonment in the cradle, and would have betrayed his presence by outcries, whereas the Towneley sheep had submitted to have his four feet swaddled (ll. 598–99), since it is clear that he was alive (ll. 323–25; cf. ll. 432–33). But perhaps Boucher understood "hog" in the wrong sense (cf. his "pig," at the end of the paragraph), whereas in the play it meant "young sheep": ll. 456–57 are:

> And of xv. *hogys*
> ffond I bot oone ewe.

The tale may have been told of Thomas Armstrong and a *hogg*, as the word is often spelled (cf. Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd); in which case it is quite as credible of Armstrong as of Mak.

If we admit that the tale, whether true or false, was currently reported toward the close of the eighteenth century about Thomas Armstrong, would this account for Marriott's knowledge, and enable him to write a ballad which should make *Archie* Armstrang its hero, whether through the invocation of "apt alliteration's artful aid"—*Archie Armstrang's Aith*—or as a means of investing the subject with the prestige of relative antiquity? But on this supposition we should still have to account for the verbal correspondences which Kölbing points out (pp. xxxii–xxxiii).

I do not pretend to have solved the problem, which has the following elements, at least. The incident occurs in an early fifteenth-century play (*Towneley Plays*, p. xxvii), in Eskdale tradition as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in what purports to be authentic history of the last half of the eighteenth century. The scenes are laid respectively in Yorkshire, in Eskdale, and in northern Cumberland; Bewcastle[1] and Eskdale are near neighbors, while

[1] For Armstrongs who were notorious thieves at Bewcastle, or in its vicinity, see *Household Books of Lord William Howard* (Surtees Soc., No. 68), pp. 439 (sheep), 440, 443 (sheep), 444, 457, 463–65.

The tracing of stolen animals is illustrated by two stories (pp. 438–39). The first s of John Routledg, bailiff of Bewcastle: "The eleventh of Julie 1617, xxx^tie sheepe being stolen from the Castlesteeds neere unto Brampton, of William Heatherington's, weare the next daie followed with a slewe dogg to Kinkerhill in Bewcastle, a tenement

Horbury (*Towneley Plays*, p. xiv) is in Yorkshire, over a hundred miles distant from either in a straight line, and much longer by traveled routes. Did literature convey the incident to oral tradition? Is the incident one which might actually recur in rude times and regions, whether or not assisted by tradition? Or does it merely represent an early folk-tale, which from time to time embodies itself in literature, or attaches itself to some notorious individual?

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of the said John Routledg, into one of the houses there, where the sheepe were shutt upp and the dore fast pinned. A servant of the said John Routledg was sitting neare to the place where the sheepe were and had bine there from sunerise till three of the clock in the afternoone, that the dogg brought the trod thether, but would not take any notice of the sheepe being there."

The other is of William Taylor, also of Bewcastle: "About the tenth daie of August last, 1617, hee did steale a working oxe from John Scott of Nimsclugh in Bewcastle-office, Smith, which the said John, two daies after, enquired for of the wife of the said William Taylor, whoe denyed that there was any such oxe there, whereuppon the said John Scott being then in William Taylor's yard, went to the bier [byre], and found the same fast sticked, but rushed the same open with his foote, and there found his oxe lyeing."

ON TWO OLD PLAYS

Old Custom.—In an "inventory of effects" belonging to the Earl of Warwick, 1545–50, was listed a copy of "a play called Old Custome" (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, II, 102). Recently Professor Feuillerat has published (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IX, 94 ff.) from a book of the Revels Office (Loseley MS, 17) what he considers a memorandum of a play to be given at court about 1545–47. The dramatis personae included in the memorandum make it clear, I think, that the play was *Old Custome*, in print about this time. In one column are given the types represented in the characters; in another, inclosed in a single set of large brackets, the names of the personages. The list is as follows: "scoler, vertue zele; gent, Insolens diligens; preste, Old blynd Custom; prentes of London, Hunger of Knowledge; Colyer, Thomas of Croydon." Professor Feuillerat concludes that one scholar and two gentlemen were represented. Diligens, however, might well be the name of Insolens posing as a virtuous character, a situation frequent in the moralities, while Vertue and Zele indicate two different virtuous characters. The play must have prompted the title of *New Custom*, commonly assigned to the reign of Edward VI, and was probably a forerunner of the numerous collier plays.

A Fig for a Spaniard.—In the preface to *The Spaniards Monarchie, and Leagvers Olygarchie* "by Signor Vasco Figveiro . . Englished by H. O.," 1592, is the statement, "albeit it hath no title fetched from the Bull within bishopsgate, as a figge for a Spaniard, yet doth it discouer so succinctly and briefly, a Spanish imitatiō of Machiauellized axioms that what other volumes at large, this in a leafe doth plainely demonstrate" (Brydges, *British Bibliographer*, II, 431). Henslowe records the payment of three pounds "at the apoyntment of E Alleyn the 6 of Janewary 1601 [/2] in parte payment of a Boocke called the spaneshe fygge." This entry very probably concerns either the old play mentioned in *The Spaniards Monarchie* or a revision of it. Fleay identifies *The spaneshe fygge* with *The Noble Spanish Soldier*, printed in 1634 (*Drama*, I, 128), and Greg is inclined to agree with him (*Henslowe's Diary*, II, 220). Is *The Noble Spanish Soldier*, then, to be referred back to a play as early as 1592? Few passages in the late play suggest an origin before 1600, though this fact may be due to repeated revision.

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THE 1640 TEXT OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS

In 1640, as is well known, John Benson of St. Dunstan's Churchyard issued a volume called *Poems: Written by Wil. Shake-speare, Gent.*, which contained—together with many other pieces—most of the Sonnets of Shakespeare as they had been collected in 1609, and is therefore sometimes carelessly spoken of as the second edition of the Sonnets. This volume has usually been discussed in connection with the question of the arrangement of the Sonnets, since the entirely different order from that of 1609 furnishes some evidence that by 1640 there was no tradition of a continuous sequence. But it has been very little considered with reference to the problem of its text, possible sources, and inferential significance. Almost the only exception to this statement is the account given by Sir Sidney Lee in his introduction to the Clarendon Press facsimile edition of the Sonnets (1905), where he speaks of the 1640 collection as follows:

> Benson's text seems based on some amateur collection of pieces of manuscript poetry, which had been in private circulation. His preface implies that the sonnets and poems in his collection were not among those which he knew Shakespeare to have "avouched" (i.e., publicly acknowledged) in his lifetime.[1] . . . . The theory that the publisher Benson sought his copy elsewhere than in Thorpe's treasury is supported by other considerations. Sonnets 138 and 144, which take the thirty-first and thirty-second places respectively in Benson's volume, ignore Thorpe's text, and follow that of Jaggard's *Passionate Pilgrim* (1599 or 1612).[2] The omission of eight sonnets tells the same tale. . . . . It is difficult to account for [their exclusion] except on the assumption that Benson's compiler had not discovered them.[3]

Now if this is true it is of more importance than Lee points out. That in 1640 a practically complete collection of the Sonnets should be in existence in manuscript, different in order from that of 1609,

[1] Lee also observes that Warren's commendatory verses, at the beginning of the volume, imply that the reader will make the acquaintance of the poems for the first time.

[2] Though I have not had an opportunity to examine the 1612 edition of the *Pilgrim*, I have ascertained, by comparing Lee's account of it (Introduction to the reprint of 1905) with the Benson text, that the latter was printed from the second edition, that of 1612—as we should have guessed would be the case.

[3] Pp. 57–58.

yet giving substantially the same text, would in itself be a circumstance of great interest, suggesting a number of curious questions. What could have been the original source of such a text? Is it possible that its text and its order are at least as authentic as those of the manuscript used by Thorpe in 1609? Does the absence of certain sonnets suggest the possibility that they were originally written at a different time, or addressed to different persons, from the rest? Such matters would have to be subjected to the most careful scrutiny. If, on the other hand, the sonnets in Benson's collection should appear to have been printed from the Quarto of 1609, as certain of the other poems appear to have been printed from *The Passionate Pilgrim* and other miscellanies, all these problems disappear.

It will first be necessary to outline the arrangement of the Poems of 1640, or at least that of the first part of the volume, which includes the Sonnets. The following numbers refer to the usual numbering, that of 1609, and the single numbers or groups which are separated by semicolons are those which Benson's editor grouped by themselves and provided with distinct titles. The Roman numerals in parentheses refer to the poems of the *Passionate Pilgrim* collection.[1] 67–69; 60, 63–66; 53–54; 57, 58; 59; 1–3; 13–15; 16, 17; 7; 4–6; 8–12; 138; 144; (III); 21; 23; 22; (IV); (V); 20; 27–29; (VI); (VII); 30–32; (VIII); (IX); 38–40; 41, 42; (XI); (XII); (XIII); 44, 45; (X); 33–35; 36, 37; (XIV); 24; 25; 26; 50, 51; 46, 47; 48; 49; (XV); (XVI); (XVII); (XVIII); 62; 55; 52; 61; 71, 72, 74; 70; 80, 81; 116; 82–85; 86, 87; (XX); 88–91; 92–95; 97–99; 100, 101; 104–6; 102, 103; 109, 110; 111, 112; 113–15; 117–19; 120; 121; 122; 123; 124; 125; 128; 129; 127, 130–32; 133, 134; 135, 136; 137, 139, 140; 141, 142; 143; 145; 146; 147; 148–50; 78–79; 73, 77; 107, 108; 151, 152;[2] 153, 154.

The first thing that strikes the reader in a survey of this arrangement is the extent to which the order of the Sonnets of 1609 is preserved, despite the alterations. Inside the separately titled groups it

[1] According to the correct numbering, amounting to twenty poems in all. Many editions, through a mistaken division of the 14th poem ("Good-night, good rest") into two, number poems 15–20 as 16–21.

[2] Here, before the final pair of sonnets on Cupid's brand, is inserted the "Tale of Cephalus and Procris."

is almost never changed, and in the latter half of the collection it is followed as a whole, with a few notable exceptions. That is, it represents such an arrangement as could never have been arrived at fortuitously, unconnected with either the Quarto of 1609 or the manuscript on which that Quarto was based. Or, to put the matter a little differently,—if an editor had all the sonnets before him, not numbered or arranged as in the Quarto, and proceeded to group them freely in twos, threes, and longer series, with a view to giving them new titles, it is inconceivable that he should arrange them in the sequences 67–68–69, 13–14–15, 8–9–10–11–12, 27–28–29, and the like—that is, in the same order (as far as it goes) as that of the Quarto. And the same thing is true if we think, not of a publisher's redactor, but of a private collector arranging the sonnets in a commonplace book. Benson's compiler, then, had before him either the 1609 Quarto or a copy of the manuscript from which it was printed. In view of the improbability of the contents of the Quarto being copied and preserved substantially entire, it is far more natural to assume that it was the printed volume which he had, unless typographical or other evidence is such that we must attribute the changes found in the text of 1640 to manuscript variation rather than to re-editing and reprinting of the printed page. We have next, then, to notice the exact character of the resemblances and differences between the two texts.

I may anticipate the nature of this evidence by saying that I believe no one could proceed far in the exact collation of the texts without becoming confident that the later was set up directly from the earlier. Despite many differences, the general effect is that of a fairly close following of the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization of 1609. In the whole collection of reprinted sonnets there are but twenty-five words differently capitalized in the two editions,[1]

[1] These and other figures are no doubt to be viewed as subject to some correction, for they are based on a collation of the reprint of the 1640 collection made by A. R. Smith in 1885. This, the publisher stated, was "printed letter for letter, line for line, and page for page, as near the original as modern type will permit." I have tested the accuracy of the statement by an examination of the original (the copy in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge) for all textual variants amounting to anything more than matters of spelling and punctuation, and in a number of cases for the latter also. A few errors in the reprint have been discovered, but there appears to be no possibility of the existence of any such number of them as to impair conclusions based on the figures here given.

—and readers familiar with the Sonnets Quarto will recall that the capitalization of its text is not characterized by extraordinary uniformity or reasonableness. With italicized words the case is still more striking; there are thirty-three of these, so printed—in several cases—for no reason which criticism has been able to discern, and in every case the 1640 text is identical with the earlier. In punctuation the changes, whether due to carelessness or to intended correction, are naturally more numerous; I have counted some 144 instances, found in 89 sonnets, all told. Roughly estimating that the whole text of the sonnets included in the volume contains something between 2,700 and 2,800 marks of punctuation, one may say that of twenty such marks nineteen are identical in the two texts; and some 55 sonnets show no variation in a jot or tittle.[1] Those acquainted with the habits of seventeenth-century penmen will best judge how far it is possible to conceive of this degree of accuracy having been maintained by copies into manuscript books of any kind. Finally, some 620 words are differently spelled in the two versions, out of a possible total of something like 18,000; but I place no stress on this proportion, since it is obvious that we cannot say with any accuracy in how large a number of the words there was any natural liability to error or change.

The typographical likeness of the two texts may be further illustrated by noting such facts as these: that in Sonnet 1 the Benson version is identical with that of the Quarto—every detail of spelling, punctuation, and capitalization considered—with the exception of the variant "Feedst" for "Feed'st"; that the same is true of Sonnet 8, with the exception of "receiv'st" for "receau'st"; that it is true of Sonnet 44, except for the change of "heauie" to "heavy"; of 48, except for "un-used" and "unused"; and so on. To the same effect is the evidence drawn from observing the repetition of certain oddities or errors in the Quarto text. Of course if these errors are such as to leave the lines in question with an appearance of correctness, their repetition may be due to any kind or amount of reproduction; but if they are distinctively typographical, and of a character to imply the carelessly mechanical copying of the 1609 text, they become

[1] All these computations refer to a total of 144 sonnets, eight of the 154 having been omitted in the 1640 collection, and two of them having been printed (as observed by Lee in the passage quoted above) from the *Passionate Pilgrim* version.

significant. Such, it would seem, are matters like these: the odd spelling "leav's" ("lustie leav's quite gon") in 5, 7; the spelling "were" (for "wear") in 15, 8; the mistaken placing of the apostrophe in "ti's" in 24, 3; the singular form of "monument" (despite the guiding rhyme "contents") in 55, 1; the transposition of letters in "emnity," 55, 9; the unintelligible misreading "Our" for "One" in 99, 9; the misprint "wish" (for "with") in 111, 1; the misreading of "lack" for "latch," again despite the rhyme, in 113, 6; the blunders "Made" for "Mad" and "proud and" for "prov'd a" (according to the accepted emendation) in 129, 9–11. These by no means exhaust the list. A somewhat different bit of evidence is afforded by Sonnet 101. As we shall see a little later, Benson's editor or printer undertook to change this sonnet so as to make it read as if referring to a woman, altering l. 11 ("To make him much out-live a gilded tombe") and l. 14 ("To make him seeme long hence as he showes now") to "make *her*" and "*she* showes." Through negligence, however, in l. 9 he omitted to change "he needs no praise," and so left this reminiscence of the Quarto text. Finally, for these typographical accidents, I may note the trifling but significant appearance of the capital *L* in "O Least the world," at the opening of Sonnet 72. In the Quarto the second letter of each first line is a capital, following the ornamental initial, and in the 1640 volume the same practice is followed when the sonnet stands by itself or begins a group, but not otherwise. In Sonnet 72, despite the fact that in the later version the sonnet is placed second in its group, the printer seems carelessly to have followed his copy.

Further details would be wearisome. Enough has been said to indicate that to suppose the 1640 text to be based on fugitive manuscript collections is quite impossible; and that, if we substitute for this the notion of an exceedingly accurate copy of the Quarto or its manuscript source, the typographical resemblances between the printed versions are still such as to make the view that Benson's printer can have followed the manuscript copy a violation of all the laws of chance.

What can we say, then, of the two specific proofs which Sir Sidney Lee adduces for his view that the Benson text was not based on that of 1609—namely, that eight of the sonnets in the latter were

omitted by Benson, and that he printed Sonnets 138 and 144, not from the Quarto, but from the *Passionate Pilgrim* collection? I may as well admit at once that no wholly satisfactory explanation of the first point has occurred to me, though I shall make some effort to consider it, a little later, in connection with the problem of how the 1640 arrangement of the Sonnets was made up. For the present I remark only (1) that the evidence for the printing of the second volume from the first is so unmistakable that the subsidiary question of the eight omitted sonnets cannot affect the main matter, and (2) that this puzzling question is not much less puzzling in case of the manuscript theory. No matter where Benson's text came from, the fact that it contains all the Sonnets of 1609 save eight, unless those are of a character to give some indication as to why they were omitted, is remarkable.

As to the other point, the text of Sonnets 138 and 144, it is very easily disposed of. These two sonnets were, in fact, the opening poems in the *Passionate Pilgrim* volume; and a glance at the outline of contents of Benson's volume, as given above, will show that, after setting up thirty of the sonnets from the Quarto, his printer turned to the *Pilgrim* and set up the first three poems it contained. He then turned back to the Quarto, set up three more sonnets, and returned to the *Pilgrim* for the next two; and so on, at irregular intervals.[1] He had no thought, then, of the poems which we call Sonnets 138 and 144 as being from the collection of Sonnets. Later, near the end of his task, when he came to them in his copy of the Quarto, he omitted them because they had already—in substance—been used. Or, as is perhaps likelier, the person who outlined the new arrangement and indicated titles for the sonnets crossed out the two in question as known to be among those chosen from the *Passionate Pilgrim*. Their appearance, therefore, in a different text from that of 1609 has no bearing at all on the question of Benson's copy for the rest of the sonnets.

[1] It will be noted that the *Passionate Pilgrim* order was followed throughout, except that No. X was omitted from its proper place and inserted after XIII, and that XIX was omitted altogether. The latter circumstance is readily explained by the fact that Benson's editor knew of a fuller version of the poem (Marlowe's "Live with me and be my love") in *England's Helicon*, which he later introduced into the collection. The former was probably due to the printer's turning over two leaves when he set up No. XI, and later going back for the omitted poem.

Thus far I have said nothing regarding those differences in the two texts of the Sonnets which amount to more than typographical details and which would therefore be of chief interest if we should regard the 1640 volume as deserving the name of a separate text. These must now be noticed, with a view to estimating their significance. Though it has become clear that Benson's printer used the text of 1609 for the actual setting up of the new volume, it is within the limits of possibility that there was another copy of the Sonnets, in manuscript, which guided him in forming a new arrangement and furnished him some new readings. We ought therefore to inquire whether there appear changes in the text which cannot well be attributed to the process of reprinting.

To this end I shall give a list of the variant readings of the 1640 text, classified—for convenience—according as they may be regarded as corrections of errors in the Quarto, or as new errors made by Benson (or his source). In some cases, of course, there may be a difference of opinion as to which group a given reading belongs in; but these are few. In these lists the Quarto (1609) readings stand first.

CORRECTIONS OF ERRORS IN THE QUARTO

6, 4	beautits	beauties	91, 9	bitter	better
13, 7	You selfe	Your selfe	98, 11	weare	were
47, 11	nor	not	127, 2	weare	were
50, 6	duly	dully	128, 14	their	thy
68, 7	scond	second	132, 2	torment	torments
69, 14	solye	soyle[1]	140, 5	weare	were
70, 1	are	art	147, 12	randon	randome
73, 4	rn'wd	ruin'd	153, 8	strang	strange
88, 1	dispode	dispos'd	153, 14	eye	eyes
90, 11	stall	shall			

NEW ERRORS OF 1640

3, 3	repaire	repaine	22, 2	are	art
3, 12	goulden	goulded	28, 5	ethers	others
3, 13	remembred	remember	37, 11	am	an
7, 9	car	care	41, 2	some-time	sometimes
13, 13	deare	dare	54, 9	is	in
20, 9	wert	went	54, 10	vnwoo'd	unmoov'd
21, 6	earth	eatth	55, 12	weare	were

[1] Malone's correction to "solve" is preferred by the greater number of modern editors.

59, 8	minde	mine	104, 14	beauties	beatties
65, 5	hunny	hungry	108, 5	sweet boy	sweet-love
70, 13	maskt	maske	108, 10	iniury	injuries
73, 5	twi-light	twi-lights	111, 2	harmfull	harmelesse
77, 6	thee	the	114, 10	kingly	kindly
83, 9	for	of	117, 9	errors	errour
84, 2	are	art	118, 5	nere	neare
84, 11	wit	writ	119, 13	rebukt	rebuke
84, 12	stile	still	129, 14	heaven	haven
88, 3	my	thy	131, 1	as	a
95, 10	chose	choose	133, 3	alone	along
101, 3	Both	But	134, 14	am I	I am
101, 11	him	her	139, 10	mine	my
101, 14	him	her	142, 1	thy	my
101, 14	he	she	146, 7	inheritors	in heritors
104, 1	friend	love	153, 11	withall	with all
104, 10	pace	place	154, 2	inflaming	in flaming

If we consider the nature of the corrections in the first list, most of them are seen to be such as any reasonably intelligent corrector would perceive the need of and make half-automatically.[1] Two are of some importance—"dully" for "duly" in Sonnet 50, and "ruin'd" for the at first sight puzzling "rn'wd" in 73; for these we should be truly grateful, especially in connection with the magnificent image which the second error threatened to spoil. But even these are such as a corrector might conjecture from the Quarto text itself; and there is not one in the list which implies another text as a necessary source for the correction.

The new errors of 1640 are more difficult to analyze. A considerable number—about twenty, I should say, or a little less than half—are obviously printer's errors, some of them of a wholly insignificant character. Perhaps an equal number suggest a process of unintelligent correction. In 7, 9, for instance, "care" is a possible reading, and was made plausible by the rhyme with the contemporary pronunciation of "are." So in 28, 5, "others" is one possible correction for the plain error of "ethers." In 95, 10, the compositor might well guess that "chose" was intended for the present tense. In

[1] I admit that it is odd that one who exerted himself to do this should have left, so negligently, some of the errors previously noted as reproduced from the Quarto text. But it is obvious that the correction of a typographical error is a matter of no evidential significance for the relation of the texts—it may be accomplished in any one of several ways—whereas the reprinting of such an error is at once a probable indication of source.

111, 2, the context, for a stupid or superficial reader, justifies the change of "harmfull" to "harmelesse," and the same is true of the "my" for "thy" in 142, 1. In 114, 10, the word "kingly" is used somewhat daringly as an adverb, and it was natural, again, for a hasty observer to change to the more commonplace "kindly."

Five of the changes belong in a class by themselves—those which alter the sex of the person addressed, in Sonnets 101, 104, and 108. These might well be attributed to another version, in manuscript, which had been in circulation apart from all contextual allusion to the man or boy addressed in a number of the sonnets; and the more so, perhaps, because the corresponding change is *not* made in the case of other sonnets containing nouns or pronouns of masculine gender. We have already seen some evidence, however, indicating that the changes are due to the editor or corrector,—the unchanged pronoun, for example, in 101, 9. It will be seen by a reference to our table of contents that Benson's editor not only followed Thorpe in putting in the opening pages of the volume the sonnets addressed to a man friend who is urged to marry, but (unlike Thorpe) brought into the opening pages most of the other sonnets plainly having reference to one of the male sex.[1] In the Quarto of 1609, between Sonnets 68 and 101 there is none which cannot be read as referring (or addressed) to a woman, and that Benson's editor so understood the greater number of them his titles abundantly indicate. When, reaching Sonnets 101, 104, and 108, he came upon such disconcerting words as "he" and "boy," he did not scruple to alter them rather than impair the unity of that portion of the collection.

Finally, it is to be admitted that among the new errors of 1640 there are one or two which of themselves would suggest a misreading of manuscript as their cause. The chief instance is "unmoov'd"

[1] These include 54, 57, 63, 67, 68. Sonnets 19 and 126, which are of the same class, were among those omitted from the 1640 volume. There remain Nos. 20 (the "master-mistress" sonnet), 26 (beginning "Lord of my love"), and 41 and 42 (referring to the stealing of the poet's mistress), which we might think would also have been introduced before the 16th page of Benson's text, where the first woman-sonnet was introduced from the *Passionate Pilgrim*. Sonnets 20 and 41 and 42 might have been mistaken, by a hasty reader, for woman-sonnets, but one can hardly suppose this in the case of 26, which occurs on Benson's 38th page. Perhaps, then, the editor did not think of the conventional love-poems as beginning until some point beyond this page. The first sonnet groups entitled as if having reference to women are 80–81, 116, and 82–85 (called "Love-sicke," "The Picture of true love," and "In prayse of his Love"), which occur on the fifty-first and following pages of the text.

for "vnwoo'd" in 54, 10; another is "hungry" for "hunny" in 65, 8. With adequate evidence for the existence of a manuscript as a subsidiary source for this text of the sonnets, we should assume that it furnished the explanation of these readings. As it is we can only say that of themselves they cannot be viewed as sufficient evidence, and that it is possible to explain them, as we have done the others, as due to misreading or blundering correction of the Quarto. Both "unwoo'd" and "honey," like some other altered words that we have noted, are rather unusual or daring adjectives in the places where they stand, and it may be conjectured that a prosaic corrector preferred the familiar terms most closely resembling them. "Unmoov'd," indeed, does not make absolute nonsense of the line, as "hungry" must be admitted to do.[1]

On the whole, then, there is little or nothing in the way of new readings in Benson's text to call for the assumption of another source than the Quarto. Most of the alterations are naturally explained, and all can be explained, as due to natural conditions of correcting or reprinting.

There remains the inquiry whether it is possible to account for the arrangement of the sonnets in the 1640 volume, and for the omission of eight of those which were included in the source-text. After a great deal of thinking—and, I might add, reckless imagining—on this subject, I still find myself unable to form any complete picture of the process which was followed in the making of the Benson collection. But some things are fairly obvious, and some others may be conjectured, which I shall set down rather for the gratification of innocent curiosity than because of any important bearing on the question of the text.

In the first place, our 1640 volume is, in a peculiarly definite sense, one of those tasks described by Dr. Johnson as undertaken by those who "lay two books before them out of which they compile a third." This applies literally, if we confine ourselves to the first half of the Poems, which is made from the Sonnets and the *Passionate Pilgrim;* whereas we must recognize more than two books if we include the second half, wherein Benson made use of Heywood's

[1] This error, of course, and perhaps the "unmoov'd" also, may be explained by the familiar process of an error of the *ear*.

Epistles, of *England's Helicon*, and various other sources.[1] It would seem to have been the publisher's object to represent this as a new publication (see the remarks of Sir Sidney Lee, quoted at the beginning of this paper), and we may assume that he instructed his compiler to intermingle the materials drawn from different sources, and to rearrange them at the same time in such a way as both to enhance the attractiveness of the book and to conceal its unoriginal character.[2] Perhaps the first task of the redactor (if I may so dignify him, in the manner of higher critics of Homer or the Pentateuch), on taking up the Sonnets of 1609 as his first principal source, was to furnish titles for the pieces it contained. This would seem to have been done, at any rate, before their rearrangement was undertaken; for if they had been freely shuffled and then furnished with group headings, they could not well have kept the original order, inside the groups, which we have seen is a general characteristic of the 1640 text. We may suppose, then, that in a copy of the Quarto the redactor noted the title "Loves crueltie" for Sonnets 1–3, "Magazine of beautie" for Sonnets 4–6, "Quicke prevention" for Sonnet 7 alone, and "An invitation to Marriage" for Sonnets 8–12, and so on, with continuous titling, until Sonnet 63 was reached. Here the continuous grouping is broken, and, as I conjecture, for some such reason as this: the redactor had given Sonnet 60 the title "Injurious Time," 61 the title "Patiens armatus," and 62 "Sat fuisse." (He was quite right in this, for the three sonnets have no apparent connection.) When he came to 63 he observed that for it and its immediate successors the title "Injurious Time" would again be very appropriate, and therefore indicated, in a note, that these sonnets were to be grouped with 60 under the caption already given it.[3] Then he proceeded to entitle 67–69 and 70, and thereafter made another break in continuity, for some reason not so easy to guess. That is, he omitted Sonnet 73 from the natural group 71–74, entitled "A Valediction," and marked it to go with 77 instead (with which it has much

[1] For some account of these, see Lee's Introduction to the Sonnets in the Clarendon Press facsimile of 1905.

[2] For the devious ways of these pirating stationers, see Lee's account of Jaggard in his Introduction to the reprint of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and, for Benson in particular, Professor W. D. Briggs's account of the makeup of the Jonson Quarto of 1640, in *Anglia*, XXXVIII, 115–17.

[3] Making the group consist of 60, 63–66; he might better have stopped with 65.

less to do), under the title "Sunset." I can see no adequate cause for this,[1] and am consoled only by the fact that this is the only case in the whole collection where, within the separate groups of sonnets, the arrangement of the Quarto was changed unreasonably. There is no further break of this kind until we reach Sonnets 128 and 129, which were properly omitted from the sequence 127, 130–32 (called "In prayse of her beautie though black"), and separately entitled "Upon her playing the virginalls" and "Immoderate Lust." The final instance is the omission of 138 from the sequence 137, 139 and 140, called "His heart wounded by her eye," for the double reason that it interrupted the sequence and had already been reprinted from *The Passionate Pilgrim.*

The groups of sonnets now having been formed and named, instructions were probably given for printing without reference to the existing order of the groups; on the contrary, the Quarto arrangement was to be distorted, as we have guessed, for the very reason that the new collection was to look different from the old. "Print a few groups from the Sonnets Quarto, then two or three selections from the *Pilgrim;* then return to the Sonnets for more, and so proceed." Something of this sort we may suppose to have been the printer's instructions. But we cannot suppress a desire to know why he should have plunged into the middle of the Quarto and begun with the inconspicuous group 67–69. To be sure, its title, "The glory of beautie," is a promising one for the opening of the anthology. Is any other reason discoverable? Only, so far as I see, what has already appeared. These readers of 1640 understood the great part of the Sonnets to have to do with a woman or women; on the other hand, some of them were clearly concerned with a man; let these be got out of the way at the beginning.[2] Perhaps it was to avoid ambiguity in this regard that there was set at the very beginning a sonnet whose first line determines the sex of the person addressed: "Ah, wherefore with infection should *he* live?"

[1] Perhaps it is not the "redactor" who is to be held responsible, but merely the printer, who may have skipped 73 by mistake, and done the best he could with it later.

[2] Just the opposite process, it will be observed, from that which seems to have been followed by Thorpe or his editor, in 1609, when all the sonnets obviously not addressed to a male friend were gathered at the end of the collection. I do not know why Benson's order should include Sonnets 57–59 in the opening pages; in at least one sonnet of all the other groups there is no room for doubt as to the sex. (Could "sovereign," in 57, have suggested a man? Perhaps so, by 1640.)

But what, in this process, became of Sonnets 18 and 19? We may infer that they had been entitled as a pair, like 13–15 and 16–17; and though they do not, like their predecessors, have to do with the theme of marriage or procreation, they belong with them as clearly addressed to a man. The absence of any internal reason for their omission suggests that, to further the new arrangement, a couple of copies of the Quarto had been clipped, and the sonnets intended for the several groups pinned or pasted together. In that case 18 and 19 may have been lost. Another pair, 75 and 76, seems to have disappeared in like manner, together with four single sonnets, 43, 56, 96, and 126. The last-named, however, may have been omitted intentionally, as it is the twelve-line poem (often, though wholly without warrant, called the "envoy") which the printer of the Quarto had marked as incomplete by inserting parentheses where he supposed the last two lines were missing; Benson's compiler may therefore have crossed it off, possibly hoping to find a fuller version as he did for the incomplete Marlowe poem in *The Passionate Pilgrim*.[1] If, indeed, he was really disposed to be critical in such matters, we may also see a reason for the omission of 96; for this is the sonnet whose final couplet is repeated from that of 36, and may therefore again have seemed to be an imperfect copy. This conjecture, that Sonnets 96 and 126 were excluded intentionally rather than by accident, seems to be confirmed by the fact that the sonnets numbered from 88 to 150 show no such general disarrangement as those in the earlier part of the Quarto text. In other words, after the last insertion had been made from *The Passionate Pilgrim*, following Sonnets 86 and 87, the compiler seems to have wearied of the process of rearrangement, and to have resolved to proceed by the straightest road toward the end. Indeed we need not suppose that the latter portion of the Quarto was cut up for rearranging at all.[2]

Another hypothesis[3] deserves consideration, as a means of avoiding the notion that any portion of the Quarto copy was clipped for reprinting; namely, that the omitted sonnets had been marked by

[1] See p. 22, note 1, above.

[2] The irregularities in this portion are (1) the transposition of 102–3 with 104–6, (2) the deferring of 107 and 108 to a place near the end of the series, and (3) the omission of 116 as having been introduced earlier, between 81 and 82.

[3] I am indebted for it to Professor W. D. Briggs.

a note indicating that they were to be grouped with others later in the volume (as we have seen appears to have been done with 60, 127, and a few others), and that the printer, through lack of a corresponding note reminding him of the point from which he should go back for the deferred poems, failed to do so and lost them altogether. In itself this is not unnatural, but one or two considerations seem to make against it. One is the loss of Sonnets 18 and 19, which ought to have come into the opening section, close to their original context. Another is the fact that the appearance, near the end of Benson's text, of Sonnets 78 and 79, 73, 77, and 107 and 108 suggests that the printer *did* go back at that point, and pick up whatever had been omitted.

The precise character, then, of the methods followed in the making of the Benson text from that of 1609 remains undisclosed. I am not without hope that some reader of this paper may be more fortunate than I in explaining just what happened to cause the loss of the sonnets which did not reappear in 1640. But this is a question which we have seen to be one of curiosity rather than of serious import, at least so far as the matter of the text is concerned. It has proved possible to determine that the text of 1640 has no independent value, and to see somewhat more than has hitherto been observed of the process by which it was made.

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SPENSER AND THE SPIRIT OF PURITANISM

It is the aim of this paper to determine Spenser's relation to the inner and essential spirit of Puritanism, its animating life-principle, as distinguished from its theological beliefs and its ecclesiastical program.[1]

Stripped of all accidents, what was Puritanism? In his excellent monograph on *The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage*, Professor E. N. S. Thompson defines it as that "which seeks to obtain the fullest possible conception of the divine idea in the world, and to make that idea rule," as "the effort to rid life, or some phases of it, of the evils that have enwrapped it." If this definition be valid, everyone who has earnestly sought to understand the divine idea in the world and to make it prevail, everyone who has endeavored to rid life of evil, is a Puritan, and the measure of his Puritanism is his devotion to such a program. We must therefore number among the Puritans, Pope Gregory, Bede and Anselm, Dante, Herbert, Newman, Browning, Arnold, Chesterton, Shaw, and Mrs. Eddy, as well as Cartwright, Baxter, Bunyan, and Cromwell. Thus to define Puritanism is to rid the term of all historical significance.

According to Dr. John Brown, the author of *The English Puritans*, a recent volume in the Cambridge manuals,

> The fundamental idea of Puritanism in all its manifestations was the supreme authority of Scripture brought to bear upon the conscience, as opposed to an unenlightened reliance on the priesthood and the outward ordinances of the Church. . . . . Under all its forms, reverence for Scripture, and for the sovereign majesty of God, a severe morality, popular sympathies, and a fervent attachment to the cause of civil freedom have been the signs and tokens of the puritan spirit.

Now this definition would exclude from the ranks of the Puritans the very men who first bore the epithet of "puritan," for the Elizabethan Presbyterians could never be accused of "popular sympathies

[1] These aspects of Puritanism have been discussed in other papers: *The Political and Ecclesiastical Allegory of the "Faerie Queene,"* Boston, 1912; "Spenser's Arraignment of the Anabaptists," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XII, 434; "Spenser's Fowre Hymnes," *ibid.*, XIII, 418; "Spenser and the Puritan Propaganda," *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 85; "Spenser and the Theology of Calvin," *ibid.*, XII, 1.

and a fervent attachment to the cause of civil freedom." Indeed, one of the accusations that rankled most in the breast of Cartwright, the leader of this party, was the charge that he sympathized with the Anabaptists, the one sect that had stood frankly for a democratic program. The Presbyterian frowned upon these Anabaptists, and later upon the Separatists, quite as coldly as did the Anglican. It must not be forgotten, then, that these early Presbyterians were not concerned with political reform, and if their successors under James and Charles took a lively interest in such reform, even their altruism did not extend beyond the desire to secure greater liberty for the upper middle class, namely, themselves. To what extent these Presbyterian gentlemen were carried away with "popular sympathies" is sufficiently evident from the conduct of such of their number as sought a new home beyond seas, for did they not arrest the democratic zeal of the Separatist Pilgrims, and did they not drive into the wilderness the very apostles of a true liberty who fled to them for shelter? On the other hand, among the seventeenth-century Puritans must be numbered a great body of republicans, who were fired with the zeal for political liberty, and who were only incidentally concerned with religious reform, if indeed concerned with it at all. Presbyterian and proletarian united in a common cause, yet they were two quite independent elements, as their ultimate disruption proved. No definition of Puritanism is satisfactory, then, that is not comprehensive enough to include such diverse factions as the Presbyterians, the Independents, and the republicans.

The initial impulse of Puritanism was desire for reform in spiritual matters. This reform might be narrowly conceived, to substitute one's own system of church government and discipline for the system in vogue, as in the program of the Presbyterians, or, as in the program of the Brownists and Separatists—the later Independents—it might be conceived as a universal principle, to allow every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, recognizing no other church government than that of voluntary churches, self-governed under Christ and mutually independent. As time went on and it became increasingly evident that reform in spiritual matters was contingent upon reform in government, such reform, hitherto an independent movement confined to a small minority of the socially

discontent, was incorporated into the Puritan platform. This reform, in turn, might be narrowly conceived, to establish the authority of one's own class in place of the traditional authority—in the program of the Presbyterians to substitute Whig authority for Tory authority, or, broadly conceived, to secure the real democratization of government; in the program of the Independents and their political allies, nothing less than to convert England into a republic. · It is in the light of these facts that a definition of Puritanism should be framed. Puritanism, then, was the effort to secure reform, either partial or complete, in spiritual or in political matters, or in both.

Because, during the Elizabethan period, the agitation for political change was confined to certain small and very much despised sects, political reform cannot be taken as characteristic of Elizabethan Puritanism. It became a characteristic of Puritanism only in the days of James and Charles. Elizabethan Puritanism was in the main, then, busied with the effort to secure reform in religious matters. Moreover, the dominant party in the movement was the Presbyterian, for the Separatists and Brownists were as yet too few and too uninfluential to have much weight. Consequently the genius of Elizabethan Puritanism was the genius of Presbyterianism, and, because the early Puritanism had thus been captured by Geneva, its program was Calvinistic. In Calvinism, therefore, are found the distinguishing characteristics of Elizabethan Puritanism.

Now these English Calvinists were bent on two reforms: a change in the organization and procedure of the church in conformity with the Presbyterian system, and a reform in the whole attitude of society toward life. The first, already treated in other papers, was largely a matter of externals; the second was the essential reform, for it was aimed at the very roots of conduct, and constitutes the very essence of the Elizabethan Puritanism. The attitude toward life that these Puritans sought to inculcate was grounded in the Calvinistic doctrine of the spiritual man and the natural man.

The Calvinist believed that the spiritual man was capable of communion with God, and this communion he passionately desired. Herein he differed not from the Catholic. Calvinist and Catholic alike yearned to know and see God, as the writings of Dante and Bunyan, of Bernard of Clairvaux and Baxter, eloquently testify.

But there was this difference, that the Catholic was willing to recognize and employ intermediary agencies as approaches to God, indeed felt it desirable and in most cases necessary to do so, whereas the Calvinist insisted that this communion should be direct and immediate, and that any intermediary agencies were in reality barriers between the soul and God, alike a hindrance to the soul and an affront to God.

As for the natural man, the Calvinist believed that man is by nature impure and unholy, and that the senses are, and must continue to be, at enmity with God's purposes; that the flesh was present as a dreadful menace, and that unconverted man was odious in God's sight. The Catholic, on the other hand, believed that in the natural man good and evil were blended, and that the office of religion was to quicken the natural conscience and discipline the natural will. He believed that the body and the mind were God's gifts, and that the pleasures of mind and body, while inferior to those of the soul, and ultimately to be supplanted by them, were not inherently antagonistic to them. Consequently he did not frown upon the pleasures of life but accepted them with a glad heart. He felt that God wished him to live a rich, full-blooded life, enjoying those harmless pleasures which refresh the body and the mind, enjoying beauty of color and form and sound and odor, enjoying the fruits of the earth that make glad the heart of man, and enjoying those superior pleasures of the mind that attend upon the exercise of the intellect. Not only did he believe that the pleasures of the senses were legitimate in themselves, if ever kept subordinate, but that the senses might be the very medium for interpreting the things of the spirit. Hence the physical element was present in almost every appeal that the Catholic church made. Harmonious color, sweet sound, and fragrant odor suggested to the imagination, through the senses, the inscrutable glories of the Unseen. Indeed, the Holy Eucharist itself, the very heart of Catholicism, was a natural blending of the natural and the supernatural, wherein God took advantage of physical means to impart his saving health to a needy humanity.

If an illustration may be borrowed from a modern writer, the essential difference between the attitude of Catholicism and of Calvinism is compressed into the remark that Dr. Lavendar addresses

to Rachael King about her foster-child, in Mrs. Deland's story of *The Child's Mother:* "Well, I suppose it's natural for you, Rachael, to be afraid of the inheritance from her earthly mother, but mind you don't forget her inheritance from her Heavenly Father, my dear." It was this last inheritance that Calvinism was reluctant to recognize.

Such being the genius of Calvinism, it was essentially incompatible with the spirit of the Renaissance. If it had its springs in that desire for spiritual freedom which animated the Reformation, it attempted to realize this at the expense of that liberation of the social, aesthetic, and intellectual faculties which the Renaissance was demanding with equal insistence. If it sought to develop the powers of religion and of conduct, it begrudged a like development to the power of knowledge, to the power of beauty, and to the power of social life and manners. The great problem of the modern era has been to harmonize the spirit of the Reformation and the spirit of the Renaissance, to acknowledge and provide for every man the universal right to self-realization, and to conceive this self-realization as a liberation of all the faculties. Historically, this conception of a harmonious self-realization has preceded the recognition of the right of every man to attain thereto; indeed, this recognition is only partial today, after three centuries of slow change. But this conception of the human spirit as beautifully adjusted to all of the claims of life, this passion for harmonious self-realization, this conception and this passion, it was the problem of Elizabethan England to perceive and to feel. It was perceived and felt by a few rare spirits, perceived and felt by a Sidney and a Hooker—Hooker, of whom Dowden has said with equal justice and eloquence: "The spirit of the Renaissance is brought into harmony by him with the spirit of the Reformation; he is serious, reverent, devout; with seriousness and reverence he does honour to human reason; a grave feeling for beauty models his elaborate periods; he can soar and circle aloft in a wide orbit, yet all the time he remains in living relation with the concrete fact and the realities of human life; he is at once humanist and theologian."[1]

To be faithful to all of life—that was the problem of the Elizabethans. This problem Calvinized Puritanism did not understand

[1] *Puritan and Anglican*, p. 69.

or see. In the earlier decades there were many moderate men who espoused the Puritan cause, for, despite the rigidity of the theology that they professed, their practical conduct was tempered by the traditional influence of a sweeter and more Catholic philosophy, but as the theology of Calvin struck deeper root, as its logic became more apparent, accentuated by the growing looseness of English morals, the Puritans became austere, stern, and morose, contracted in sympathies, lacking all sense of proportion, and, equally fatal, all sense of humor. These were the ultimate and logical results of Calvinistic teachings both in Old England and in New England, and Old England and New England only escaped from these results when the vitality of Calvinism had spent itself, and men had reacted to a more Catholic interpretation of life.

The essential spirit of Elizabethan Puritanism, if we may condense all that has been said above, was the attempt to realize fidelity to the things of the spirit through infidelity to all other human faculties.

Such being the essential spirit of Puritanism, to what extent can it be said of Spenser that he was a Puritan? In common with most English churchmen of his generation, he professed the Calvinistic theology; his theological views would have satisfied the most austere Puritan. Did he, however, take the attitude toward the various powers of life that these views logically required? To this question his devotion to the humanistic ideals gives abundant answer. Save when consciously presenting some phase of theology, he advocates and illustrates that full and rich enjoyment of the senses and of the life of the intellect that was the glory of the Renaissance.

He exalts the scholar with a classic faith in the integrity of the intellectual life, calling learning the "girlond of nobilitie," and he exalts arms with the enthusiasm of knight and cavalier. Indeed, it is hard to say whether with Plato he would put the scholar first in society or with Castiglione the statescraftsman; like Aristotle, he wavers between giving highest honor to the leader in state affairs or to the philosopher who, by contemplation, identifies himself with the whole world. If in "The Teares of the Muses" it is said of learning that "men to God thereby are nearest raised," elsewhere sage and warrior are almost invariably associated together as the

noblest products of society. Thus, in the lament of Calliope complaint is made that princes, once the patrons of art,

> Have both desire of worthie deeds forlorne,
> And name of learning utterly doo scorne,

and in "The Ruines of Time" that, since the death of Sidney,

> learning lies unregarded,
> And men of armes doo wander unrewarded.

In the "Mother Hubberds Tale" the life of the courtly gentleman is outlined as the beau ideal of conduct, a life conceived largely in the spirit of Castiglione, though more magnanimous, less selfishly calculating, a life devoted to noble activities of the body—the tourney, the chase, wrestling, drawing of the bow, to the sweet delights of music, to the gentle sports of love, to poetry, science, and history. These were occupations requiring a large share of life for proficiency, and not worth the candle if the benefits were but transient. Here there is indeed recognition of the propriety of a full and free enjoyment of the humane activities of body and mind, a generous enthusiasm for Renaissance ideals.

In the *Faerie Queene* the reader moves in a world where delight constantly ministers to the senses—music, painting, gentle landscape, the soft glances and swelling beauty of maidens. It is almost too much of a commonplace to say that Spenser is the very hierophant of beauty.

Nowhere is Spenser's relation to the dominant Renaissance impulses more curiously displayed than in his treatment of chastity. So anxious is he to emphasize the preciousness of this rare virtue that the hero of one book is the knight of chastity, and in other books chastity plays no inconsiderable part. Certainly the lessons of chastity are written large, so that one cannot fail to read them. Britomart, Belphoebe, and Florimel are very paragons of continence. Conversely, the moral decline of one woman, Hellenore, is depicted with dramatic warning: when first seen, a lady of voluptuous beauty who flirts with a strange knight at the table of her lord; when last seen the common stale of the vulgar. And yet, despite all of this labored didacticism, Spenser can present amorous situations with a warmth and a nice eye for effect designed to satisfy the most scrupulous connoisseur in a period when the connoisseur was, to say the

least, exacting. No Renaissance realist could claim an advantage over Spenser's voluptuous picture, in the famous description of the Bower of Bliss, of maidens at the bath. To be sure the placid Palmer, whose blood had been cooled by age, mildly reproves Guyon for gazing with kindling eyes upon a spectacle so tempting, but the poet is careful not to intrude this reproof with unbecoming haste:

> And all the margent round about was sett
> With shady Laurell trees, thence to defend
> The sunny beames which on the billowes bett,
> And those that therein bathed mote offend.
> As Guyon hapned by the same to wend,
> Two naked Damzelles he therein espyde,
> Which therein bathing seemed to contend
> And wrestle wantonly, ne car'd to hyde
> Their dainty partes from vew of any which them eyd.
>
> Sometimes the one would lift the other quight
> Above the waters, and then downe againe
> Her plong, as over-maystered by might,
> Where both awhile would covered remaine,
> And each the other from to rise restraine;
> The whiles their snowy limbes, as through a vele,
> So through the christall waves appeared plaine:
> Then suddeinly both would themselves unhele,
> And th' amorous sweet spolies to greedy eyes revele.
>
> As that faire Starre, the messenger of morne,
> His deawy face out of the sea doth reare;
> Or as the Cyprian goddesse, newly borne
> Of the Ocean's fruitful froth, did first appeare:
> Such seemed they, and so their yellow heare
> Christalline humor dropped downe apace.
> Whom such when Guyon saw, he drew him neare,
> And somewhat gan relent his earnest pace;
> His stubborne brest gan secret pleasaunce to embrace.
>
> The wanton Maidens, him espying, stood
> Gazing awhile at his unwonted guize;
> Then th' one her selfe low ducked in the flood,
> Abasht that her a straunger did avise;
> But thother rather higher did arise,
> And her two lilly paps aloft displayed,
> And all that might his melting hart entyse

To her delights she unto him bewrayd;
The rest hidd underneath him more desirous made.

With that the other likewise up arose,
And her faire lockes, which formerly were bownd
Up in one knott, she low adowne did lose,
Which flowing low and thick her cloth'd arownd,
And th' yvorie in golden mantle gownd:
So that faire spectacle from him was reft,
Yet that which reft it no lesse faire was fownd.
So hidd in lockes and waves from lookers theft,
Nought but her lovely face she for his looking left.

Withall she laughed, and she blusht withall,
That blushing to her laughter gave more grace,
And laughter to her blushing, as did fall.
Now when they spyde the knight to slacke his pace
Them to behold, and in his sparkling face
The secrete signes of kindled lust appeare,
Their wanton meriments they did encrease,
And to him beckned to approach more neare,
And shewd him many sights that corage cold could reare.

On which when gazing him the Palmer saw,
He much rebukt those wandring eyes of his,
And counseld well him forward thence to draw.[1]

In all candor, this passage is done with a relish; done, to be sure, in the refined vein which the Elizabethans so well understood, the vein of Shakspere in "The Rape of Lucrece," but eminently satisfactory to the exacting gentlemen who made up the society of the court.

Not only is much warmth of fleshly detail introduced into this and like passages where a moral is yet to follow, but such detail is sometimes purely gratuitous. Thus, the description of Diana at her bath is a quite unnecessary prelude to the meeting of Diana and Venus; forsooth Venus might just as well have discovered the round-limbed goddess after her toilet was complete.[2]

So generously, in fact, could the poet lend himself to the artistic impulse, that he employs stories of rape in a purely decorative spirit, with all of the charming abandon of the classical writers; the moral values quite forgotten in the color and vivacious beauty of the myth.

[1] *F. Q.* 2. 12. 63–38.
[2] *F.Q.* 3. 6. 18.

Such is the story of the parentage of the three brothers, Priamond, Triamond, and Diamond,

> Borne of one mother in one happie mold,
> Borne at one burden in one happie morne;
> Thrice happie mother, and thrice happie morne,
> That bore three such, three such not to be fond!

"Thrice happie mother," but, as M. Jusserand has observed with so much naughtiness, "thrice happy father, too," as the story of the conception reveals:

> There on a day a noble youthly knight,
> Seeking adventures in the salvage wood,
> Did by great fortune get of her the sight,
> As she sate carelesse by a cristall flood
> Combing her golden lockes, as seemed her good;
> And unawares upon her laying hold,
> That strove in vaine him long to have withstood,
> Oppressed her, and there (as it is told)
> Got these three lovely babes, that prov'd three champions bold.[1]

Equally irresponsible, and equally diverting, is the story of the parentage of the good Sir Satyrane:

> A satyres sonne, yborne in forest wyld,
> By straunge adventure as it did betyde,
> And there begotten of a Lady myld,
> Fayre Thamis, the daughter of Labryde;
> That was in sacred bandes of wedlocke tyde
> To Therion, a loose unruly swayne,
> Who had more joy to raunge the forest wyde,
> And chase the salvage beast with busie payne,
> Than serve his Ladies love, and waste in pleasures vayne.
>
> The forlorne mayd did with loves longing burne,
> And could not lacke her lovers company;
> But to the woods she goes, to serve her turne,
> And seeke her spouse that from her still does fly,
> And followes other game and venery:
> A Satyre chaunst her wandering for to finde;
> And, kindling coles of lust in brutish eye,
> The loyall linkes of wedlock did unbinde,
> And made her person thrall unto his beastly kind.

F.Q. 4. 2. 41, 45.

So long in secret cabin there he held
Her captive to his sensuall desyre,
Till that with timely fruit her belly sweld,
And bore a boy unto that salvage syre:
Then home he suffred her for to retyre,
For ransome leaving him the late-borne childe;
Whom, till to ryper yeares he gan aspyre,
He nousled up in life and manners wilde,
Emongst wild beastes and woods, from lawes of men exilde.[1]

This conduct apparently merits no disfavor in the poet's eye. Indeed, the domestic situation seems to be regarded as rather felicitous; the son develops no unfortunate hereditary traits, and the parents conspire to raise a model youth, brave, generous, and courteous.

Most engaging of all is the beautiful myth of Chrysogone, who became pregnant of the bright sunbeams as she slept "all naked bare," and bore the chaste Belphoebe and the fair Amorette, "a goodly storie to declare."[2]

These are very graceful and diverting episodes, but they are not the work of a man who resolutely fled from the gay shows of Vanity Fair that he might gain the City Celestial; not the kind of reading that Elder Skelton and Elder Higginson would have chosen to confirm in godliness the select youth of Salem.

In no other poem does Spenser show the true humanitarian that he was more convincingly than in the "Epithalamion," his own marriage ode. Though the poet had then reached the discreet age of forty-two, the coming nuptials, anticipated with that sincerity which does so much honor to the Elizabethans, are awaited with the tingling expectancy of youth, a passage very delicately touched, but withal very intense. The anticipated feasting and merrymaking would have satisfied the gayest of Cavaliers; no Puritan squeamishness is to mar the spirit of these festivities:

Never had man more joyfull day than this,
Whom heaven would heape with blis;
Make feast therefore now all this live-long day;
This day for ever to me holy is.
Poure out the wine without restraint or stay,

[1] *F.Q.* 1. 6. 21–23.
[2] *F.Q.* 3. 6.

Poure not by cups, but by the belly full,
Poure out to all that wull,
And sprinkle all the postes and wals with wine,
That they may sweat, and drunken be withall.
Crowne ye God Bacchus with a coronall,
And Hymen also crowne with wreathes of vine;
And let the Graces daunce unto the rest,
For they can do it best:
The whiles the maydens doe theyr carroll sing,
To which the woods shall answer, and theyr eccho ring.
Ring ye bels, ye yong men of the towne,
. . . . . .
Ring ye the bels, to make it weare away,
And bonefiers make all day;
And daunce about them, and about them sing,
That all the woods may answer, and your eccho ring.

It is not enough for the heart of man to be gladdened with the good red wine; marry, the very walls and posts must drunken be! Forsooth, if Goodman Spenser actually furnished the entertainment anticipated in this ode, it was well for him that his nuptials were consummated in Cork or in Youghall, and not in Salem, Massachusetts.

In matters of moral conduct the great battleground of Elizabethan England was the stage. As early as 1560, William Alley was delivering at St. Paul's, the very heart of ecclesiastical England, lectures against plays and romances, and warning Christians of the danger of thus "saluting Venus." In 1570 Roger Ascham took similar ground in the *Scholemaster*, and censured for their wantonness not only the Latin plays but so goodly a romance as the *Morte D'Arthur*. Two years later, Edward Dering wrote in like vein, deprecating the fondness of the public for "onchast fables, and tragedies and such like sorceries," not even sparing good old Guy of Warwick. In 1577 John Northbrooke brought out his *Treatise*, in which the whole question of amusements was more elaborately considered than heretofore, and this was followed two years later by Gosson's famous work, *The School of Abuse*, the former condemning the stage primarily on religious, the latter on economic, grounds.[1] Opposed to these writers were another group who defended the drama, though not

[1] See. E. N. S. Thompson, *The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage*, chap. iv.

unmindful of its abuse; Sidney, who wrote in 1583 (?); Webbe, in 1586; Puttenham, in 1586; and Harrington, in 1589. With this group of men who thus took middle ground, Spenser clearly belongs. He himself wrote a defense of poetry, he was the author of several comedies, and he was greatly admired of Dekker and Lodge, themselves defenders of the stage. Though his essay on poetry is lost, its general temper may be gathered from "The Teares of the Muses," a poem in which each of the muses in turn laments the decadency of her own particular art. The poet's attitude toward comedy is here shown to be virtually identical with that of Sidney: comedy should hold the mirror up to nature, and refined play of seemly wit should furnish delight; if laughter be provoked, it should be a laughter that is consistent with such noble pleasure.

> All places they with follie have possest,
> And with vaine toyes the vulgare entertaine;
> But me have banished, with all the rest,
> That whilome wont to wait upon my traine,
> *Fine Counterfesaunce, and unhurtfull Sport,*
> *Delight, and Laughter, deckt in seemly sort.*
>
> All these, and all that els the Comick Stage
> With seasoned wit and goodly pleasance graced,
> By which mans life in his likest image
> Was limned forth, are wholly now defaced;
> And those sweete wits, which wont the like to frame,
> Are now despized, and made a laughing game.[1]

In like vein Sidney is very careful to show how delight and laughter may be harmoniously adjusted in comedy:

> But our comedians think there is no delight without laughter, which is very wrong; for though laughter may come with delight, yet cometh it not of delight, as though delight should be the cause of laughter; but well may one thing breed both together. Nay, rather in themselves they have, as it were, a kind of contrarity. For delight we scarcely do, but in things that have a conveniency to ourselves, or to the general nature; laughter almost ever cometh of things most disproportioned to ourselves and nature. Delight hath a joy in it either permanent or present; laughter hath only a scornful tickling. . . . . Yet deny I not but that they may go well together. For as in Alexander's picture well set out we delight without laughter, and in twenty mad antics we laugh without delight; so in Hercules, painted, with

[1] 93–100.

his great beard and furious countenance, in women's attire, spinning at Omphale's commandment, it breedeth both delight and laughter; for the representing of so strange a power in love procureth delight, and the scornfulness of the action stirreth laughter.[1]

Certainly Spenser is not to be associated with those Puritans who condemned stage-plays without discrimination, and even frowned upon those goodly romances of the older days that were very meat and drink to the poet.

But enough of this, which has the wearisomeness of a thrice-told tale. With a scholar's faith in the integrity of the intellectual life, an apostle of beauty, a lover of the good things of life, assuredly Spenser was in the main an admirable exponent of the Renaissance, however contradictory to its spirit his theological professions may have been, and however studiously he may have striven at times to give expression to Calvinistic teachings in his art.

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[1] Cook's ed., 50–51.

How cd a critic be so right & so wrong? Was Hooker a Calvinist? Then neither was Spenser.

SOME NOTES ON *MANKIND*

DATE

In my dissertation on *Some English and Latin Sources and Parallels for the Morality of Wisdom,*[1] I pointed out that the probable date of composition of *Mankind* was 1465–74. The earlier limit of this period is determined by the reference in the play to "rede reyallys" (l. 458); gold royals were first coined in England in 1465, and as the first mention of them in the *New English Dictionary* is under the year 1473, it is probable that foreign royals were not much in use before this date. The later limit, 1474, is fixed by the inscription at the end of the play, "O liber, si quis cui constas forte queretur, Hyngham quem monacho dices, super omnia consta[s]." This Monk Hyngham I identified with Richard Hengham (p. 86), who became abbot of St. Edmundsbury Abbey in 1474, and who would, therefore, not designate himself as plain "monk" after that date.

It is now possible, I think, to fix the date more exactly than 1465–74. The heading of the record of the mock court (ll. 680–86) reads:

> "Curia tenta generalis,"
> In a place þer goode ale ys,
> Anno regni regitalis
> Edwardi millateni [MS nullateni].
> On ȝestern day, in Feuerere, þe ȝere passyth fully.
> As Nought hath wrytyn; here ys owur tulli,
> Anno regni regis nulli.

This seems to me to point to the period between October, 1470, when Edward IV fled from England, leaving the kingdom in possession of his rival, Henry VI, and April, 1471, when Edward regained the throne. During this time the question of who was king was in debate, and the expressions "Edwardi nullateni" and "anno regni regis nulli" are particularly appropriate.

This period between October and April fits the references to time in the play. Mr. Pollard thinks that the play was "written for performance at Christmas, or at least in the winter"; and for

[1] W. K. Smart, *Some English and Latin Sources for the Morality of Wisdom*, pp. 87 ff., and footnote, p. 89. (Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Co.)

proof he cites the following passages: Mankind's statement that he will sow his corn "at wyntur" (l. 539); and the allusions to a "wyntur corn-threscher" (l. 54), to the "Crystemes songe" (l. 325), to the cold weather (l. 316), and to football (l. 725).[1] If by the phrase "at Christmas, or at least in the winter," Mr. Pollard means "in *mid*winter" (and that seems to be his implied meaning), his conclusion is not warranted by the evidence in the play, for this evidence points to very late winter or early spring as the time of performance.

Some points not mentioned by Mr. Pollard need first to be examined. In the first place, the incident of digging with a spade and preparing for the sowing of the corn suggests that the play was given in one of the two seasons for breaking the ground and planting the grain—either in the autumn or in the early spring. Of these two, the evidence is all in favor of the spring season, which commonly lasted from Candlemas (February 2) to Easter.[2] The most definite reference to time in the play is in l. 684: "On ȝestern day, in Feuerere." This expression forms part of the mock heading for the proceedings of the court of Myscheff; but it is reasonable to suppose that the reference is to the current month, rather than to a remote one. Other considerations point to the latter part of this month. Thus, in l. 314, Mankind, after discussing with Mercy the conflict between his body and soul, fortifies himself against the assaults of his enemies by "titling" in his paper the words, "Memento, homo, quod cinis es, & in cinerem reuerteris." This was the central text of the services for Ash Wednesday, being pronounced by the priest at the time of the sprinkling of the ashes; it embodied the thought which the church intended should be carried into Lent.[3] The play, of course, was not performed on Ash Wednesday, which was naturally not a day for the giving of plays; but the use of this text suggests a relation with the season just preceding Lent. Moreover, the general tone of *Mankind* is what we would expect in a play given in this time of festivity, which reached its climax in the boisterous gaiety of Shrove Tuesday.[4] Now, in 1471 this season fell in

[1] *Macro Plays*, Introduction, p. xiii.

[2] N. J. Hone, *The Manor and Manorial Records*, p. 81.

[3] Brand, *Popular Antiquities* (1890), I, 94.

[4] For a description of the festivities of the pre-Lenten season, and especially of Shrove Tuesday, see Brand, *op. cit.*, I, 64 ff.; R. Chambers, *The Book of Days* (1886), I, 236 ff.; and W. Hone, *The Every Day Book*, I, 123 ff.

the latter part of February, for in that year the date of Shrove Tuesday was February 26; that is, Lent began on February 27. The reference in l. 802 to "sent Dauy" is also worth noting. It may be only a coincidence, but St. David's "day" is March 1, which, in 1471, was only three days after Shrove Tuesday.

It remains to see how this time agrees with the allusions which Mr. Pollard cites as pointing to a winter performance. The allusion to football (l. 725) is particularly appropriate for this period. This game was commonly a part of the Shrove Tuesday celebrations;[1] in fact, Shrove Tuesday was sometimes called "Football Day."[2] Also, the comment on the coldness of the weather (l. 316) is certainly not inappropriate for the last of February in England. Again, when Myscheff says in l. 54 that he has hired out as a "wyntur cornthrescher," he is making a joking allusion to his present idleness—he will work next winter. The point of the joke lies in the fact that it is now *not* winter, that is, midwinter, the season when the threshing was done; and the point is emphasized by postponing for almost a year the time when he will work. Mankind's statement (l. 539) that he will sow his corn "at wyntur" means that he will wait until the fall seeding time; he is disgusted with the difficulties of sowing in the present spring season. Mr. Pollard also suggests this as a possible meaning. Finally, Now-a-days calls his song a "Crystemes songe" (l. 325), not because it was sung at Christmas, but because the name suggested to the audience a common type of song that was very different in subject-matter from the ribald selection in the play and thus emphasized the obscenity of the latter. Thus none of these allusions contradicts our conclusion that the play was intended for performance in the latter part of February, and all but two (those to cold weather and to the Christmas song) are more appropriate for this time than for midwinter. All these facts taken together form a convincing body of evidence in favor of the conclusion that *Mankind* was written for performance in Shrovetide in 1471. The tone of the play is entirely in keeping with the spirit of that season, and moreover we know that plays were sometimes given at that time.[3]

[1] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, I, 149–50; R. Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 237–38.
[2] W. Hone, *The Every Day Book*, I, 123.
[3] Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 65.

MEN NAMED IN THE PLAY

In ll. 498–508 New-gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought, who have been sent out to pillage the neighboring country, name six men whom they will visit, and three whom they will avoid.

Master Alyngton of Botysam.—The most prominent man in this list is "Master Alyngton of Botysam." The Allingtons of Bottisham, Cambridgeshire, were descended from Sir Hildebrand de Alington, under-marshal to William the Conqueror at Hastings; and various succeeding members of the family held positions of prominence in England.[1] One of these was the William Allington who was living in Bottisham at the time of our play.[2]

The date of his birth is not known; the first notice we have of him is that of his marriage to Joan Ansty, in 1457, recorded in the bishop's register at Ely. From July 4, 1461, to November 18, 1468, he was nine times a member of the commission of the peace (a justice of the peace) for the county.[3] As these nine commissions are the only ones recorded in the *Patent Rolls* for this period, he apparently served continuously in this office. His name does not appear on the commission for December 14, 1470, the next one recorded, but he was again a member of the following one, for December 10, 1473.[4] From July 11, 1461, to October 28, 1473, he was on six commissions of the peace for the town of Cambridge.[5] William Allington, then, was closely connected with the administration of justice in the county of Cambridge. This explains why Nought, who intends to rob other men, decides to "spare Master Alyngton" (l. 507).

On December 1, 1461, and February 3, 1462, Allington was appointed on commissions to consider a complaint of the prior of Bernewell that the tenants of the manor of Chesterton, county of Cambridge, had thrown off their allegiance.[6] On June 18, 1461, he,

[1] See the history of the family in Edward Hailstone, *History of the Parish of Bottisham*, in Cambridge Antiquarian Society Publications, Octavo Series, VII, 107–17. The genealogy of the family is also traced in Clutterbuck, *History of Hertfordshire*, II, 539 ff.; in A. R. Maddison, *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, I, 4; in J. J. Howard, *The Visitation of Suffolke* (for 1561), II, 182; in J. W. Clay, *The Visitation of Cambridge*, pp. 14–17; and in "Sir T. P.," *The Cambridgeshire Visitation* (for 1619), p. 2.

[2] His biography is given by Hailstone, pp. 111–13; the facts presented in this article are taken from Hailstone's account, except where otherwise indicated.

[3] *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1461–67), p. 560; (1467–77), p. 609.

[4] *Ibid.* (1467–77), p. 609.

[5] *Ibid.* (1461–67), p. 560; (1467–77), p. 609.

[6] *Pat. Rolls* (1461–67), p. 68.

with the chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and others, was appointed to inquire into the obstruction of the river which had caused the great bridge of the town of Cambridge to be broken down.[1] On March 12, 1462, he was one of a commission to act upon the release of certain property by one of the Cambridge colleges to a convent.[2] On March 17, 1468, he, John Allington, and others were appointed to inquire into the escape of prisoners from certain prisons in Cambridgeshire.[3] On May 11, 1471, and March 7, 1472, he was a member of commissions of array for the county of Cambridge.[4]

Thus far Allington's activities had been confined to his home county. He had been preparing himself for the higher honors to come. In 1472 he was a member of Parliament from Cambridgeshire, and was elected speaker of the House of Commons. In 1475 he built a chapel at Bottisham, for the welfare of his soul and that of Joan, his wife. In 1476 he was made a knight of the shire. In 1478 he was again a member of Parliament and was again elected speaker. In 1479 he was appointed a member of the Privy Council.[5] He died in 1479, without issue, and was buried in Bottisham church.[6]

Master Woode of Fullburn.—Burke[7] says that the family of Wood, which at the time of his writing belonged to Middlesex County, is one of antiquity, and is mentioned in the Court Rolls in the Manor of Fulbourne in 1367. Alexander Wood, of Fulbourne, county of Cambridge, died on December 5, 1479. His son, John Wood, also of Fulbourne, married Elizabeth, widow of Nicholas Hylton, burgess of Cambridge; he died on July 2, 1520. *The Cambridgeshire Visitation* (of 1619), edited by "Sir T. P.," p. 34, also gives a genealogy of the family, beginning with this John Wood.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 133. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 177. [3] *Ibid.* (1467–77), p. 101.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 285 and 349. These entries in the *Patent Rolls* do not give the place of residence of the William Allington named; but there can be no doubt that he was the Bottisham man. He was the only William Allington in Cambridgeshire who fits in with the dates. He had no son; William, his father, died in 1459; and William, his nephew, was born about 1449 (he was aged "31 years and upwards" when John Allington, his father, died, in 1480; see Clutterbuck, *History of Hertfordshire*, II, 540), and was therefore not old enough at the time of these entries to have held such responsible positions.

[5] In 1478, according to *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1476–85), p. 142.

[6] The facts in this paragraph are from Hailstone, pp. 111–13; I have, however, verified them all from the *Patent Rolls* and other sources. In the *Patent Rolls* there are a number of other references to this William Allington which have not been mentioned in this article. They may be found by consulting the indexes for the volumes between 1461 and 1479.

[7] B. Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1906), p. 1842.

The Alexander Wood who died in 1479 is probably the man named in *Mankind*. His *inquisition post mortem*, dated 20 Edw. IV, shows that he had considerable property in Cambridgeshire.[1] He was a member of commissions of the peace for the town of Cambridge, appointed in 1471, 1473, and 1475;[2] and he served on like commissions for the county of Cambridge for 1473, 1475,[3] and three for 1479.[4] In 1473, he was made a member of a commission in the county of Cambridge to inquire into arrears in revenue to the king.[5] In 1478, he served on two commissions appointed to inquire into the possessions of George, late Duke of Clarence, in Cambridgeshire, and to take them into the king's hands.[6] On all these commissions, except the commission of the peace for June 4, 1479, he was associated with William Allington.

So far as I have been able to discover, Wood was not a justice of the peace in the spring of 1471, the date of our play; but he was appointed to that position in November of that year, and in the commissions noted above his name is associated with those of such men as William Allington, John Cheney, Thomas Lokton, and John Ansty, all of whom had served as justices of the peace for years before 1471 (see *Pat. Rolls*, index, under these names). This explains the remark of Now-a-days in ll. 504–5 of *Mankind*:

> I xall spare master Woode of Fullburn;
> he ys a "noli me tangere!"

That is to say, he is a man to be let alone. Wood was too closely associated with the administrators of justice to be preyed upon by one of a band of vagabond players. (Master Alyngton of Botysam, as we have seen, was to be "spared" for the same reason.)

The term "noli me tangere" is applied to Wrath, also a person to be avoided, in Lydgate's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, l. 15607, where Wrath says:

> My namë callyd in ech place
> Ys thys, "Noli me tangere";

[1] *Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem* (1828), IV, 401. Although the Alexander Wood of the inquisition record is not expressly assigned to Fulbourne, he is identified with the subject of our sketch by the facts that both belonged to Cambridgeshire and that the date of the inquisition of one corresponds with the time of the death of the other.

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1467–77), p. 609.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* (1476–85), p. 555.

[5] *Ibid.* (1467–77), p. 406.

[6] *Ibid.* (1476–85), pp. 109, 111.

ffor I haue "carmen et ve";
Thys to seyne, (yiff yt be souht)
Be war that thow touche me nouht.

In Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*, ll. 1515 ff., Arrogance is called "Noli me tangere":

Car il ad celle enfermeté
Que plus s'agregge par toucher;
Et pour cela l'en solt nommer
Le mal *Noli me tangere.*

The origin of the expression is, of course, Christ's admonition to Mary Magdalene when he appears to her after his resurrection (John 20:17).

Pycharde of Trumpyngton.—In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a family of Pychards lived at Bottisham, Cambridgeshire. In 1279 John Pychard and Geoffrey Pychard held land in Bottisham of the Prior of Anglesey;[1] Richard Pychard held land here of John de Deresle;[2] and Geoffrey Pychard and Richard Pychard were tenants, in this place, of William de Robercot and Martin de Lada, respectively.[3] In 1339 Richard Pychard was a juror in an *inquisition ad quod damnum* held at Bottisham.[4] In 1341 the name of Richard Pichard appears in an inquisition, held at the same place, concerning taxes.[5]

Concerning this family of Pychards of Bottisham, Mr. Hailstone says that "it is exceedingly probable that they were the ancestors of the family of the same name, who afterwards resided at Trumpington";[6] but he cites no references to the latter place of a date earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century.

There were, however, Pychards in Trumpington at the time of our play. In the accounts of the Priory of St. Radegund, Cambridgeshire, for 1449–50, appears the name of Johannes Pichard de Trumpyngton;[7] in the accounts for 1450–51, the name of Pycchard de Trumpington;[8] and in the accounts for 1481–82, the name of Willelmus Pychard, place of residence not given, but presumably

[1] Edward Hailstone, *History of the Parish of Bottisham*, in Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Octavo Series, VII, 233.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 138. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 140. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 264. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 273. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[7] Arthur Gray, *The Priory of Saint Radegund, Cambridge*, in Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Octavo Series, 1898, p. 146.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

Trumpington, as in the two preceding entries.[1] This is probably the "William Pychard of Cambridge, 'bocher,' alias of Trompyngton, 'bocher'" who is named in the *Patent Rolls* for 1489.[2] He or his father is probably the man named in *Mankind*.

Master Huntyngton of Sauston.—The following entries concerning the Huntingtons of Sawston are from *Feudal Aids* (1284–1431); all are for the hundred of Witlesford, in the county of Cambridge.

1302–3 A.D.: "De Radulfo de Huntendone et Dyonisia uxore ejus, Reginaldo de Durem et Hawysia uxore ejus pro di. f. in Saustone tento de rege, xx s." (I, 144.)

1346 A.D.: "De Hugone de Huntyngdone pro di. f. in Saustone tento de domino rege, quod quondam Radulphus Huntyngdone et Dionisia uxor ejus, Reginaldus de Durem et Hawisia uxor ejus tenuerunt de domino rege i. c., xx s." (I, 161.)

1428 A.D.: "Walterus Huntyngdone tenet di. f. m. in Saustone, quod Hugo de Huntyngdone quondam tenuit ibidem." (I, 181.)

Here we have three generations of the Huntingdons of Sawston. Unfortunately, I have not had access to the records of *Feudal Aids* for the years following 1428. Walter Huntingdon of the 1428 entry is perhaps the father of the Master Huntington of our play.

These entries prove that we should read "Sauston" instead of "Sanston" in l. 498 of the play. The former was Dr. Brandl's reading, and he was correct in his conjecture that it meant Sawston, Cambridgeshire.[3] Dr. Furnivall, reading Sanston, suggested Santon, in Norfolk, as the place intended.[4]

Wyllyham Baker of Waltom.—In the *Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem* for the reign of Henry VII, are a number of references to a William Baker connected with East Walton, Norfolk, which all the editors agree is the "Waltom" of *Mankind*.

From the inquisition of a William Baker, held on October 30, 1495, we learn that he died on March 12, 1491, and that by his last will he left to his "son and heir," John Baker, the Manor of Nether Halle in Hyllyngton, Norfolk; to his son William he left the messuages of Newgates and Richowdes in *Est Walton*, West Acre, and

[1] Arthur Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1485–94), p. 274.
[3] A. Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England*, p. xxvi.
[4] *Macro Plays*, p. 19, n. 3.

Ayleswythorp, Norfolk; and he directed that certain property in Grymston should be sold by his executors for the "benefit of his soul and the soul of Margery his wife."[1]

The place of residence of this man is not given; but in the *Visitations of Norfolk*, ed. Walter Rye, p. 11, he is called William Baker of Westthorpe, in Suffolk. According to the latter record, William Baker of Westthorpe married Margery, daughter of ——— Hawis; and they had two sons—William Baker of Est Walton, Norfolk, and John Baker of Helington, Norfolk. He is evidently the William Baker of the *Inquisitions* entry, whose wife was named Margery, and who left property in Est Walton to his son William, and property in Hyllyngton to his son John. The connection of this man with Westthorpe is not clear. The *Inquisitions* record mentions no property in that place. He may have lived there at some time; but however that may be, we know that in 1491 he had property in East Walton.

He is the first member of the family named in the records that I have seen. His son is the first man in the available family history to be called definitely William Baker "of Est Walton." This son, however, cannot be the man referred to in *Mankind*, for his *elder* brother, John, was aged "30 and more" at the time of the inquisition (1495),[2] and was therefore only about six years old when the play was written. In the absence of any information about preceding members of the family, we therefore conclude that the William Baker who died in 1491 and who had property in East Walton is probably the "Wyllyham Baker of Waltom" named in the play.

The name of William Baker of East Walton appears in three real estate transactions in the *Calendar of Inquisitions* of the reign of Henry VII. Simon Blake, who died in 1489, gave by his will certain property to William Baker of Est Walton.[3] Roger Tounshend, who died in 1494, willed to his wife two pieces of land which he had bought of William Baker of Est Walton, "yeoman," and others.[4] These entries are of such dates that they may refer either to our William Baker or to his son. The first is dated 1489, two years before the

[1] *Cal. Inq.* (Henry VII), I, 437.
[2] *Ibid.*, 437.
[3] *Ibid.*, 225.
[4] *Ibid.*, 490, 492.

father's death; the second is dated 1494, but we are not told how long before that time the land was bought of Baker.[1]

Hamonde of Soffeham.—Dr. Furnivall identifies the Soffeham of l. 508 with Swaffham in Norfolk, situated about fourteen miles from Lynn. There is, however, a Swaffham Bulbek, sometimes called simply Swaffham, in Cambridgeshire, which from its geographical location is just as likely to be the place named in the play. Moreover, in the fifteenth century there were Hamonds in both of these localities.

In the *Patent Rolls* the name of Nicholas Hamond of Swafham Bulbek, Cambridgeshire, appears in an entry for 1427;[2] and the name of Nicholas Hamond of Swofham, Cambridgeshire, in one for 1434.[3] Again, in 1427 John Vyncent of Swafham Bulbek, county of Cambridge, was cited for not appearing in court to answer Richard Hamond and William Bocher touching a plea of debt of five marks.[4] In this entry Richard Hamond is not definitely associated with Swafham Bulbek; but it is probable that he belonged there, as his debtor was a resident of that place, and there were Hamonds living there at that time.

A family of Hamonds is still (or was in 1906) connected with Swaffham in Norfolk. Burke says: "The family of Hamond is of considerable antiquity in Norfolk, and was settled formerly at South Wootton and Swaffham." The first of the line mentioned by him is Edmund Hamond, who died in 1605.[5]

In the *Black Book of Swaffham*, begun in 1454, among the list of dead benefactors of the church for whom prayers are to be said, is the following entry: "And of Raffe Hamonde, the which did the Cost of Stoling in the Trinity Chapell, and did make the Cofyr that stond in the Vestry to kepe the Tokys and Vestments, and also gaff to the edyfying of the stepyll, xxxiii s. iiii d."[6] The date of this entry is not certain. It is a part of a paragraph containing the names of a group of men, most of whom gave money for the

[1] I have references to the genealogy of the Baker family of Westthorp, in *Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* (*Proceedings*), VIII, 129, and Add. MS 19116; but I have not been able to consult them.

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1422–29), p. 446.

[3] *Ibid.* (1429–36), p. 385.

[4] *Ibid.* (1422–29), p. 366.

[5] B. Burke, *The Landed Gentry of Great Britain* (1906), p. 764.

[6] F. Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, VI, 220.

new church and steeple. Blomefield says that the new church was begun in the time of John Botewright, rector, but was not completed till the reign of Henry VII, and the tower at the west end was not finished till 1510.[1] As Botewright was not rector after 1474,[2] the time of building was from before 1474 to 1510. The steeple was begun in 1507.[3] In the group of names which includes that of Hamond are the names of John Angere, parson of Southacre, who paid for the glasoning of a window in the new church, and of Robert Coppyng, "late Parson of this Chirche" (i.e., Swaffham), who gave money for building the steeple. John Angere was rector of Southacre from 1452 to 1486.[4] Coppyng succeeded Botewright as rector at Swaffham; and if Blomefield's list of rectors (p. 223) is complete he held this position from 1474 to 1495. From the data at hand we cannot get a more exact date than the last quarter of the fifteenth century for the entry concerning Raffe Hamond. Either he or his father is probably the Hamond of the play, if Dr. Furnivall is right in identifying Soffeham with the Norfolk Swaffham. As we shall see, however, it is by no means certain that this identification is correct.

Wylliam Thurlay of Hauston.—I have found nothing definite about the other men named in the play. The "Johannes Thyrlowe de Hawkeston," who is mentioned in the accounts of the Priory of St. Radegund, Cambridge, for 1450–51,[5] may, however, be one of the family of Wylliam Thurlay of Hauston in l. 499 of the play. Hawkeston and Hauston are variant spellings for the modern Hauxton.

William Fyde(?).—In l. 496 of the play, there is, perhaps, the name of another man of the neighborhood. Dr. Furnivall's reading for this line is, "Take W[illiam] Fyde, yf ȝe wyll haue ony mo"; Professor Manly reads, "Take w[ith yow] Fyde," etc. In this connection it is worth noting that in 1450–51 a John Fydde lived in Waterbeach, a town situated about five miles northeast by north from Cambridge, in the vicinity where the play was given.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 216. [2] *Ibid.*, 223. [3] *Ibid.*, 208. [4] *Ibid.*, 85.

[5] Arthur Gray, *The Priory of Saint Radegund, Cambridge*, in Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Octavo Series, 1898, p. 163. These are the accounts that furnished most of our information concerning Pychard of Trumpyngton.

[6] Arthur Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES

In ll. 32–36, Christ is likened to the head and his saints to the members of the human body:

Se how þe hede, þe members dayly do magnyfe.
Who ys þe hede, forsoth I xall yow certyfye;
I mene owur Sauyowur, þat was lykynnyde to a lambe;
Ande hys sayntis be þe members þat dayly he doth satysfye
With þe precyose reuer þat runnyth from hys wombe.

This comparison, which occurs in several places in the Bible, is a favorite one with mediaeval writers. Cf. *Ayenbite of Inwyt:*

Þe zeuende scele is uor þet we byeþ alle lemes of one bodye. huerof Iesu crist is þet heaued / and we byeþ þe lemes. þet we libbeþ alle of onelepi mete. Þet is of þe holy uless and of þe holy blod of Iesu crist þet ous zuo moche loueþ / and zuo moche halt ous worþ: þet he ous yefþ his blod to drinke / and his uless to etene.[1]

Walter Hilton in his *Epistle on Mixed Life* elaborates the idea of the members:

Thou sall vndirstande þat oure lorde Ihesu Criste, as mane, es heuede of a gastely body, whilke es haly kirke. The membris of this body are all cristene mene. Some are armes, and some are fete, and some ere oþer membris aftire sundre wirkynges þat þay vse in thaire lyffynge.[2]

William of Shoreham adds a new comparison, of the priest with the mouth:

Crist hys þat heued, þe prest þe mouþe,
Þe lymes þat folke i-vere.[3]

In l. 47, Myscheff remarks to Mercy:

Yowur wytt ys lytyll, yowur hede ys mekyll.

The proverb "A great head and a little wit" is recorded in Ray's collection.[4] In the modern mumming plays, the Fool, Beelzebub, or some other character often enters with:

Here come I; ain't been yit,
Big head and little wit.[5]

In ll. 49–52, Myscheff asks Mercy "þis questyon to claryfye":

Dryff-draff, mysse-masche;
Sume was corn, & sume was chaffe;
My dame seyde my name was Raffe;
On-schett yowur lokke, & take an halpenye.

[1] *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*, ed. R. Morris (E. E. T. S.), p. 146. C. Horstman, *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, I, 272.
[2] *The Poems of William of Shoreham*, ed. M. Konrath (E.E.T.S.), p. 23, ll. 622–23.
[4] J. Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (1742), p. 117.
[5] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, I, 215.

The third line contains a pun on the words "Ralph" (M. E. Raffe) and "raff." The *New English Dictionary* defines the latter as "worthless material, trash, refuse," and gives a quotation from *Palladius on Husbondrie* (*ca.* 1420), I, 827: "Take chaf & raf [L. *purgamenta*] And ley hit on thy lond. . . . . And when thou sist the myst, let brenne vp chaf and raf." No doubt the words "chaf" and "raf" were frequently used together as in this passage from Palladius, and thus furnished a ready-made rhyme for the writer of *Mankind*. He, of course, uses "raff" in its most uncomplimentary sense. The passage in the play may have been written merely as a bit of doggerel rhyme, with no intention of giving it a logical meaning; it also suggests, however, a more definite idea. Mercy has previously said (l. 43) that at the Last Judgment there will be a strict examination of the human race, and a separation of the corn from the chaff. Thereupon Myscheff compares humanity to a misch-masch, a hotch-potch, of the good and the bad, the corn and the chaff. His wife, without waiting for the Last Verdict, has placed him among the chaff, or more specifically, the "raff."

In the expression, "On-schett yowur lokke" (l. 52), the same figure is used for "to talk, to speak" as in ll. 128–29:

> Now opyn yowur sachell with Laten wordis,
> Ande sey me þis in clerycall manere!

Cf. the common Old English expression "Word-hord onleac," as in *Beowulf*, l. 259, etc.

In ll. 72–73, New-gyse(?) directs the minstrels to play, and urges them to "ley on with þi ballys tyll hys bely breste." "Ballys" is not, I think, from O.F. *bal*, a dance, as Dr. Brandl suggests,[1] but is a form for "bellows" used here as a slang term for the bagpipe for the sake of the pun with "bely."[2] I have found no instance in which this instrument is specifically called a "bellows," but the comparison is a natural and obvious one. The word "bely" may either be a slang term for the bag of the pipe (another obvious comparison, as may be seen in the pictures of fourteenth century

[1] A. Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*, p. 652.

[2] According to the *New English Dictionary*, *s.v.* "belly," in early Middle English the form "bali" was used only for "belly," and the form "beli" for either "bellows" or "belly." However, "bales," with an *a*, is given for "bellows" in an entry dated 1523, *s.v.* "bellows."

bagpipes),[1] or may refer to the belly of Nought, who is to do the dancing, or the difficult part of it. The line thus means either "Blow till your bagpipe bursts," or "Play till the dancer's belly bursts." Either meaning would fit the context.

The dance that follows is a lively one. Now-a-days, New-gyse, and Nought all take part, but Nought has the most difficult rôle. He twice expresses the fear that he will break his neck, and after he has finished he declares that the place for dancing is a "narrow space." His performance was probably in the nature of an acrobatic exhibition, perhaps a rope dance. Dancing on a rope was, according to Strutt, a part of the entertainment given by minstrels and joculators as far back as the thirteenth century.[2]

L. 88, "A-non, of with yowur clothes, yf ȝe wyll pray," seems to have no meaning. Is "pray" a scribal error for "play"? The latter word makes good sense: Nought is trying to persuade Mercy to dance. A manuscript *l*, if carelessly extended below the line, could easily be taken for an *r;* see the facsimile of the text.

In ll. 149–52, just before leaving the stage Now-a-days says:

> Cum wynde, cum reyn,
> Thow I cumme neuer a-geyn!
> þe deull put out both yowur eyn!
> Felouse, go we hens tyght!

An expression similar to the one in the first two lines occurs also in connection with an exit in *Mundus et Infans*, l. 491. Conscience has been preaching to Manhode much as Mercy has been doing to the three scapegraces in *Mankind;* and as Conscience leaves Manhode says:

> Yes, yes! Ye, come wynde and rayne,
> God let hym neuer come here agayne!

That is to say: "Let wind, rain, and other discomforts come, if they must, but let me never meet this man again." In our play Now-a-days ironically gives expression to the thought that he knows is in Mercy's mind.

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[*To be continued*]

[1] Two pictures are given in F. W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, p. 176.

[2] J. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, p. 302 (Chatto and Windus, 1898).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood. By George Frisbie Whicher. New York: Columbia University Press. 1915.

A study of the life and romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood has been added to the list of Columbia dissertations in English and Comparative Literature. As in the others dealing with eighteenth-century themes, Professor Trent has aided in the production of a well-planned and definite account of a minor literary figure. The author has not tried to raise his "scribbling authoress" to a higher rank than she deserves; he has merely recorded the facts, with some incidental comment upon the change in subject-matter caused by current events and by Mrs. Haywood's gradual loss of vigor. His portrait of this "she romp," a "hen" that "refused to set," might be considered as corollary to Professor Rémond's distinguished essay on "The Sexual Correlations of Poetic Genius," for Mr. Whicher's amusing asides upon his author's tributes to Minerva and Venus prove his trust in the latter goddess as an aid to literary endeavor.

Detailed examination of the various chapters convinces one that the first half of this study is much the better. Only in the biographical investigation ought one to feel dissatisfied with the content of the first ninety pages. To be sure, nothing is more shadowy than the life-records of obscure writers; yet it is from these special studies that one expects to glean new data. It is difficult to accept as final the failure to find new evidence on the date of Mrs. Haywood's death. Even though "the usual magazines" of the day seem, as is said, to make no mention of the occurrence, further research might prove more fruitful. Parish records and the obscure news journals might add still more to the valuable evidence that Mr. Whicher has unearthed from such sources regarding her birth and unfortunate marriage. A rapid scanning of the Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports reveals[1] a congratulatory letter from Mrs. Haywood to the Countess of Oxford. Though merely a flattering accompaniment to a presentation copy of her *La Belle Assemblée*, its relation to the full biographical record might have been useful. The two succeeding chapters, however, are most satisfying. The source studies and summaries of the "short romances of passion" are clear and convincing, so that one readily agrees with Mr. Whicher in attributing to their author a romantic treatment of love suggestive of Richardson's more accomplished productions. Some clear derivatives of Restoration comedy are also pointed out in the characters of Mrs. Haywood's novels

[1] *Portland MSS*, VI, 21.

from 1720 until the appearance of her "secret histories and scandal novels" of the thirties.

A chapter on the Duncan Campbell pamphlets uses the traditional statement that Defoe, William Bond, or Mrs. Haywood was responsible for them. To this weak argument are added excellent proofs of her share in the later ones. The last pages of this chapter show acuteness in drawing conclusions, and with the survey of the earlier romances they form a worthy contribution to literary history.

In the following chapters difficulty arises from an attempt to attach motives to satirical portraits of which in some cases even the authorship is in question. One needs a divining-rod to explain the inconsistencies of eighteenth-century fiction in its satirical phases, for authentic evidence of intent is usually not available. One cannot safely credit any statement in an isolated work, for a correlation with contemporary events may completely alter the evidence. Of such conclusions in Mr. Whicher's study, the most dubious is that regarding Swift's dislike of Mrs. Haywood as expressed in a letter to the Countess of Suffolk. Presumably this statement, dated October 26, 1731, was to please the King's mistress by a slur on the authoress who, four years earlier, had made the royal amours a subject of satire. Actually, however, the letter was insincere, for the Countess was not then "the friend of Swift." On June 29 of that year he had described her to Gay in her true colors—as one who had cheated them all. Moreover, at the coronation of George II in 1727 Swift lost his chief ground of interest in the Countess of Suffolk and her mistress; he knew that his hopes of favor through their agency were futile.

Similar criticism might be made upon a use of quotations from Lord Chesterfield and Lord Hervey to prove that writers "were ready to seize upon any pretext" for attacking Robert Walpole, who "had never shown himself a friend to letters." Chesterfield was an open partisan of Prince Frederick, and more politician than writer; he had no reason to seek favor with George II or his minister. Lord Hervey, it is true, had once been hostile to Walpole; but after obtaining, in 1727, a thousand-pound pension from that political overlord, he turned a facile pen to the service of the crown. To quote Hervey's statement of the Queen's comment on Walpole's private life, is of no consequence; she herself was the chief instrument of the minister's power over the King, and their feeling toward one another in 1735 was entirely friendly. The excess of satire directed at Walpole from 1721 to 1742 had no source in his presumed indifference to men of letters, nor was he heedless of criticism. Of this Mr. Whicher gives indirect suggestion in showing that after publishing in 1736 her *Adventures of Eovaai*, a satire on Walpole, Mrs. Haywood wrote nothing more for six years; then too, only once thereafter, during twenty odd years, would she permit her name to appear on a title-page.

Turning from such incomplete proofs of motive for these works of the middle period, one finds many stimulating comments upon the writings attributed to Mrs. Haywood's declining years. Appreciative, but cautious, estimates are offered of her share in the *Spectator* tradition, of her contribution to the foundling literature preceding *Tom Jones*, and of her part in forming the English domestic novel. The study closes with a concrete statement of conclusions. The author thereupon bids farewell to this daughter of Venus and sister of Minerva. Having written "the obituary of her works," if nothing more, he rests content. Toilsome research among these heaps of "perishable literature" could not dull either his sense of humor or his appreciation of literary values.

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Chaucer and His Poetry. By GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1915.

This volume consists in the main of a series of brilliant and sometimes highly ingenious interpretations of certain representative works of Chaucer. Coming from the pen of such a keen and original student of Chaucer as Professor Kittredge, whose reading and comprehension of the poet's work are illumined by a knowledge of mediaeval life and literary art almost unsurpassed, the book is naturally not a labored, documented manual, intended primarily to familiarize comparatively elementary students with a summary of preceding investigation. It is, on the contrary, a series of highly original contributions, depending, to some extent, on the researches of the author's predecessors, but interpreting many things entirely anew, and emphasizing the importance and significance of much that has hitherto been neglected or overlooked.

In chap. i, on "The Man and His Times," Professor Kittredge, under the guise of attacking and disposing of certain current misapprehensions concerning Chaucer and the fourteenth century, manages to call the attention of the general reader to much knowledge that will be new to him, or at least that has hitherto been ignored in its bearing on the activities of the poet. He properly objects to the smug characterization of the Middle Ages, and especially of the fourteenth century, as credulous and blindly submissive to authority, as slavish to the deductive method and ignorant of the inductive method. He objects to the conventionally taught theory that mediaeval writers were unrestrained by the laws and precepts of literary art, and as a result produced work lacking in proportion or plan. He holds (in conformity with his later and fuller treatment of the *Canterbury Tales*) that many of the so-called digressions of Chaucer are due to the inherently "dramatic" character of the tales, and are motivated by the character or the

purpose of the narrator or by the situation. He reinterprets the trite division of Chaucer's career into French, Italian, and English periods, pointing out that it is true that in the first period the poet was a typical French love poet writing in the English language, but that the Italian period was one of intellectual and artistic emancipation and emulation; while the English period was English not because of submission to English fashions or because of inspiration drawn from English authors, but because Chaucer was dealing with English subject-matter. Further, he points out how this pat little analysis, as generally taught, overlooks the fact that Chaucer carried with him into the later periods all the equipment and technique that he had previously acquired. Finally, he inserts a fourth period, one of transition between the French and the Italian. The chapter closes with an attempt to show what glimpses we may catch of Chaucer the man from the few authentic personal references that exist in his poems.

The structure of the remainder of the book follows the division of Chaucer's literary career into four periods. One work illustrative of each is fully discussed—the *Book of the Duchess* for the French, the *House of Fame* for the Transition, *Troilus* for the Italian, and the *Canterbury Tales* for the English. Everywhere we meet fresh interpretations, new material, revelations from hitherto unattained points of view. Again and again we find Professor Kittredge proceeding on the certainty never before so concisely and directly phrased as on p. 151: "*Chaucer always knew what he was about.*" He holds false the charge that Chaucer was guilty of bad art because of lack of control over method, intention, or material. He believes the evident *naïveté* of the *Book of the Duchess*, for example, is not Chaucer's, but that of the dreamer, a fictitious character, whom the poet has deliberately drawn as *naïf* because that suits the artistry of the plan (cf. pp. 45, 50–53).

It is in this chapter also that we find (pp. 54–68) the prettiest utilization possible of a considerable amount of work on sources by preceding students. Mere source hunters have received their share of opprobrium, but here we see their results properly appreciated by a master. The labor of a source hunter is not finished when he has indicated an indebtedness. The important point always is: How did the author use or modify the structure or the material which he borrowed? How did these affect his art? How thoroughly has he assimilated and mastered his borrowings? How intensely has he visualized and vitalized them in his own treatment? In short, how do the differences between source and writer exhibit the power of the latter? This Professor Kittredge has shown here, and in his study of the *Troilus* and elsewhere. Indeed, this is one of the most noteworthy features of the book.

By calling attention to the fact that the *Troilus* is "an elaborate psychological novel," "a tragedy of character," composed with full regard to

the system of courtly love; by interpreting the poem and the characters in the light of his comprehension of mediaeval thought, Professor Kittredge has not only clarified and enriched our understanding of the poem, but he has given us a model for the treatment of similar problems.

In his treatment of the *Canterbury Tales*, his most important contribution consists in the attention that he has given to the links and the narrators. As we should expect from the author of "Chaucer's Discussion of Marriage" (*Modern Philology*, IX, 435 ff.), his thesis is that by treating each tale as a separate literary unit, we have failed to recognize much that is pertinent and pregnant in Chaucer's literary art. The poet did not merely put the tales into the mouths of the pilgrims—on the contrary, he motivated the tales by the situations, by the interplay of personality, and by the characters of the tellers, sometimes correlating a whole group of stories through the recurring discussion of one striking theme.

In this connection, however, it might be well to call attention to the danger that lies in the frequent use of the terms "dramatic," and "drama." While the *Canterbury Tales* are "dramatic" in the looser sense of the term, they are not "drama." (Drama as a form comprises dialogue, impersonation, and action, with no narrative or description by the author save in stage directions.) Of course Professor Kittredge would be the last person in the world to think of the *Canterbury Tales* as anything but narrative, however vigorous the action, conversation, and characterization may be; but is there not some danger that a few of his less careful readers may here find a suggestion that will result in their adding to the already sufficient body of loose thinking about the mediaeval drama?

With regard to Professor Kittredge's interpretation of the Marriage Group, he has of course argued his case ingeniously and cogently, and his belief has received wide acceptance. At the same time it is only fair to observe that a certain amount of caution ought to govern the interpreter when he begins to see more than immediately meets the eye. Especially is this caution necessary when other students, applying the same methods, begin (as they have begun) to extend the group until it threatens to include practically all the tales, with almost as great a show of validity to their arguments as to those of Professor Kittredge.

There is naturally opportunity for discussion of some of the author's views. Professor Manly's judgment concerning the badly proportioned *House of Fame* and the digression in *Troilus* (*Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 76–77) should be compared with Kittredge, p. 115. There is also room for diversity of opinion as to the length and nature of the conclusion of the *House of Fame* (cf. Kittredge, p. 103, with Manly, p. 81).

It is unfortunate that Chaucer should be alluded to as a "collector" (pp. 30, 45) and an "ambassador" (p. 6). Chaucer was a controller of the customs, not a collector. His duties as controller were merely to supervise

and check the collectors (cf. Hulbert, *Chaucer's Official Life*, p. 42). Nor can such foreign errands as Chaucer went on, or the manner of his going, entitle him to rank as an ambassador. Either he was attached in a subordinate capacity to the train of some important person, or the mission was such as scarcely to call for the application of any such title (as when, for instance, he went to Genoa to negotiate for the establishment of a Genoese mercantile factory in an English port).

The imaginary "command" from John of Gaunt that Chaucer write the *Book of the Duchess* (p. 37) is also unfortunate in that, occurring in a book by so authoritative a writer as this, it is highly likely to give the impression that the suggestion is far more authoritative than it is; the "request" or "command" is of course a fanciful surmise. Chaucer may very well have written the poem entirely on his own initiative. That the connection between Chaucer and John of Gaunt was far less intimate and far less influential on the career of Chaucer than has generally been supposed, has been shown by Dr. Hulbert.

While Professor Kittredge does not discuss the chronology of Chaucer's poems, his implication is that the group of problems involved has been practically settled. Perhaps to question the conventional Chaucerian chronology may subject the questioner to a charge of undue skepticism. Nevertheless it ought to be strongly emphasized that most of the conventional chronology rests on no more than speculation and surmise. A cautious examination of all the evidence yet adduced reveals many a tenuous hypothesis, such as that Chaucer was too busy at a certain period to have finished a certain work by a certain date; such as a "feeling" that one work is "better" or more mature than another, and is therefore later; or such a questionable identification as that of the *Parliament of Fowls* as an occasional poem on Richard II's marriage (cf. Manly, *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach* [*Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, L], pp. 279–87).

While it is a sheer delight to have such a book as this unencumbered with footnotes, occasionally the author's allusiveness leaves something to be desired. For example, the reference to Sercambi's *Novelle* (p. 149) is not sufficiently definite to be explicable to a student or teacher far removed from sources of bibliographical information (Karl Young, "The Plan of the Canterbury Tales," *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 405–17).

The book's style is incomparable. It rings with the forthright positiveness of the author, and sparkles with the incisive phrases that his students know so well.

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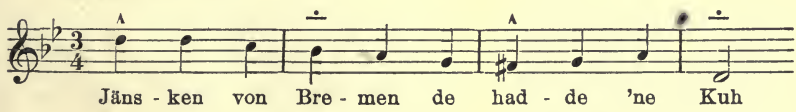
THE RHYTHMIC FORM OF THE GERMAN FOLK-SONGS.

II

THE ROW OF SCANT THREE-PART MOVEMENT

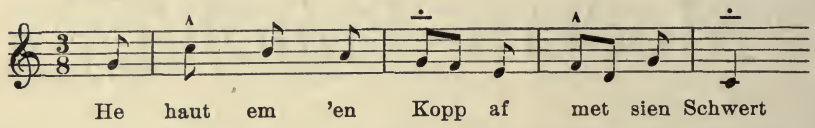
In an earlier part of this study I have attempted to analyze the two-part rows. Their nature—a fairly regular alternation of crest syllable with trough syllable in a usually two-part, sometimes three-part music time—is, I trust, clear. I indicated in the previous article[1] that there were also other types of rows in the folk-songs; that there were not only the pure, full three-part types, in which the crest syllables were separated by two trough syllables, but also types of rows which seem to be on middle ground between these two more distinct types. It will be my immediate purpose to make this kind of row clear.

Let us center our observations around concrete examples. As an example of three-part row we may use:

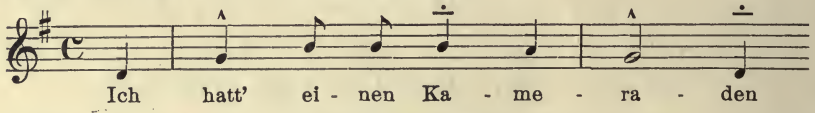
Hort No. 1164.

[1] *Modern Philology*, XIII, No. 10, p. 575.

In each of the intervals between its four crest syllables are two trough syllables. But while the classification of this example is clear, not so much can be said of the following row:

Hort No. 1758.



Here two classifications are possible. We might class it as a redundant two-part row, for it has, with but one exception, alternating feet. As such, the only distinction between it and, for instance, such a clearly two-part row as we find in Uhland's



(disregarding of course their length) would be the *music time*. Or we might look upon it as a scant three-part row, for the only distinction between it and the "Jänsken" row is the *number of its dissyllabic troughs*. This difference is, as we shall presently see, comparatively unimportant. More important, however, is the fact that it agrees with the "Jänsken" three-part row and differs from the "Ich hatt'" two-part row in *time*. And this for two reasons: (*a*) The adoption of a particular time is very probably often influenced or even determined, in the folk-songs, by the lingual exigencies of the text. That is, if dissyllabic troughs should occur at or near the beginning of the song (where time, tempo, and rhythmic and melodic motifs are established), it is very probable that they would lead to the adoption of a three-part time. Similarly would alternation lead to a two-part time. (*b*) But once adopted, be it two-part or three-part, the time becomes *per se* a factor in the conformation of the text to make it meet more completely the demands of its music-time divisions—a factor whose influence persists throughout the whole melody and of course through all the strophes. If two-part time, it tends to discourage the introduction of dissyllabic troughs and to preserve a predominatingly alternating text. If three-part time, it is potent in leading the text away from alternation through the encouragement it offers to the introduction of dissyllabic troughs.

This tendency of a three-part time to *generate* dissyllabic troughs may be proved most conveniently by examining folk-songs which have two versions, one with two-part, and the other with three-part time. Such songs occur not infrequently. Hort No. 61*d*, for instance, whose melody is in 4/4 time, shows in its 11 strophes but 17 instances of dissyllabic trough, whereas the 11 strophes of Hort No. 61*b*, which have a text almost identical with that of No. 61*d*, but which are in 6/4 time, show 23 instances of dissyllabic trough.

I used the verb "generate." It seems to me a proper one. And this leads me to digress slightly in order to state my conviction that two-part movements in song are not genetically co-ordinate with three-part ones, but that the former may be looked on rather as a previous stage in the evolution of the latter. I believe also that the manner of development has been:

one stage of which was touched upon in the preceding paragraph; and that in this development the measured three-part time in music has been the most important factor. Observing the rows under present scrutiny from this viewpoint, we might indeed term them *transition* movements. Such genetic considerations are of course out of place here where we are considering the "what" and not the "whence" of the folk-song forms. I shall therefore in the further course of this study refrain from such discussions and reserve them for a special study in the making of which I have been engaged for some time and which I hope to publish in the near future. That work will have as its sole purpose the tracing of the *evolution* of the rhythmic forms in sung poetry.

But to resume. The foregoing considerations may indicate why we prefer to designate such a row as "He haut," etc., as at least a nascent *three-part* one. And to put our conclusions as to classification into the form of a tentative definition, we may say: if a row at the beginning of a song (most of our examples are such) shows at least one dissyllabic trough, and if the melody shows a three-part time, then it should be classed as a *three-part* row. If it shows one to three such troughs and if the average number of them in the song

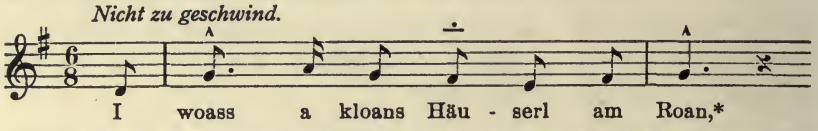
in which such row occurs lies *below three* (it is usually even below two) to the row, it should be classed as a *scant* three-part row.

As to how the character of the movement changes or evolves further when three such dissyllabic troughs per row are of regular occurrence, that is, when the rows become "full" and then "redundant," I refer to my discussions on pp. 71 and 79 below.

BEGINNING WITH UPBEAT

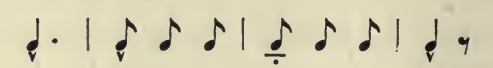
No. 1. The shortest row of this type is of three crests like the following:

Hort No. 898. (Compare two-part row No. 1.)

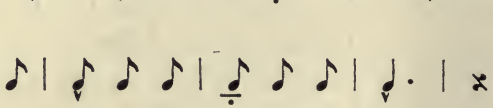


*** Inasmuch as the rhythm of these three-part rows departs farther and farther from the fundamental orchestic type-meters, as we saw them in the preceding chapter, and assumes a comparatively modern music-metric aspect, I shall cease to place beneath these text citations the symbols of quantitative meter. I trust that the music notation will furnish the student with all necessary data as to quantity and stress.**

The shortness of this row, three orchestic crests and their intervening troughs, is its detriment. The orchestic row pause is too long. It is interesting to see what the singers have done in certain instances to obviate such a long wait. In Hort Nos. 629, 898, and 1425, the fourth crest is represented in the melody simply by a rest. In Hort No. 628 the third crest syllable is held over into the time of the fourth . In Hort No. 1752 the upbeat of the second row (as also, through analogy, that of the first row) is lengthened to cover the time of three eighth notes and its weight is thereby increased to that of a crest, so that we have:



instead of

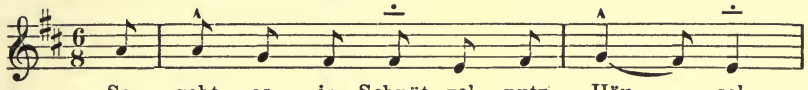


In Hort No. 1493 the pause measure is cut entirely out of the melody, the length of the melodic row becoming thereby three measures instead of four—a rare form.

While this type of row occurs rarely as the *first* of a chain—the examples cited above are all I have found—it is nevertheless met with somewhat oftener as the *second.*[1]

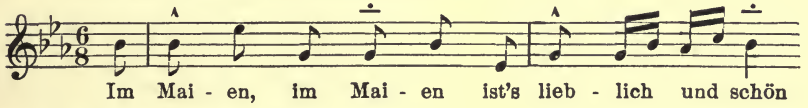
No. 2. The next longer row is one which appends a single syllable to the form of the foregoing row, which syllable is used as the fourth crest.

Hort No. 1098. (Compare two-part row No. 2.)



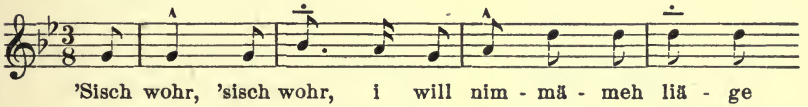
One example, Hort No. 1551, treats the last syllable not as a crest but as a trough, as in our American song, "My Bonnie Lies over the Ocean."[2]

No. 3. Now we come to a row with the four crests represented and with each of the intervening troughs represented by one or two syllables—rarely two all the way through the row.

Hort No. 394. (Compare two-part row No. 3.)

It is by far the most used of any of the scant three-part rows. But that is not saying much, for we will remember that songs of this movement are quite rare as compared with those of two-part movement.[3]

The longest scant upbeat row, one appending a trough syllable to the row-length which we have just considered, is like the following:

Hort No. 1107.



It is very rare. I have found it only in Hort Nos. 1747, 1167, 1169, and 1614.

[1] Examples are Hort Nos. 354, 408*a*, 1362, 1371, 1404, 1551, 1759, 2069, etc.

[2] Further examples are Hort Nos. 353*b*, 354, 408*a*, 714*a*, 1321, 1362, 1371, 1404, 2068, and 2087.

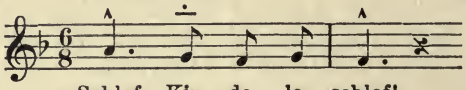
[3] Examples are Hort Nos. 135, 338, 501, 584*a*, 589, 833, 944, 947, 995, 1071, 1186, 1194, 1196, 1199, 1503, 1525, 1526, 1528, 1540, 1550, 1595, 1604, 1742, 1759, 1859, 1899, 1903, 1939, 1944, 1957, 1959, etc.

BEGINNING WITH DOWNBEAT

These are still rarer than the upbeat rows.

No. 4. The shortest type, three crests and the intervening troughs being represented in the text, is illustrated by the following:

Hort No. 1807.

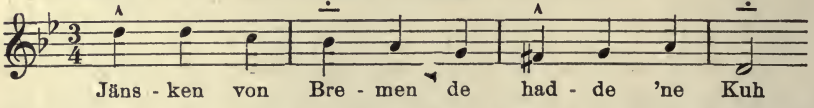


Compare this three-crest row with No. 4 of the two-part rows, its nearest relative. I have found but one other example of just this row in Hort, namely, No. 575.

No. 5 of the two-part rows has no counterpart among these scant three-part rows. This is probably due to the necessity which would arise in the comparative three-part row, of drawing out unusually long the *klingenden Reim* of the two-part. That is, the last two syllables of the row would be unduly far apart in the row

No. 6. The next longer type.

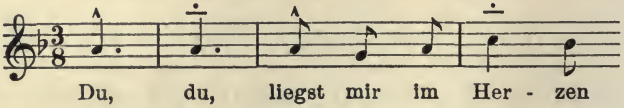
Hort No. 1164. (Compare two-part row No. 6.)



The few other examples are Hort Nos. 1002, 1651, 1664, 1813, and 1936.

No. 7. The next longer type.

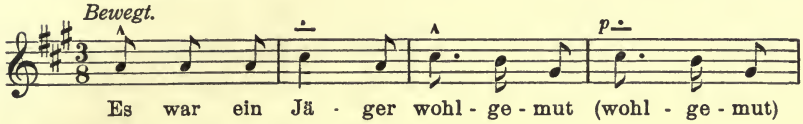
Hort No. 578. (Compare two-part row No. 7.)



Another example is in Hort No. 1664. It is noteworthy that the movement of such a popular song as "Du, du," stands almost alone in the folk-song.

No. 8. The longest of the downbeat rows follows:

Hort No. 1455.



Other examples of it are in Hort Nos. 980*a* and 1942.

THE ROW OF FULL THREE-PART MOVEMENT

We saw in the foregoing chapter that the scant rows showed a considerable variation in their dissyllabic trough occurrence from row to row and from strophe to strophe. We saw also that the number of such troughs ranged from one (or even none) to three to the row, sometimes in one and the same song, and that the average occurrence was somewhat *below* three (usually below two, even) to the row.

Now we come to the consideration of songs in which the three-part group is the *rule*—where the three-part measures of the music time are, excepting at the pauses between the larger rhythmic groups, provided with three syllables in the text.

It must be evident that, for the proper singing of such a movement, more time must be given to each measure than was given to the two-part measures or even to those three-part measures whose text was in the main alternating—that is, the scant three-part movements. In other words, the tempo must be slowed down.

Now this retarding of the pace brings with it a radical change in the rhythmical aspect of the song, a change which may be analyzed as follows:

a) *The pause at the middle* of this longer and slower series—that which was in the alternating rows a bond pause—*tends to deepen and become equivalent to a row pause.* And *the pause at the end*—a row pause in the alternating movements—*tends to deepen into* the equivalent of *a chain pause.*

b) There is a tendency toward evening out the difference in heft between the successive crests. That is to say, *the primary and secondary crests,* being removed farther from each other, *tend to become more nearly alike* in a heft which approaches the primary degree.

c) Certain of the trough syllables tend, since they now have plenty of room, to take on a greater rhythmical importance, and thus *new secondary accents develop.*

From these three observations the truth is probably evident to the student that a succession of four measures of this kind of a movement, ♩ | ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ (♩), has outgrown its function as a row and should be looked on as the next larger unit in rhythmic grouping, the *chain.* And since it is our present purpose to analyze not chains but rows, it will be proper to confine our attention to the group that is represented by one-half the foregoing series, namely, a series of six (respectively, five) elements, and to look upon this as the row of full three-part movement.

CREST SEQUENCE

In such a series, in its usual aspects, there are, it will be remembered, two primary accents the position of which is firmly fixed at the beginning of each music measure. Note the environment of these primary crests. Both before and after each of them is an element of *lesser* heft, so that the row may be looked on as, in the main, a succession of such groups as ♩ | ♩ ♩. But we saw above that one of these lesser accented elements tended to take on an added importance in the rhythm, a secondary accent. That being the case, we should naturally have, in the placing of such secondary accents, but two possibilities—before or after the primary accent, leading to the rhythmic structures ♩ | ♩ ♩ or ♩ | ♩ ♩. So our immediate problem is to determine whether one or both of these possible forms are found as types in the songs having full three-part movement.

It may be objected that their occurrence might, through the influence of an ever-changing text, vary from row to row in one and the same song and thus prevent the establishment of types. To this objection I would answer that, while such variations must occur in some measure, their presence will be restricted greatly by the tendency of folk-songs to establish their rhythmic motifs at the beginning and to hold to them with remarkable fidelity throughout the song. This would lead us to expect types in crest succession and indeed, in this case, not more than two of them.

The process of determining the types would naturally be to observe whether the heft of the syllable which precedes each primary accent is greater, or less, than that of the syllable which follows it. The comparatively heavier syllable must be looked on as the secondary accent. If the accents of each row in a number of strophes of a song be thus established, and if the number of accents found in each position in this large number of rows be summed up, we should have, in the ratio of the sums, a very clear graph, it would seem, of the prevailing type of crest sequence.

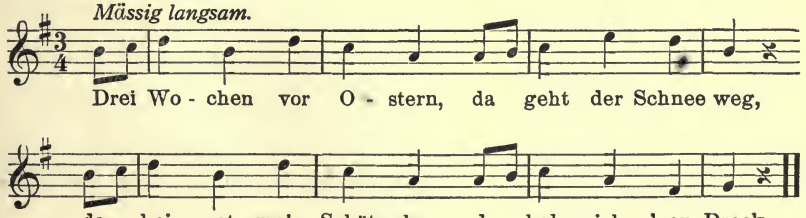
As a standard for use in this process of determining comparative syllabic heft, we can do no better than to use Saran's clear exposition of the subject of pure syllabic heft.[1] He has analyzed the different degrees of heft so thoroughly that I have used his analysis unconditionally. I shall give here, however, simply a résumé of his categories and refer the reader for details to his excellent work.

Saran finds in general that *heft*, caused largely by *thought-importance*, is likely to be attached to certain categories of words or syllables, and *lightness*, caused by *thought-unimportance*, to others. Under his four degrees of *heavy syllables* he includes, in various environments and thought-phases: (1) nouns (monosyllabic, and the most heavily accented syllables of polysyllabic and compound nouns); (2) attributive and predicate adjectives; (3) prepositions; (4) subordinating conjunctions; (5) root syllables of verbs (finite and non-finite); (6) adverbs; (7) pronouns (interrogatory, demonstrative, and, more rarely, personal). Under the three degrees of *light syllables* he includes proclitics and enclitics in general, that is: (1) articles; (2) unimportant prepositions; (3) particles (conjunctions, etc.); (4) personal pronouns; (5) possessive adjectives; (6) auxiliaries; (7) most suffixes.

Let us try this method on an upbeat song.

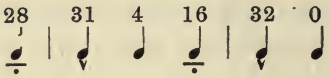
Hort No. 1056.

Mässig langsam.



[1] "Die reine Silbenschwere," *Deutsche Verslehre*, pp. 49 ff., and *Nachtrag*, pp. 242 ff.

By applying the test as to heft of syllables, I find that, taking into consideration the first eight strophes, 32 rows, the comparatively heavy syllables are distributed in the rows as follows:

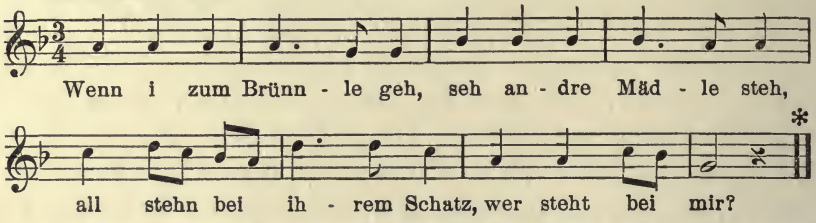


This distribution points unmistakably to the prevalence of type of accent sequence for this song. Let us call this type A.

According to this same method I have analyzed sixteen rows each of three other songs, Hort Nos. 508, 623, and 634, and I find them all to be of this type. The uniformity of these results makes further examination of this upbeat type seem superfluous.[1]

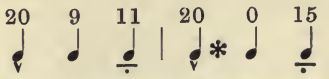
It may seem that the downbeat songs, which have a primary accent at the beginning and in which therefore the type A of crest succession is at this point impossible, would tend to assume another type of succession. Let us examine a song of that sort:

Hort No. 704.



* The further course of the melody uses simply repetitions of the text which is complete in the part cited above.

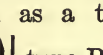
An analysis of the comparative syllabic heft in 20 rows (5 strophes) of this song shows:



* Five rows, one at the end of each strophe, close with the downbeat of the second measure.

A comparison will make clear that the rhythm indicated by these figures is different from that of the upbeat rows. The general tendency for the secondary to precede the primary accent seems to remain.

[1] Further examples are Hort Nos. 605, 636, 648, 654, 685*a*, 723, 724, 737, 1015, 1040, 1041, 1048, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1145, 1417, 1429, 1614, 1793, 1946, 1947, 2030, 2034, 2062, 2078, and 2083.

But this tendency toward type A is decidedly weakened in the first half of the row. For we find that in nine rows (out of twenty) the syllable *following* the first primary crest bears the secondary accent, and that this secondary accent is followed, in those same nine rows, by a syllable whose heft is even less and which should therefore be considered as a trough syllable. (We shall call this sequence  type B.) There seems to be, therefore, in the first part of the rows of this song, a sort of rhythmic confusion—one which clarifies in the latter part. The main cause of this confusion is undoubtedly the lack of initial upbeat, a cause which is removed in the second measure since this measure may use the last beat (the upbeat) of the preceding measure as a part of its own rhythmic group, a bond (cf. p. 76, below).

I have analyzed also Hort Nos. 611, 633, 824, 973*a*, and 1013, and have found practically the same accent conditions to obtain in them as in the foregoing song.

We may say then that in these full three-part songs type A of crest sequence is predominant, and that type B is found to a considerable extent only in the first part of the downbeat rows.

Just a word as to the over-all length of these rows. The upbeat rows have but two lengths: that of "Drei Wochen vor Ostern" and that of the row which follows it in the strophe, "da geht der Schnee weg." The latter is identical with the former excepting that it is one syllable shorter, an alteration which gives us a masculine rhyme syllable and thus, in such pairs of rows, alternating rhyme gender. The downbeat rows have four lengths:

Wenn ich zum Brünnle geh (Hort No. 704)

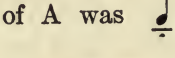
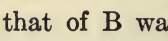
In diesem Rei-hen (klingender Reim) (Hort No. 973*a*)

Ein Küsschen geben (Hort No. 973*c*)

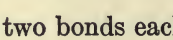
Wer steht bei mir? (Hort No. 704)

POSITION OF PAUSES

But even though we have determined the accent sequence in the rows of the preceding songs and similar ones, we have not yet ascertained the position of their pauses. That is why we have been

careful not to call the groups which were under scrutiny "bonds." We had not yet determined the exact boundaries of the groups which had as typical centroids and , that is, whether the rhythmic form of A was  or simply ; nor whether that of B was  or simply . Let us now observe a series of upbeat rows and see where the pause falls.

Hort No. 654.	Hier sitz ich	auf Rasen
737.	Einst lebt ich	so glücklich
1053.	Dort drunten	im Tale
1145.	Herr Bruder	zur Rechten
1429.	Die Reise	nach Jütland
1614.	Frisch, lustig	und fröhlich
2030.	Es sungen	drei Engel
2034.	Im Himmel,	im Himmel

The pause in this kind of row seems to be exactly in the middle, dividing it into two bonds each of which has the form  .

Let us observe the pauses in a few downbeat rows.

Hort No. 633.	Mädchen	geh du nur heim
836.	Hansel	dein Gretelein
1020.	Guguk	im Häfele
1460.	Früh, früh,	des Morgens früh
1461.	Drüben	im Odenwald
2104.	Johann	von Nepomuk

In these rows the bond pause seems to remain stationary between the second and third syllables, that is, in the same music-metric position as in the upbeat rows; and this in spite of the shift in the row boundaries. Thus the row is divided into two very dissimilar bonds. Instances like the following are comparatively rare where the music measure coincides with the rhythmic bond.

Hort No. 1016.	Rosestock	Holderblüt
2082.	Wunderschön	prächtige

SOME REASONS FOR ITS POPULARITY

Before leaving the discussion of these full three-part rows I wish to call attention to a few unique features of their text aspect, features which may have had something to do with the popularity of the movement.

We have already seen that the upbeat row has usually a bond pause after its third syllable. This pause is usually quite pronounced, and it has the effect of making the two bonds *trisyllabic* and *distinct* from each other. The row becomes *bundmässig*.[1] The effect of this distinct separation of the two neat little groups is *a deepening of the dual nature of the row*, not only in its phrasing (that is, in the choice of the *words themselves*, which leads to the figure of rhythmical "parallelism"), but also in its *thought-aspect*. That is, we run constantly across not only such expressions as "In Ungarn, im Polen," "Frisch, lustig und fröhlich," and "Dort drunten im Tale," where one and the same idea is differently stated in two successive groups, but also such expressions as "Mein Schatz is e Reiter," where the duality of predication is decidedly enhanced. That is to say, we have in that row, through the separation and co-ordination of the two bonds, an increased duality of idea. We "attend" to an idea of somewhat the following form: "Ich habe einen Schatz und er ist ein Reiter."[2]

Parallelism in word and thought is widely used in the folk-songs. Hence the acceptability of a movement like this which fosters the figure in such a concrete way.

A second notable characteristic of this full row, in both its upbeat and downbeat varieties, is the comparative freedom from music-metric restrictions which the text enjoys. Only the two primary accents are unalterably fixed. The other four syllables are to a great extent free, and may be used, as we have seen, either as troughs or as (slightly more important) secondary crests. This, and the easy shifting of the bond pause combine not only to make the following lingual groups possible, but also to give them a most fitting music-rhythmic setting.

[1] Cf. *Modern Philology*, XIII, No. 10, p. 574.

[2] Cf. Saran, *Deutsche Verslehre*, p. 50.

Kúh (Hort No. 1056)
Die Stérn' (Hort No. 1056)
Am Rhéin (Hort No. 1048)
Früh, frùh (Hort No. 1460)
Drèi Wóchen (Hort No. 1056)
Ich háb schòn (Hort No. 634)
Des Mórgens frùh (Hort No. 1460)
Dèin Gretelèin (Hort No. 836)
Ein schwárzbraùnes (Hort No. 1417)

In connection with these examples of bond forms it should be noted also that most of them have the well-liked characteristic of beginning with a syllable of comparatively light heft, an upbeat, and that while the most usual of the forms close also with such a comparatively light syllable ("feminine ending"), still the "masculine" form of ending, which is never absent from the spoken language, is not precluded.

Again, a row which begins and ends, as the downbeat one does, with comparatively heavy syllables is just the form for *dependent clauses* which begin with *dass*, *wenn*, etc., and end with a finite verb. For both these parts of speech bear in such a construction rather heavy accents. They are both important to the idea. And the heft of the finite verb is still further increased by its transposition to the end.[1]

Thus we find:

Hort No.	512*a*.	Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär (and 12 other instances)
	611.	Wenn ich noch ledig wär
	704.	Wenn i zum Brunnle geh (and 3 other instances)
	973*a*.	Wenn mich das Glück betrifft (and 1 other instance)
	1013.	Wenn er kei Säbel hätt
	824.	Dat du myn Schätsken bist (and 2 other instances)

So we see from these examples that while this row, by reason of its absence of upbeat, is not a widely used form, still it serves a very definite purpose as a mold into which fit very conveniently some very familiar syntactical combinations.

[1] Cf. Saran, *Deutsche Verslehre*, pp. 90, 98.

But there is still another advantage resulting from the accent conditions in this row. If we disregard for the moment all degrees of heft but the degree which is represented by the two primary crests (downbeats) in each row, then we may call this a row of *two crest syllables* and *four trough syllables*, or, the ratio of the number of crests to that of the trough is 1:2.

This ratio is practically the same as for German spoken prose. Professor Marbe[1] has determined that in prose the ratio of *Hebung* to *Senkung*, when one takes into consideration but one degree of heft—the primary—is approximately 1:2. Hence it would seem very probable that these three-part movements are in greater harmony with the exigencies of the free spoken language than are either the two-part movements, with their demands for a ratio of 1:3 (considering only primary crests), or their near relatives, the scant three-part movements.

Type A is the rhythmic basis of the old German *Dreher* or *Drehtanz*, which is the ancestor of the faster modern *Walzer*. This may be one reason for its predominance in the folk-songs. Type B corresponds to no dance which is indigenous to Germany. It is, however, the basic rhythm of the exotic *Polonaise*.

THE ROW OF REDUNDANT THREE-PART MOVEMENT

I have classed as redundant those rows which are like the full ones, excepting that there are more text syllables. The increase in number of syllables has to be provided for in the melody, naturally, by a division of notes. A quarter note (usually) is divided into two eighth notes, each of which receives a syllable. If it were provided for otherwise—for instance, by adding extra syllables at the end of the row—we should have a group that would be orchestically impossible. The *orchestic* length of these redundant rows is the same as that of the full ones (cf. p. 75, above). The increase varies. From one to four syllables may be added to the six—the number which the full rows have—making these redundant rows seven to ten syllables long. And this characteristic—the number of syllables—is a convenient one according to which we may subclass the rows. The

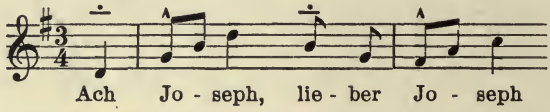
[1] Karl Marbe, *Über den Rhythmus in der Prosa* (Giessen, 1904), pp. 7 ff.

presence or absence of upbeat will, however, now as heretofore, divide all these redundant rows into two main divisions. First we shall consider the rows with upbeat.

BEGINNING WITH UPBEAT

The least redundant of these rows has seven syllables. Here is an example:

Hort No. 56*b*.



In this row the division of notes is, as we see, on the upbeat of the second measure. This seems to add somewhat to the weight which this upbeat had with its *one* syllable in the full rows. This additional weight is shown also clearly in the text. Compare, for instance, the average weight of the syllables in the fourth column of the rows listed below, with the analogous syllables down through the rows on p. 76, above.

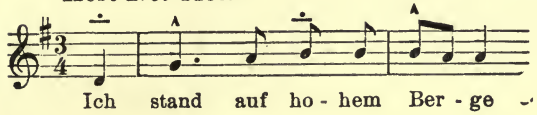
Aside from this, I find no characteristics in these rows which do not appear also in the upbeat full rows discussed above.

In order to show the kinds of rhythmic groups which occur in the texts, I shall reproduce here the first row of several songs in Hort which illustrate this type of row.

	1 2 3	4 5 6 7
Hort No. 57*e*.	Es wohn-te	ei-ne Witt-we
194*b*.	Es rit-ten	zwei Herz-lieb-chen
507.	Kein Feu-er	kei-ne Koh-le
656.	Afm Was-sa	bin i gfoahr'n, (hab —)
869*a* (1).	Ach Herz-chen	schön-stes Schätz-chen
999.	Da dro-ben	auf dem Ber-ge
1039.	Auf ei-nem	Fu-sse zwei-mal
1386.	Bei Se-dan	auf den Hö-hen
1561.	Es blies sich	von der Lin-ne
1624.	Mein Va-ter	ist ein Schnei-der
2123.	Re-gi-ne	ging in Gar-te

A not uncommon displacement of the bond pause from its usual position, as shown in the above examples, is illustrated by the following row:

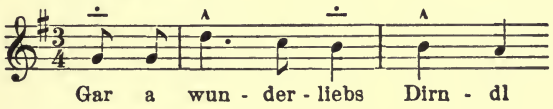
Hort No. 115*b*.



In this variety the first heavy crest is made still heavier by the holding out of the crest syllable to one-half again its original length, and this at the expense of the following syllable. Otherwise the variety is regular. Further examples are:

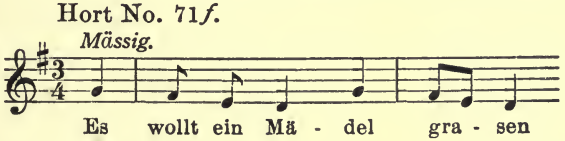
Hort No. 89*d* (2d mel.). Ich stand auf ho-hen Ber-gen
604. I woass a schö-ni Glock-'n

A row of the same numbers of syllables as the preceding type, though the redundance is at the beginning of the row instead of at the beginning of the second bond, is the following:

Hort No. 603.

Further examples of this dissyllabic upbeat row are:

Hort No. 646. Drauss ist al-les so präch-tig
1019. Ro-te Bäck-le, blau Äug-le
1051. Kimmt a Vo-gerl ge-flo-gen
1052. Und die Würz-bur- ger Glöck-li

Another form of row with seven syllables is exemplified by

Hort No. 71*f*.

It will be noted from this example that we have now to do with a form of row which differs radically, in the placing of its crests, from the preceding redundant types. Heretofore we have had the form (composed of two bonds of the type A; cf. p. 74, above) as a basis. Now we have

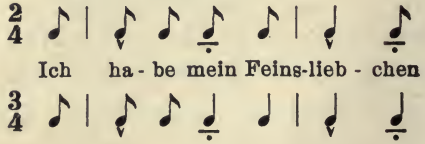
(composed of bonds of the type B) which appears in the type immediately under scrutiny, as . That is, we have instead of a crest succession *light, heavy, light, heavy,* one which is *heavy, light, heavy, light.*

Let us make this clear by examining each syllable.

The first and third syllables, as we see in the above example, are unquestionably troughs. The fifth syllable also, in spite of its melodic length, is forced into a *comparatively* light position by reason of the decidedly *more* important syllables on both sides of it. Hence we have three troughs represented in this row. The crests on the second, fourth, sixth, and seventh syllables (the last, through analogy with the corresponding syllable of the first bond) are perfectly clear and regular.

As a result of this distribution of crests and troughs we have, in spite of the three-part orchestic foundation, really an alternating text row which is practically identical with the *two-part* row discussed in the previous article.[1] One might therefore ask the question: If this is so nearly identical with that two-part row, why treat it as a distinct type just because it happens to have a three-part time in the melody? In answering, I would say simply that the difference between the two types extends beyond the matter of melodic time. For this melodic time itself has an appreciable effect also on the *text.* In this three-part row, as in all the other full and redundant ones, there is greater deliberation and greater variety in the matter of syllabic time and hence in syllabic stress than in the alternating two-part rows. That such deliberation and variety are sometimes very opportune may be illustrated by taking a text row and giving it both possible music-metric settings.

Hort No. 536.



[1] *Modern Philology,* XIII, No. 10, p. 577.

Note, for instance, in the above how the somewhat distorted music-metric *mein Feins-* (⏜ ⎯) in the 2/4 time becomes, in the 3/4 time, almost *mein Feins-*, the syllables assuming more nearly their normal spoken status as to heft.

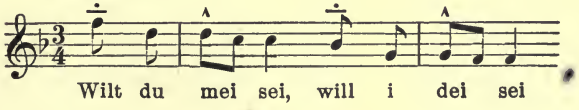
I think we may say, then, that while the two-part time might be better for some text rows, still the three-part time would certainly be preferable for others of the same "meter."

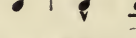
A perusal of the examples below will disclose the fact that the bond pause is radically weakened in this row. It is more than likely that the melody causes this. For the deep bond pause results usually from some form of melodic pairing or parallelizing, within the row, of two *very similar* parts (bonds). But here we have a melodic division in which the time aspects of the two bonds *differ*. This circumstance seems to work effectively against that pairing tendency, that "dualism" in the text which we have seen to be such an important characteristic of other rows (cf. pp. 76, above; also below, pp. 84).

Further examples of this type are:

Hort No.	70*c*.	Es	wá	-ren	zwei	Ge	-spie	-len
	71*f*.	Es	wollt	ein	Mä	-del	gra	-sen
	98*b*.	Es	war	ein	stol	-ze	Jü	-din
	1332.	Ihr	lu	-sti	-gen	Sol	-da	-ten
	1571.	Es	war	ein-	mal	ein	Bau	-er
	1732*a*.	Wo	bist	du	denn	ge	-we	-sen
	1735.	Ich	bin	der	Fürst	von	To	-ren
	2154.	Es	ging	ein	Jung	-frau	zar	-te

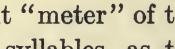
When *both* bonds have the dissyllabic beginning trough, we have an *eight-syllable* row—one which is quite often used in the folk-songs. An example is:

Hort No. 539.

In giving to songs like the above an accent sequence of type A (cf. also the full three-part rows, p. 74, above) I am interpreting

their rhythm differently from Saran, since he considers the bond form to be  and calls it "eine ganz typische Form."[1] I think that must have been a lapse on his part; for when one applies, as I have, Saran's own means of determining comparative heft of syllables, it becomes very clear that in such rows the *first* is heavier than the *fourth* syllable, and the *fifth* than the *eighth*. Note the syllables concerned in the foregoing example and in the rows cited on p. 86, below. I do not wish to deny that the other form which Saran suggests ever occurs. But I am confident that its occurrence is never more than sporadic in the folk-songs of *this* type of row.

If other proof of the correctness of my interpretation were needed, I might point to what Böhme says: "Muss nämlich des Textes wegen eine grössere Note in zwei kleinere zerlegt werden, so geschieht es im Volksgesange stets auf der schweren Note."[2]

This, again, is a music-metric form which is very suitable to text rows having a well-marked bond pause in the middle. That this is true can be seen from the foregoing example and from practically all those in the list on p. 86, below. The cause of this "pairing" is undoubtedly to be found in the melody which consists of two distinct parts which are, in their time divisions or note-length distribution, similar.

The text "meter" of this row is the same, in general type and in number of syllables, as that of the *two-part* row discussed in the previous article,[3] namely,  , which we found to be a type only recently introduced into the folk-songs, and one which shows, in its perfect alternation and lack of upbeat, unmistakable signs of the influence of spoken poetry from individual "art" sources. If this is true, and if this two-part row is, by reason of its spoken-metric alternation and lack of upbeat, a monotonous, undesirable form in a folk-song, then we have in this three-part music-metric setting of the same text row a relief from both those evils. For in this form the row not only receives an upbeat, but it also gains variety in the melodic length of its syllables and deliberation in

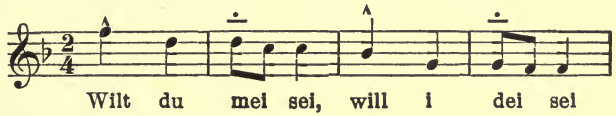
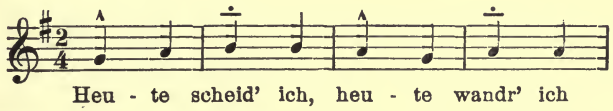
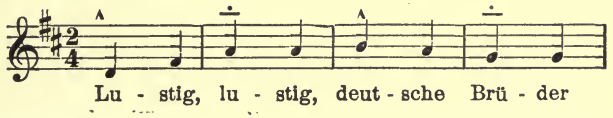
[1] *Deutsche Verslehre*, pp. 170, 186.

[2] Franz M. Böhme, *Deutsches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel*, p. lvi.

[3] *Modern Philology*, XIII, No. 10, p. 580.

singing—those characteristics which, as we have seen, are so necessary in good songs.

This relief, owing to the three-part melody, can be felt distinctly if one takes almost any of the two-part songs, referred to in the preceding paragraph, and re-forms the melody into 3/4 time. A still better opportunity of judging of the comparative "singing qualities" of the two movements in question is offered by Hort Nos. 568, 619, and 782*a*, each of which happens to have two melodies, one in the two-part and one in the three-part form.

But I am quite confident that even though it would be a distinct detriment to the example on p. 83, above, to sing it

or Hort No. 1376 as

still there must be some use for the two-part melodic setting of this row. Possibly in songs of a less sentimental nature, it does not seem so out of place—for instance, in the soldiers' song, Hort No. 1611, which, in being re-formed into a two-part melody, becomes

Incidentally, it occurs to me that we have here eloquent testimony to the selective propensities of the masses, the "folk," and to the nature of their selections. To be more definite: Modern *individuals* have produced this text row. Two melodic possibilities in its setting have presented themselves, the two-part and the three-part. The "folk" has adopted in most instances the more singable one, the three-part setting. I have reached this conclusion after having examined carefully the three-part songs whose first rows I have cited below, and found almost all of them to be true folk-songs; and after

having compared them with the two-part songs in the list mentioned above, the larger part of which (like, for instance, Hort Nos. 645, 661, 681, 727, 862, 1388, 1451, 1589, 1591, 1695, 1696, and 1766) have a decidedly individual, "non-folk" cast.

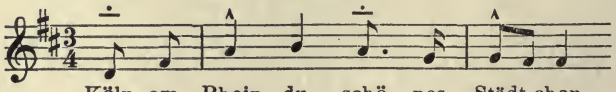
Further examples are:

Hort No. 112*a*. In des Gar-tens dun-kler Lau-be
190*a*. Kind, wo bist du hin ge-we-sen
220. Hört, ihr Chri-sten, mit Ver-lan-gen
637*a*. Her-zigs Scha-tzerl, lass dich her-zen
660. O wie wohl ists je-dem Men-schen
699*a*. Willst du mich denn nicht mehr lie-ben
779. Wie die Blüm-lein drau-ssen zit-tern
782*a* (2). War-um bist du denn so trau-rig
792*a*. Hilf, o Him-mel, ich muss schei-den
1376. Heu-te scheid ich heu-te wandr' ich
1427. An der Weich-sel ge-gen O-sten
1468. Jetz-und nehm ich mei-ne Büch-se
1623. Mei-ne Schu-he sind zer-ris-sen
1732*b*. Jung-fer Lies-chen schlief da dro-ben
1781. Al-les, was in Lüf-ten schwe-bet
1882. Jam-mer, Jam-mer ü-ber Jam-mer
1902. Knie dich nie-der mei-ne Ro-sa
2016. Wo ist Je-sus mein Ver-lan-gen

Hort No. 719, "Ach wie bald, ach wie bald," is a unique variation of the above.

Another place where a bond pause is found (though not so often) is after the third syllable, as in

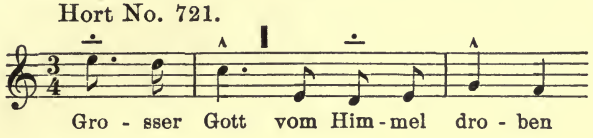
Hort No. 1600. (1st Mel.)



Other examples are:

Hort No. 657. Und du glaubst, du wärst die schön-ste
720. Schwar-zer Band, du musst ver-ge-hen
890*b*. Willst du denn mein Söhn-chen ha-ben
1382. Le-bet wohl, ihr Lie-ben al-le
1465. Griass di Gott, main lia-bi Rö-sl
1605. Habt ihr lust, ihr lie-ben Brü-der

In most instances where the bond pause falls clearly after the third syllable, the melody also assumes, by lengthening its third note, an appropriate form. An example is:

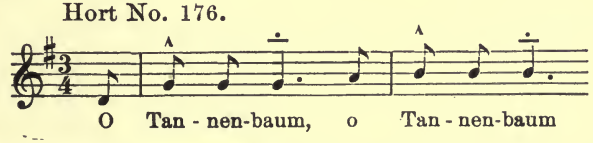
Hort No. 721.

Other examples of such note lengthening are:

Hort No. 731*a*. Auf dem See da schwimmt ein Schwa-nen
1099. Glaubt mir's doch, ihr lie-ben Her-zen
1599. O Ber-lin, ich muss dich las-sen
1600 (2). El-ber-feld, du schö-nes Städt-chen

The two following rows, in which the melody pause and text pause do not coincide, simply show that we do not always have perfect synthesis of text and melody, even in the folk-songs.

Hort No. 722*b*. Ach in trau-ern muss ich le-ben
783. Ich muss rei-sen frem-de Stra-ssen

Another much-used three-part row of the "paired" type is the following:

Hort No. 176.

Its crest sequence is regularly *heavy, light, heavy, light.* The trough syllables (the first, third, fifth, and seventh in the row) alternate with these crests, making a row which is similar in text "meter" to the two-part row discussed in the previous article.[1] But this "Tannenbaum" row has just that same advantage over its two-part cognate which we spoke of on p. 82, above, namely, that of being less mechanically regular, of giving, in its necessarily slower tempo, more room for variation in the melodic time values, and hence in the heft also, of its syllables.

I wish to call attention to Hort Nos. 1372 and 1625 (in the list below) which have melodies that are offshoots of the well-known

[1] *Modern Philology*, XIII, No. 10, p. 577.

"Gaudeamus" melody. Notice that these melodies have here the upbeat, a characteristic which, it will be remembered, is absent in "Gaudeamus." More will be said in regard to this point on p. 92, below.

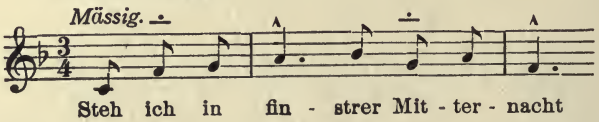
Of this type I have found the following:

Hort No. 18*a*. We-le gross Wun-der schau-en will
41*k*. Heer Hal-wyn zong een lie-de-kyn
50*a*. Es war'n ein-mal zwei Bau-ern-söhn'
52*a*. Es ging einst ein ver-lieb-tes Paar
61*c*. Es steht ein Schloss in Ö-ster-reich
61*f*. Ein rei-cher Herr ge-rit-ten kam
73*a*. Ein Di-arndl geht um Holz in Wald
119*c*. Es hatt ein Bau'r ein Töch-ter-lein
164*a*. Ein Kä-fer auf dem Zau-ne sass

and Nos. 171*b*, 173*e*, 174*c*, 185*a*, 200, 561, 572*b*, 615, 813*a*, 816*a*, 1158, 1372, 1625, 1953, 2114, 2127, and 2174.

Another form of row which has, like the preceding one, eight syllables, but which differs from it radically in its melodic aspect, is the following:

Hort No. 1426.



This row has three prominent features: (1) a trisyllabic upbeat (if we may still call it by that name), (2) a deep bond pause immediately after its first primary accent, and (3) the crest sequence light, heavy, light, heavy. The first of these features, the trisyllabic upbeat, is unique but as such not an important one. The other two characteristics demand our consideration.

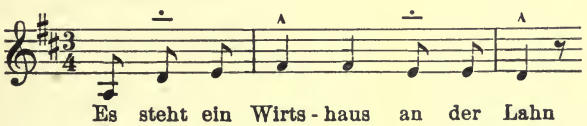
The cutting in of the deep bond and row pauses right after the primary crests, which have, by reason of their exceptionally long melodic time, become unduly heavy, causes us difficulty in the text. For it means that each text row *should* have here, right before these deepest pauses, the *two most important* syllables in the row; that these two syllables should be in the form of *monosyllabic* words (since it would be a lingual-gymnastic feat to bridge over the deep pause

with a word one syllable of which was on either side; and since polysyllabic words, in which the here necessary primarily accented syllable comes *last*, are not easy to find in the German language); and that they should be the *last syllables in a distinct lingual-rhythmic group* (bond). Let us see a series of such rows and observe to what extent the text comes up to the music-rhythmic requirements in this regard.

Hort No. 41*h*.	Als Schon-dilg noch	ein klein Kind war
93*c*.	Es war ein-mal	ein jun-ger Knab
110*c* (3).	Es spielt ein Graf	mit ei-ner Magd
215*a*.	In der Stadt Ha-	ge-nan ge-nannt
516.	Ich hab ein klei-	nes Hütt-chen nur
766*a*.	Ich kann und mag	nicht fröh-lich sein
997.	Ach wenn doch im-	mer Kir-mes wär
1426.	Steh ich in fin-	strer Mit-ter-nacht
2014 (4).	Kompt her zu mir,	spricht Got-tes Sohn

It can hardly fail to be noticed that in these examples the melody bond pause does not, in most instances, coincide with an equally deep one in the text. In the third example we have a really ideal coincidence. *Graf* and *Magd* are of primary importance, monosyllabic, and the last syllables in distinct bonds which are separated by a deep pause. But all the other examples fall short, in some particular or other, of perfect coincidence.

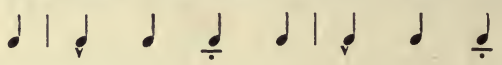
A less abnormal variation of the preceding type is exemplified by the following:

Hort No. 858.

Here we have the first bond as ♪ ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♩ instead of the ♪ ♩ ♪ | ♩ · of the preceding row. This alternation relieves the binding *necessity* of having the bond pause occur after what is, in its spoken rhythm, ⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑ , by *allowing* it to occur in a more

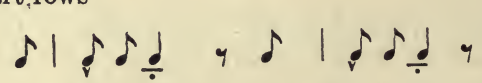
nearly normal position one syllable later. A few examples are the following:

Hort No.	2*c*.	Er fasst sein Lieb-chen	bei der Hand
	93*g*.	Er liess sich hau-en	ein tie-fes Grab
	96*h*.	Es wollt' ein Jä-ger	früh auf-stehn

But even if the problem of pause coincidence were solved, there would still remain that third outstanding feature of this type of row, the unusual *light, heavy, light, heavy* crest sequence, to bother us. I say "unusual" because, while we have come across it frequently in the three-part songs, it is not the fundamental orchestic sequence of the folk-songs in general. The *fundamental* crest sequence[1] is *heavy, light, heavy, light,* as in two-part rows



or in three-part rows



This is the one on which most dance and march songs are built. And as the folk-songs have adopted the orchestic form of the dance and march songs, they also have *heavy, light, heavy, light,* as the underlying sequence of their crests. It is quite natural, then, that coincident with those places in the melodic rows where we have the heavy (primary) orchestic crests, we should also have in the text words which bear primary lingual accents; and it is just as natural that less weighty words should gravitate to positions of lighter orchestic accent.

And so we find it, at least, as long as we stick to the *fundamental* sequence. Almost any row in any folk-songs shows such a condition.

But do we here? Does the inverted sequence of the melody cause a like inversion in the text, that is, a sequence which would be *light, heavy, light, heavy,* even if the text were simply spoken, not sung?

In endeavoring to answer this question I have come upon a song which, in two text versions, has melodies in two forms, one (Hort

[1] See Saran, *Deutsche Verslehre,* pp. 148 ff.

No. 2*a*) two-part with the *heavy, light, heavy, light* sequence, the other (Hort No. 2*c*) three-part and with the inverted sequence. In the former there are, in the first 20 of its strophes (40 rows), 57 coincidences of spoken-rhythmic with orchestic *primary* crests, and only 25 coincidences of primary spoken-rhythmic crests with orchestic *secondary* crests. In Hort No. 2*c*, on the other hand, the song of the "Steh ich" type, there are, in the first 40 rows, about an equal number (34 and 39) of spoken-rhythmic primary crests which coincide with the orchestic secondary and primary crests.[1]

Hence we may say confidently that a three-part melody of this type which has a clear inversion of the fundamental crest sequence, strives to make the text follow suit, but that it is only partially successful in the attempt.

But in spite of the seeming reluctance of language to assume this aspect in music rhythm, there are a few very common formulas in lingual expression which find it most congenial. There are, for instance, those little compact sentences which start with an unaccented *pronoun* (often used as a *Scheinsubject*). Following this come successively a (secondarily accented) *finite verb*, a trough syllable (a personal ending of the verb, an article or other particle), and an important *noun* (subject or object) syllable. This formula is nicely illustrated by "Es spielt ein Graf" in the foregoing citations; also by:

Hort No. 2*c*. Er fàsst sein Lié̀b- (chen)
Es ritt ein Kö- (nig)
96*h*. Es wollt' ein Jä- (ger)
858. Es steht ein Wirts- (haus).

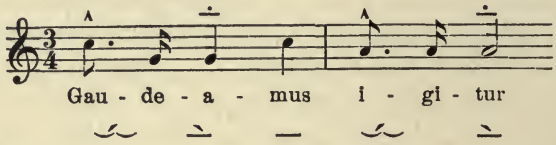
In the second bond we have a convenient frame for the group formed of article plus dissyllabic adjective plus monosyllabic noun, as for instance, "ein fei-ner Knab," "ein gan-zes Jahr"; or for prepositional phrases like "ins frem-de Land," or "mit ei-ner Magd."

[1] The exact determination as to just which would be the primary crests in spoken rhythm is probably one of the hardest problems in rhythmics. So my figures may not agree precisely with those of others who might analyze these same rows. But even after making a liberal allowance for error in interpretation, the general tendency as shown above could hardly be reversed.

BEGINNING WITH DOWNBEAT

The only type of downbeat row of which examples can be found among the folk-songs in Hort is exemplified by the well-known "Gaudeamus igitur":

Hort No. 1688.



At first sight it is surprising to find that this most popular song stands almost alone in its music-metric form. I have found only five other songs[1] which are like it in movement. Why is this? I believe it is because of its lack of upbeat. We have seen at many points in this study thus far that the downbeat movements are so few, among the folk-songs, as to be considered almost as *exceptional* forms.

An accidental finding in Hort brings out more clearly this aversion to downbeat beginnings. Hort Nos. 1372 and 1625 have melodies that are unmistakably adaptations of the "Gaudeamus" melody to German texts. But in the process of adaptation they have *added the upbeat*, and have thus evolved into the "Tannenbaum" form (cf. p. 87), a good old German movement and one which, as we have seen, is widely used. The popularity of "Gaudeamus" as a *students' song* could not be hindered to any extent by this non-popular metrical peculiarity. Nor could the generations of singers sing an upbeat "into" its Latin text. But when the "folk" had occasion to adapt the melody for songs in their own tongue, they remade it in their own German way, and the upbeat appeared.

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[1] These are Hort Nos. 411, 511, 910*e*, 1460, and 1558.

GOETHE UND DIE BILDENDE KUNST[1]

SPÄTERE KUNSTBESTREBUNGEN, UND SCHLUSZ

Harnacks Wort, dasz Goethes spätere Interesse an altdeutscher Kunst ein historisches war, während er in seinem Innern die Antike nie verliesz, stützt sich auf wichtige Aussagen Goethes, und ist wohl, trotz Andersmeinenden, unerschütterlich.[2] Und doch ist diese teilweise Hinwendung zur deutschen Kunst so bedeutend—schon Hettner sagt Goethe habe im Alter mit der Ausschlieszlichen, antikisierenden Richtung gebrochen—und kam Goethe hier der zeitgenossischen deutschen Kunst so hilfreich entgegen, dasz diese Tätigkeit wohl verdient etwas näher dargelegt zu werden.

Mit der Gotik hatte Goethe gebrochen, und doch kann er es nicht lassen sich weiter damit zu befassen: "Ich überspringe viele Jahrhunderte und suche ein ähnliches Beispiel auf, in dem ich den grószten Theil sogenannter gotischer Baukunst aus den Holzschnitzwerken zu erklären suche, womit man in den ältesten Zeiten Heiligenschränkchen, Altäre und Capellen auszuzieren pflegte, welche man nachher, als die Macht und der Reichthum der Kirche wuchsen, mit allen ihren Schnörkeln, Stäben, und Leisten an die Auszenseiten der nordischen Mauern anheftete, und Giebel und formlose Thürme damit zu zieren glaubte. Leider suchten alle nordischen Kirchenverzierer ihre Grösze nur in der multiplizierten Kleinheit."[3] "Der Teufel hole den Geschmack, der ernst und traurig ist," was sich offenbar auch auf die Gotik bezieht.[4] "Wer fühlte wohl je in einem barbarischen Gebäude, in den düstern Gängen einer gotischen Kirche . . . . sein Gemüth zu einer freien thätigen Heiterkeit gestimmt?"[5]

Mit dem Jahr 1809 rückte man Goethe, die Boisserées voran, die deutsche Kunst wieder näher. Das war ja auch der geeignete Zeitpunkt. Mit seiner Arbeit über Winckelmann, 1805, hatte er den Höhepunkt seiner antiken Periode hinter sich. Zudem löste

[1] See *Modern Philology*, XIII (October, 1915), 333 ff.

[2] O. Harnack, *Goethe in der Epoche seiner Vollendung*, u.s.w., Leipzig, 1905. S. 177 ff.

[3] *Zur theorie der bildenden Kunste*, 1, 47, 64.

[4] 1, 32, 492.

[5] 1, 47, 333.

sich, mit der warmen Aufnahme seines *Faust*, die Spannung zwischen dem Dichter und seinen Landsleuten, und er wurde für Zeitgenossisches und Nationales wieder empfänglicher.

Über die erste Begegnung mit den Boisserées schreibt er: "Gern rief ich die Gefühle jener Jahre zurück, als der Straszburger Münster mir Bewunderung abnötigte. . . . . Nun ward das Studium jener älteren besonderen Baukunst abermals ernstlich und gründlich aufgeregt und dieser wichtige Gegenstand . . . . in Betrachtung gezogen."[1] "Vorstehendes wäre das aufrichtige und unbewundene Lob, das man den Cölner Kunstfreunden (den Boisserées) ertheilen musz. Freylich gehört eine solche leidenschaftliche Beschränkung dazu, um etwas derart hervorzubringen. Ich habe mich früher auch für diese Dinge interessiert. . . . . Am wunderbarsten kommt mir dabey der deutsche Patriotismus vor, der diese offenbar saracenische Pflanze als aus seinem Grund und Boden entsprungen, gern darstellen möchte. . . . . Mir kommt das ganze Wesen wie ein Raupen- und Puppenzustand vor, in welchem die ersten italiänischen Künstler auch gesteckt bis endlich Michel Angelo," u.s.w. "Ich verarge es unterdessen unseren jungen Leuten nicht, dasz sie bey dieser mittleren Epoche verweilen; ich sehe sogar dieses Phänomen als nothwendig an, und enthalte mich aller pragmatischen Betrachtungen und welthistorischen Weissagungen."[2]

Hierzu wollen wir gleich noch die zwei wichtigsten späteren Aussprüche über die Gotik zusammenfassen. Eine besonders bissige Stelle welche "Wuth und Hasz gegen die gotische Architektur" aussprach, liesz Goethe, Boisserée zu lieb, aus der italienischen Reise weg.[3] Und aus den letzten Jahren steht, im zweiten Teil *Faust*, Goethes Abschiedswort an die einst von ihm so hoch gepriesene Gotik.

Das wär' antik! ich wüszt es nicht zu preisen,
"Es sollte plump und überlästig heiszen.
Roh nennt man edel, unbehülflich grosz.
Schmal-Pfeiler lieb ich, strebend, gräuzenlos;
Spitzbögiger Zenith erhebt den Geist;
Solche ein Gebäu erhebt uns allermeist" [Zeile 6409 ff.].

[1] 1, 36, 59 (1810).

[2] An C. F. von Reinhard den 14. Mai, 1810. In diesem Irrtum, dasz die Gotik deutschen Ursprungs sei, war Goethe selber lange befangen.

[3] Biedermann, III, 206.

Das glaub' ich. Du aus Norden,
Im Nebelalter jung geworden,
Im Wust von Ritterthum und Pfäfferei,
Wo wäre da dein Auge frei!
Im Düstern bist du nur zu Hause.
(Umherschauend.)
Verbrämt Gestein, bemodert, widrig
Spitzbögig, schnörkelhaftest, niedrig! [Zeile 6923 ff.].

Immerhin ist seine Anerkennung der "altdeutschen" Kunst warm und wohltuend. Durch eine Reihe von Jahren interessierte ihn wieder alles deutsche, besonders aber die Gotik, für die er unter Boisserées Leitung ganz begeisterte Worte fand: "Wie haben nicht Phidias und Raphael auf nachfolgende Jahrhunderte gewirkt, und wie nicht Dürer und Holbein! Derjenige, der zuerst die Formen und Verhältnisse der altdeutschen Baukunst erfand sodasz im Laufe der Zeit ein Straszburger Münster und ein Kölner Dom möglich wurde, war auch ein Genie; denn seine Gedanken haben fortwährend produktive kraft behalten und wirken bis auf die heutige Stunde."[1]

Wie Goethe das "Phänomen als nothwendig" ansah, so war ihm auch die moderne Kunst nur eine "limitierte alte."[2] "Die ganze Rücktendenz nach dem Mittelalter" läszt er gelten, weil er sie ja auch vor 30 bis 40 Jahren erlebt hatte, und er ist überzeugt, dasz etwas gutes daraus entstehen wird. Es ist nur ein Übergang zu höheren Kunstregionen und "man musz mir nur nicht glorios damit zu Leibe rücken."[3]

Wurde er also gegen deutsche Kunst "gegen die Fratze des Augenblicks tolerant,"[4] da er nach dem italienischen Gastmal sich am "nordischen Katzentische" vom Abhub nähren muszte, so verweilte er gern mit Boissereé im Mittelalter "Weil eine wohl überdachte Folge übereinstimmender Monumente vor uns lag, die uns in eine zwar düstere aber durchaus ehren- und antheilwerthe Zeit versetzte."[5]

In diesem Sinne schreibt er auch an Cornelius, dem verdienten Illustrator seines *Faust*, dem er unter den deutschen Künstlern

[1] Biedermann, VI, 275. Andere wichtige Aussagen über Gotik: 1, 49, 159 ff.; *ibid.*, 168 ff. Eckermann, 21. Okt., 1823. Alle Belege für Goethes Beschäftigung mit der Kunst anzugehen erlaubt der Raum nicht, ist auch wohl nicht nötig.

[2] Biedermann, II, 332.

[3] An C. F. von Reinhard, den 7. Okt., 1810. [4] *Ibid.* [5] 1, 36, 65 f.

aber nur Dürer voll und ganz empfehlen kann.[1] Man gewann den alten Herrn für diese neueren Bestrebungen.[2] Und er seinerseits konnte den jungen Leuten ihren Patriotismus, zumal in diesen schweren Jahren vor den Befreiungskriegen, nicht verargen.[3]

In die Boisserées sche Sammlung von älteren deutschen Gemälden lebte er sich dermaszen ein, dasz sein Lob begeistert wurde. Hat man sich "vor allen Eindrücken neuer und störender Art zu hüten gesucht und nun tritt da mit einem Male vor mich hin eine ganz neue und bisher mir ganz unbekannte Welt von Farben und Gestalten, die mich aus dem alten Gleise . . . . hinauszwingt."[4] Und im 1. Heft von *Kunst und Alterthum* behauptet er sogar "dasz in diesem kölnischen und anderen niederrheinischen Bildern eine Kunstentwickelung von solcher Selbstständigkeit und so sehr von ächt deutschem Sinn und Ursprung gegeben sei, dasz, wir nicht nöthig hätten, italienischen oder andern fremdländischen Einflusz anzunehmen."[5]

Ein Zeugnis für Goethes offnen, hilfbereiten Sinn gegenüber allen verdienstlichen Bestrebungen ist auch seine Tätigkeit an diesen Bestrebungen der Boisserées: "Es ist zwar nicht meine art auf den Tag zu wirken, diesmal aber hat man mich so treulich und ernsthaft zu solcher Pflicht aufgefordert, dasz ich mich nicht entziehen kann. Eigentlich spiele ich auch nur den Redakteur."[6] . . . . Goethe entwickelte in diesen Bestrebungen eine ganz unglaubliche und bedeutende Tätigkeit. Allerdings wurde ihm die Arbeit, wie sie sich in dem Werk *Kunst und Alterthum am Rhein und Main* auswuchs, schlieszlich doch zu viel und er bedauert, das "ganze Geschäftlein" nicht früher abgelehnt zu haben.[7] Immerhin hatte er dabei viel gewonnen an Einsicht in "den wichtigen Punkt der Kunsterhaltung," und "die Eigentümlichkeit nationaler und provinzieller Wiederherstellung" und diese ganze Bewegung, eine wohlberechtigte nationale, hat dabei von Goethes Einflusz groszen Nutzen gezogen.[8]

Auf *eine* Erscheinung aber im deutschen Kunstleben war Goethe nicht gut zu sprechen: die deutsche Schule der sogenannten

[1] An P. Cornelius, den 8. Mai, 1811. [2] Biedermann, III, 17.
[3] An C. F. von Reinhard, den 8. Juni, 1811.
[4] Biedermann, III, 147. Vgl. auch 1, 36, 197. [5] *Ibid.*, III, 146–47.
[6] An Zelter, den 29. Okt., 1815. Vgl. auch an Schuckmann den 1. und den 4. Nov., 1815; und an Boisserée, den 23. Okt., 1815. u.s.w.
[7] An Zelter den 11. März, 1816.
[8] Zu Goethes hierdurch gewonnene Einsicht in die altdeutsche Kunst. Vgl. 1, 36, 210 ff.

Nazerener. Diese "christliche" Schule, welcher Overbeck zum Paten gestanden hatte, erregte Goethes Zorn schon lange bevor[1] er, oder vielmehr Meyer, im zweiten *Rhein und Main* Heft gegen "Die neudeutsche, religiös-patriotische Kunst" zu Felde zog.

Um diese Verhältnisse zu würdigen, musz man einen Blick in die deutsche Kunstgeschichte werfen: Die klassische Reaktion gegen das *Rococo* zeitigte in Deutschland einen Mengs und einen Carstens, denen nur klassische Motive und Behandlungsweise gut genug waren. Gegen diesen Klassicismus protestierte man bald im patriotischen Sinne Klopstock, Heinze, Herder und Schiller u.a. und sodann im christlichen-vaterländischen Sinne gegen diese heidnische Kunstwelt, diese kleine Gruppe von deutschen Künstlern: Overbeck, Schnorr, Steinle, Führich, u.s.w., welche ihren Sitz in Rom hatten, und Nazerener genannt wurden. Zu diesen hielten sich auch die Frühromantiker, war doch die gesamte Bewegung von Wackenroder ausgegangen! Die Nazerener stellen also die Reaktion gegen den Klassicismus dar, wie dieser die Reaktion gegen *Barock* und *Rococo*. Ausgenommen Cornelius, der sich aus diesen Kreis herausentwickelte, haben die Nazerener ihr künstlerisches Unvermögen bald offenbart und Goethes Opposition war daher z.T. berechtigt.

Er griff also "das zwanzigjährige Übel" mit Kraft an, weil er es für recht hielt, wenn er sich dadurch unter der jüngeren Generation auch keine Freunde machte, und sich vorkam "wie ein dissentierender Minister der seine Protestation zu den Akten gibt."[2] "Niebuhr hat recht gehabt," sagte Goethe, "wenn er die barbarische Zeit kommen sah, sie ist schon da und wir sind mitten darinne. . . . . Sie [die Bewegung der Nazerener] ist von wenigen Einzelnen ausgegangen," sagte Goethe, "und wirkt nun schon seit vierzig Jahren fort. Die Lehre war: der Künstler brauche vorzüglich Frommigkeit und Genie, um es den Besten gleichzuthun. Eine solche Lehre war sehr einschmeichelnd, und man ergriff sie mit beiden Händen. Denn um fromm zu sein, brauchte man nichts zu lernen, und das eigene Genie brachte jeder schon von seiner Frau Mutter. . . . ."[3]

Die Gedankenmalerei fand bei Goethe wenig Gnade: "Ich halte diese Vorzüge [Zeichnung, Colorit, Schatten und Licht] höher als

[1] Vgl. hierzu an J. H. Meyer den 22. Juli, 1805; 1, 36, 266; An Jacobs, den 14. Aug., 1812; An C. H. Schlosser, den 26. Sept., 1813; Biedermann, V., 294; An Zelter, den 23. Aug., 1823.

[2] An C. von Knebel, den 17. März, 1817. [3] Biedermann, VIII, 61 f.

einen glücklichen Gedanken, der wenn er dem Auge nicht gehörig vorgestellt wird, nur der Poesie angehört."[1] Hierbei hatte er die italienische und die deutsche Richtung im Sinne.[2] Und er bemerkt ferner zu diesem Thema: "Das Trocken-Naive, das Steif-Wackere, das ängstlich Rechtliche, und womit man ältere deutsche Kunst characterisieren mag, gehört zu jeder früheren, einfacheren Kunstweise. Die alten Venetianer, Florentiner u.s.w. haben das alles auch."[3]

Und nun noch ein letztes Wort aus dem hohen Alter: "Die bildende Kunst ist eine Asträa die einmal aus himmlischen Regionen mit ihren Fuszspitzten auf den Erdball getippt. . . . . Soll ich aufrichtig gestehen so is mein Antheil an der neueren Kunst jetzt ganz eigentlich symbolisch, ich sehe immer mehr worauf die Arbeiten hindeuten, als was sie sind."[4]

Bevor wir nun zum Schlusz kommen, dürften einige Miszellen—sie könnten hundertfach vermehrt werden, so umfangreich ist der Stoff—zur Charakteristik von Goethes Künstlerschaft dienen. "Das Schöne ist ein Urphänomen"[5] dessen Gegenteil, das Häszliche zwar in der Kunst auch seine Verwendung finden mag aber nur wenn es komisch behandelt wird.[6]

Ebenso will er von der sittlichen Tendenz in der Kunst nichts wissen. "Von sittlichen Gegenständen soll sie [die Kunst] nur die jenigen Wählen die mit dem Sinnlichen innigst verbunden sind und sich durch Gestalt und Gebärde bezeichnen laszen."[7]

Der Luxus war ihm der Feind aller Kunst, was ja bei Goethes persönlicher Abneigung gegen luxuriöse Einrichtung nicht befremdet. "Wie ganz anders musz zu Eycks Zeit," sagte er, "das Kunstleben und die Kunstliebe geblüht haben! Jetzt verschlingt der schlechte Luxus alles."[8] "Man sieht aus diesem, dasz das einzige Gegenmittel gegen den Luxus, wenn er balanciert werden könnte, und sollte, die wahre Kunst und das wahr erregte Kunstgefühl sei."[9]

Erfreulich ist es zu sehen, dasz Goethe, trotz Antike, der Kunst des Tages beredt das Wort redet: "Allein sein Wohnzimmer mit so

[1] *Ibid.*, VIII, 380. [2] Vgl. ebenda.
[3] *Maximen und Reflexionen über Kunst*, 1, 48, 208.
[4] An Varnhagen von Ense, den 3. Okt., 1830. [5] Biedermann, VI, 102.
[6] An F. C. L. Sickler, den 28. Apr., 1812, und 1, 48, 146, u.s.w.
[7] An J. H. Meyer, den 27. Apr., 1789. Vgl. an denselben, den 20. Mai, 1796.
[8] Biedermann, III, 147. [9] *Kunst und Handwerk*, 1, 47, 58.

fremder und veralteter Umgebung auszustaffieren, kann ich nicht loben. Es ist immer eine Art von Maskerade, die auf die Länge in keiner Hinsicht wohlthun kann, vielmehr auf den Menschen, der sich damit befaszt, einen nachtheiligen Einflusz haben musz; denn so etwas steht im Widerspruch mit dem lebendigen Tage, in welchen wir gesetzt sind. . . . ."[1]

Über die Wahl der Motive hat Goethe seine Jugendansicht, dasz das Motiv ziemlich gleichgiltig sei,[2] vollig geändert. Schon am 5. Oktober, 1786, schreibt er: "Ich komme immer auf mein Altes zurück: Wenn der Künstler einen echten Gegenstand hat, so kann er was Echtes machen." Und ferner: "Wie denn überhaupt die Gegenstände seltener gefunden werden als man denkt, deswegen die Alten beständig sich nur in einem gewissen Kreis bewegen."[3] "Ich sah noch kleine Modelle bei ihm . . . . nur leidet er daran, woran wir Modernen alle leiden: an der Wahl des Gegenstandes."[4]

SCHLUSZ

Grimms Versuch Goethes Neigung zur Antike als Ausflusz ethnischen Zusammenhangs zu stempeln—der Deutsche dem Griechen näher verwandt als dem Franzosen—musz als misglückt angesehen werden. Was Goethe zur Antike zog ist oben bereits besprochen worden. Er hatte seine Nation in der Nachahmung des *Rococo* gefunden, wandte sich, nach Winckelmanns Vorbild, zur Antike, und war, als man ihn wieder für die deutsche Kunst zu gewinnen suchte, zu sehr in jener befangen, um sich davon loszumachen. Dadurch trug er zur Förderung der deutschen Kunst wenig bei, und doch braucht man in seinen Kunstschriften nicht weit zu lesen, um zu bemerken, dasz die weimarischen Kunstfreunde meist jedes aufrichtig strebende Talent gewähren lieszen, wenn sie auch in ihren Preisausschreibungen einem antikisierenden, aller malerischen Technik baren, Klassicismus das Wort redeten. Mit diesem undeutschen Klassicismus war das jüngere Geschlecht unzufrieden und so haben denn auch die romantisch-deutschen *Herzensergieszungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, 1797, und die *Phantasieen über die Kunst*, 1799, zum Untergang von Goethes Propagandaschrift

[1] Biedermann, VI, 16.

[2] Vgl. *Falkonet und über Falkonet.* [3] An J. H. Meyer, den 28. Apr., 1797.

[4] An Schiller, den 30. Aug., 1797. Vgl. auch *Über die Gegenstände der bildenden Kunst*, 1, 47, 331.

Die Propyläen beigetragen. Und Schadow sprach die Gesinnung dieser Jüngeren aus, als er Goethes Satz vom Allgemein-menschlichen der griechischen Kunst eine Blasphemie nannte, und das patriotische Gefühl des Publikums ging in dieselbe Richtung!

Wie Goethe aber in seiner Farbenlehre desto eifriger auf seine Ansicht bestand, je mehr man ihn deswegen anfeindete, so eine Zeitlang auch in seiner Kunstlehre. *Über Laokoon, Der Sammler die Seinen, Einleitung in die Propyläen, Philipp Hackert* und *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert* zeugen davon. Und ein teil der Verstimmung dieser Jahre ist auf die Opposition gegen seine Kunstlehre zurückzuführen.

Wie kam der farbenfrohe Mainländer, der Bewunderer der farbenreichen, malerischen Niederländer zu einem unmalerischen stilisierten Manierismus *à la Grecque?* Denn dasz er die Manier höher stellte als treue Nachahmung der Natur spricht er ganz unumwunden aus in der Abhandlung *Einfache Nachahmung der Natur, Manier, Stil.*[1] Die Antwort ist diese: Winckelmann und Lessing hatten die Landschaftmalerei gänzlich, und alle Malerei so ziemlich verworfen. Das hing mit ihren griechisch-plastischen Studien zusammen, und damit dasz die Plastik die Force der Griechen, und von griechischer Malerei blutwenig übrig war. Goethe verharrte lange bei dieser Ansicht seiner Lehrer, und im Blut steckte sie ihm sein Lebtag! Freilich haben die Maler der italienischen Renaissance es ihm später angetan, und Claude und Poussin haben ihm selbst die Landschaft wieder sehr nahe gerückt.

Die groszen Renaissance-Künstler haben ihn von der Antike abgezogen. Er erkannte "dasz die Antike den modernen Menschen mit seiner Gemütsinnerlichkeit nicht ganz befriedigen kann" (Hettner). Dieser Stilismus muszte, um den modernen Menschen anzusprechen, verinnerlicht werden. Das hatten Palladio und Raphael ihn gelehrt, und schlieszlich schlosz er sogar den modernen Michel Angelo in sein Herz.

Was Goethe von der Antike in sein eigenes Innere aufgenommen, davon zeugen am sprechendsten seine eigenen Werke. Auf *Hermann und Dorothea*, und was dies Gedicht der Antike schuldig geworden, ist bereits hingewiesen worden.[2] Schauen wir uns die

[1] 1, 47, 77–83.

[2] An J. H. Meyer, den 28. Apr., 1797; An Schiller, den 8. Apr., 1797.

Iphigenie an, der eigenste Ausflusz dieser antiken Periode! Ist *Iphigenie* vielleicht eine griechisch stilisierte Hellenin? Keineswegs! "Er [Schiller] bewies mir[1] dasz ich selber, wider Willen, romantisch sei und meine *Iphigenie* durch das Vorwalten der Empfindung, keineswegs so klassisch und im antiken Sinne sei, als man vielleicht glauben möchte."[2] Die *Iphigenie* ist durch und durch eine deutsche Jungfrau, freilich nach den Linien der griechischen Plastik, aber mit einer Innerlichkeit, welche noch über die Innerlichkeit Raphaels hinausgeht. Diese Anlehnung an die Antike haben Goethes Landsleute, und die Welt, gutgeheiszen! Sie ist, kurz gesagt, Renaissancekunst, das höchste Produkt der deutschen Kunstrenaissance des 18. Jahrhunderts!

Die europäische Renaissance kann ja wohl im allgemeinen als die moderne Auszeinandersetzung mit der Antike angesehen werden. Dieselben Disputationen, welche im nördlichen Europa zu Goethes Zeit im Gebiet der bildenden Kunst abgehalten wurden, waren von den Humanisten und Reformatoren der 15. und 16. Jahrhunderte auf dem Gebiet der Gelehrsamkeit und des Glaubens geführt worden. Dasz das Problem der Kunst hauptsächlich in Deutschland (Winckelmann) in Angriff genommen wurde, und dasz der gröszte Dichter darin verwickelt wurde, ist kein Wunder. Des Dichters Schaffen liegt dem des bildenden Künstlers ja am nächsten! Dasz Goethe sich daher als Humanist von der begrenzten Kunst der Gotik—denn für Deutschland ist die Gotik doch seine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Christentum—abwandte, und sich zu den Quellen aller Humanisten, zu den Alten, wandte, ist fast selbstverständlich!

"Zur Gesundheit des alten Jupiter!" rief einst in Rom Niebuhr, als er mit Thorwaldsen anstiesz, worauf die Nazerener chokiert beiseite gingen. So wandte sich auch Goethe, "der alte Heide," von der Gotik ab zum Altertum! Das Ephimäre, Vergeistigte, wenig Sinnliche, in-der-Wahl-des-Stoffes-Beschränkte, dieser Kunst sprach ihm nicht zu. Er muszte, wie der griechisch-römische Bau, fest und gewichtig auf der Erde stehen, obwohl auch er wie der gotische Dom in die Himmel strebt!

[1] In *Über naive und sentimentale Dichtung.*

[2] Eckermann, den 21. März, 1830. Vgl. *ibid.*, den 31. Jan., 1827; den 4. Feb., 1829.

Dagegen kann man nichts einwenden—jeder nach seiner Façon!—insofern Gutes geschaffen wird. Und das war ja, wie wir gesehen in Goethes Fall geschehen. Mit seiner Anpreisung der Antike aber, als Heil für alle, hat es doch eine andere Bewandtnis.

Dazu haben wir zu bemerken, dasz Goethe in einem merkwürdigen Schematismus und Doktrinarismus in Sachen der bildenden Kunst steckte. Er schreibt z.B.: "so hat Meyer erst gestern . . . . entdeckt dasz Julius Roman zu den Skizzisten gehört. Meyer konnte mit dem Charakter dieses Künstlers bei groszen Studien über denselben, nicht fertig werden, nunmehr glaubt er aber dasz durch diese Enunciation das ganze Rätzel gelöst sey. Wenn man nun den Michel Angelo zum Phantasmisten, den Corregio zum Undulisten, den Raphael zum Charakteristiker macht; so erhalten diese Rubriken eine eingeheure Tiefe," u.s.w.[1] "Ich kann [nur noch sagen] dasz Goethe die Prinzissin [Caroline] demüthig bittet, die Gnade zu haben, und ihm das von Kaaz aufgesetzte Recept, Landschaften zu malen, auf kurze Zeit mitzutheilen."[2] Soweit zum Schematismus. Sein Doktrinarismus ist besonders in der *Propyläen*zeit häufig in Goethes Kunstschriften anzutreffen. Die Ursache gibt Heuzler kurz an: "In der Form von Begriffen setzte sich die Kunstkenntnis bei Goethe fest."[3] Goethes Doktrinarismus in der bildenden Kunst zeugt von seinem Dilletantismus denn Doktrinarismus kann nur bei Dilletantismus bestehen.[4]

Goethe wuszte wohl, dasz jede Kunst Heimatkunst sein musz, und sprach es oft aus: "Alle mehr oder weniger gebildeten Völker hatten eine zweite Natur durch Künste um sich erschaffen, die aus Überlieferung, Nationalcharakter und climatischem Einflusz hervorwuchs . . . .[5] und die Überzeugung bestätigte sich, dasz zu richtiger Einsicht in dieser Sache Zeit, Religion, Sitte, Kunstfolge, Bedürfnis, Anlage der Jahrhunderte, wo diese Bauart überschwänglich ausgedehnt in Anwendung blühte, alles zusammen als eine grosze lebendige Einheit zu betrachten sei."[6] Und trotz dieser Einsicht, verleitete

[1] An Schiller, den 22. Juni, 1799. Zum Doktrinarismus; vgl. auch An Schiller, den 4. Sept., 1799, u.s.ö.

[2] Biedermann, X, 65. [3] Heüzler, a.a.O. S. 10.

[4] Wolfgang von Ottingen in der Einleitung zu den *Schriften zur Kunst* in der Jubiläumsausgabe von *Goethes Werken*.

[5] An J. A. Sack, den 15. Jan., 1816.

[6] 1, 36, 211; und ähnlich oft.

ihn sein Doktrinarismus zu hoffen, dasz sich die deutsche Kunst an der Hand der Antike emporschwingen könnte und würde. Dies ist der Winkel, unter dem Goethes "Irrtum" betrachtet werden musz.

Winckelmann und Lessing, von denen er diesen "Irrtum" überkommen hatte, vererbten auf ihn, merkwürdigerweise, auch noch eine Vermischung der Künste. Und *Laokoon* wollte doch gerade da säubern! Indem Lessing hier die Grenzen der Malerei und der Dichtkunst abgrenzt, geschieht es, dasz er, sowohl als früher Winckelmann, nicht gehörig zwischen Plastik und Malerei unterscheidet, wie Herder das dann in seiner *Plastik* und im *Vierten kritischen Wäldchen* zur Genüge festgestellt. In diesen Fehler ist nun auch Goethe geraten, wie das ja in den Preisausschreibungen der weimarischen Kunstfreunde auf jeder Seite zu lesen ist. Denn was hier befürwortet wurde, war ein lebloser, ganz unmalerischer Stilismus an der Hand von antiken Motiven! Und das alles trotz der Tatsache dasz sich Goethe der Grenzen der Künste wohl bewuszt war, und sich oft gegen eine Vermischung der Künste aussprach! "Es hat mich so ein erzdeutscher Einfall ganz verdrieszlich gemacht. Dasz doch der gute bildende Künstler mit dem Poeten wetteifern will, da er doch eigentlich durch das, was er allein machen kann und zu machen hätte, den Dichter zur Verzweiflung bringen könnte."[1] "Eines der vorzüglichsten Kennzeichen des Verfalls der Kunst ist die Vermischung der verschiedenen Arten derselben. . . . . Der Bildhauer musz anders denken und empfinden als der Mahler. . . . ."[2]

Goethe hat sein Lebtag viel Kraft und Zeit auf bildende Kunst verwendet: "Ich bin auch in solcher Richtung frühzeitig hergekommen," sagte Goethe, "und habe auch fast ein halbes Leben an Betrachtung und Studium von Kunstwerken Gewendet."[3] Nur *einem* anderen Nebenfach, der Naturwissenschaft, hat er eine gleiche Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Natur und Kunst, das waren die zwei Pole seines Schaffens! Was hat diese auszerordentliche Tätigkeit ihm und uns genützt? In den Naturwissenschaften hat er ja Bedeutendes aufzuweisen; in der bildenden Kunst hat er es in der Ausübung nur zu dilletantischen Versuchen gebracht.

[1] An Schiller, den 30. Aug., 1797.

[2] *Einleitung in die Propyläen*, 1, 47, 22–23.

[3] Eckermann, den 20. Apr., 1825.

Seine Verdienste um die Kunst liegen anderwärts. Zum Teil sind diese schon in dieser Essay-Serie berührt worden. Und ferner: was er zur Hebung des Kunstgeschmacks in Deutschland beigetragen ist unübersehbar. Weimar wurde unter Goethes Einflusz der Mittelpunkt für bildende Kunst in Deutschland. Hierher wurden Meyer und Fernow berufen; eine Kunstzeitschrift *Die Propyläen* wurde gegründet; man kaufte bedeutende Kunstsammlungen an; Goethes und Meyers und anderer Kunstschriften wirkten zum Kunstverständnis bedeutend mit. Mit Dresden, dem Ausgangspunkt der deutschen Kunstrenaissance, mit den Boisserées, mit Rom, mit allen irgendwie bedeutenden Kunstinteressen hielt man die Verbindung aufrecht; kurz, Goethe und Weimar war die Hochburg auch der deutschen bildenden Kunst! Und noch eins: "Und es kann gesagt werden, dasz die wissenschaftliche Behandlung der modernen Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland, ihre Einführung in den Bereich der allgemeinen Bildung zumeist Goethes Werk gewesen sei" (Grimm).

Was Goethe in der Jugend für die deutschen Kunstbestrebungen getan, wovon alle späteren: Romantiker, Nazerener, Cornelius, unter anderen, tief berührt wurden, ist bekannt. Und selbst seine antiken Lehren haben gewirkt, wo sie konnten, nämlich in der Plastik. Und um auf die moderne deutsche Kunst zu kommen, so ist freilich Goethes gepriesene antikisierende Manier nicht durchgedrungen. Da ging Deutschland denn doch auf seinen Dürer zurück! Was am kernigsten das deutsche Wesen ausdrückt, aus dieser Quelle ist es hervorgegangen!

Aber ist denn die neuere deutsche Kunst nicht von der klassischen mitbestimmt worden? Man denke nur an Künstler wie Rauch, Schinkle, Thorwaldsen, oder Anselm Feuerbach! So ist Goethes klassische Bestrebung doch nicht verloren! Zwar Muster und Ideal—nein! das konnte und kann die griechisch-römische Antike nicht sein! Dasz aber die Proportion der Griechen und die Wärme und Grazie der italienischen Renaissance uns wohl beim Bau unseres Hauses vorleuchteten, und vorleuchten dürften, ist gerechtfertigt, und ist zum groszen Teil Goethes Werk.

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GERMANIC COIN-NAMES

II

XIII. Lump, Mass, Clod; Stumpy, Chunky, Thick, Heavy Piece: Large, Thick, Chunky, Heavy, or Clumsy Coin

1. NE. *bob, bob-stick* shilling: *bob* bunch or cluster (of leaves, flowers, fruit, etc.); rounded mass or lump at the end of a rod or the like; knob; knot or bunch of hair; horse's tail docked short; small rounded or knob-like body; lump or nodule of clay used by potters, *bob-tail* short tail, or tail cut short, ME. *bobbe* bob, bunch.

2. NE. *bone* bone; a dollar.

3. Swiss *boller-örtli* angeblich Münzen, welche von einem Falschmünzer aus vollgewichtigem Silber angefertigt wurden: *boll* runder, kugeliger Gegenstand, *bollig* knollig; wulstig, bauschig, von Kleidern usw., MHG. *bolle*, OHG. *bolla* Knospe; kugelförmiges Gefäss. Perhaps heavy, clumsy coin.

4. MHG. *batze* kleine Münze der stadt Bern, Bav. *batzen, bätzlein* kleiner silberner Dickpfennig, Swiss *batz* Scheidemünze, Tirol. *batzen* Münze, Styr. *batzen* Name des alten Vierkreuzerstückes, Als. *batzen, batzel(e)* Batzen; Geldstück von geringem Werte: NHG. dial. *batzen* Klumpen von Lehm oder sonst einer weichen, klebrigen Masse, Swiss *bätzi* Kerngehäuse des Obstes; Blütennarbe des Obstes; Adamsapfel, OE. *batt* club, stick, ME. *bat* clod, NE. *bat* stick or stout piece of wood; broken piece; mass, lump, bundle.

5. MDu. *bot* small bone; bud of fruit; small coin, Du. *botje* coin, MLG. *butken* kleine Münze, OFris. *butie* Batzen, WFris. *botsen* botje, coin, EFris. *butje* kleine Münze (nur in Redensarten), WFris. *botenstikje* bronze coin of the value of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents: MDu. *bot, botte* bud of flowers and fruits, *bote* knot, bundle of flax, *bot* (adj.) not sharp, blunt, MLG. *butte* Eingeweide (der Fische), *but* stumpf, plump, grob, MHG. *butze*, NHG. *Butzen* Klumpen, MHG. *gebütze* Eingeweide.

Or a shortened form of *botdrager*, etc., XXXIV, No. 3. Cf. Franck, *Et. Wb.*[2], 86.

6. Swiss *blutzger* Name einer geringen bündnerischen Scheidemünze, *blutzger-chrüzer* alte Münze, Swab. *blutzger* kleine Scheidemünze, Tirol. *plutzger* unbedeutende Münze im Werte eines Hellers oder Pfennigs, perhaps Lothr. *blotzer* dickes französ. Geldstück, das alte Zweisousstück, Als. *plotzer* geringe Münze, französ. Kupferstück; Taler: Swiss *plutzer*, *blutzger*, Swab. *blutzer*, *blutzger* Kürbis, Melone.

6*a*. NE. *fadge* a large flat loaf or bannock; a short fat individual: a farthing.

7. Styr. *hachse* Gulden (Schülersprache): *hachse*, Bav. *hächsen* Kniebug mit seinen Sehnen, bes. an den Hinterbeinen der vierfüssigen Tiere; der ganze Teil des Beines eines Tieres, MHG. *hahse*, *hehse*, OHG. *hahsa* Kniebug, poples.

8. NE. *cob* lump or piece of anything, as of coal, ore, stone, usually of a somewhat large size; short-legged, stocky horse; big man, leader, or chief; old Spanish dollar; hence, money.

9. Styr. *kölbel-*, *kölbler-sechser* Name einer Münze des 16. und 17. Jhd.: OHG. *kolbo*, MHG. *kolbe* Kolben, Keule als Waffe, Knüppel, MLG. *kolve* Kolben (zum Ballschlagen).

10. E. dial. *cotterel* coin; sovereign; (pl.) money, coins; cash: *cotter* iron pin, peg, key, wedge, etc., used to fasten anything in its place; linch-pin; iron bolt with a large, flat head, used for fastening window-shutters, *cotterel* pin, screw, wedge, or bolt which fastens something in place.

11. Du. dial. (Antw.) *klomp* copper coin of ten centimes; also, five-franc piece: Du. *klomp*, MDu. *clompe* lump, mass, block of iron, etc., MLG. *klumpe*, *klompe* Holzschuh, calopodium, ON. *klumba*, *klubba*, club, NE. *clump* Klumpen, Klotz, Kloss.

12. Du. *kluit* French and Belgian copper coin of ten centimes, WFlem. *kluite* heavy rag, piece of leather or material which one sews on; copper coin of the value of five centimes, sou: MDu. *clūte*, Du. *kluit* Erdklumpen, Klumpen, MLG. *klūt(e)* was sich zusammenballt, Eisklumpen; überhaupt Klumpen, EFris. *klūt* Bruchstück, Klumpen.

13. Bav. *knack*, *knacker*, *knacken* kleine Münze, *knocker* Art Münze, (Hess. *gnacke* kleine Münze): NHG. dial. *knocke* Knöchel am Gelenk; Knorren, *knocket* knorrig, LG. *knagge* Knorren im Holz, harter Ast im Holz, Baumstumpf, Wurzelende eines Baumes, MLG. *knagge* Knorren, dickes Stück, ME. *knagge*, NE. *knag* Pflock, Knorren am Baume.

14. Als. *silber-knochen* Silbergroschen:MHG. *knoche* Knochen; Astknorren; Fruchtbolle, *knuchel, knochel, knöchel* Knöchel, MLG. *knoke, knake* Knochen, MDu. *cnoke* bone; bud of plants, Nor. *knoke* Knöchel an Fingern, Knie und Ellbogen.

15. Du. dial. (Antw.) *knap* piece of ten centimes, *knepke* five centimes, WFlem. *knap* clod, lump; copper coin of ten centimes, *knep* piece of five centimes:MDu. *kneppel* cudgel, club, long stick, MLG. *knepel* Klöppel in der Glocke, Sw. dial. *knappe* Pflock, Holzklotz an der Wagendeichsel, *knape* Knoten, Pflock, Dan. *knap* Knopf, Knauf; Klumpen; Testikel. Cf. the following.

16. WFlem. *knab* lump, clod; piece of ten centimes, *knebbken* coin of the value of five centimes, (Tuerl.) *knab* stump of a tree; ten-centime piece:MLG., Du. *knevel* kurzes, dickes Querholz, Knebel, Sw. dial. *knabb* Pflock, *knabbe* Knollen, Klumpen.

17. Pruss. *pälke* ehemalige Kupfermünze in Preussen und Polen: *palke* Prügel, Stock, Knüttel, *palken* grosses einzelnes Stück; (pl.) längliche Spielmarken, LG. *palken* eine grosse Schnitte, dim. of OLG. *pāl* Pfahl, Pflock, Lat. *pālus* pale or stake. Or of Slavic origin.

18. NE. *pig* the young of swine:a sixpence, *pig's* (*sow's*) *baby* an English sixpence.

XIV. FALL, ROLL, FLAP, STRIKE HEAVILY OR WITH A RESONANT SOUND:BIG, HEAVY, CLUMSY COIN

1. NE. *dump* thick, ill-shaped, or shapeless piece; clumsy leaden counter used by boys in games; thick, small halfpenny issued by George I; Australian silver coin; small coin or sum; (pl.) money; cash:*dump* fall heavily. Or this in XIII.

2. EFris. *flappert* dünnes, breites, flaches etwas, was beim Aufschlagen oder Aufwerfen auf den Tisch flappt oder klappt; grosse, flache, und sehr dünne Münze:*flappen* schlagen, klatschen, klappen, ein klatschendes Geräusch machen, *flap, flaps* Schlag, Klapps, klatschender Schlag, Du. *flappen* smack, clap, chatter, talk, etc., *flap-schelling* large coin, bakerschelling.

3. Carinth. *nötsch* (Gaunersprache) Kreuzer:Swiss *ge-nutsch* Stoss, *nütscher* Holzhammer; dicker Kopf; strammer Bursche, *nütschen* (zer-)stossen, -schlagen, klopfen; Nüsse aufklopfen; prügeln.

4. Bav. *putschendel* semissis, sembella, valet unum nummulum cum semisse, Styr. *putschendel* kleiner Geldbetrag; Münze im Werte von einem Drittel Kreuzer: perhaps Swiss *putschen* knallen, vom Schiessen; heftig und mit Schall stossen; stossend fallen; stossweise losfahren, heranstürmen, *putsch* Knall, heftiger Stoss, Puff, Anprall, Schlag auf den Rücken; plötzlicher Vorstoss, Swab. *putsch* leichter Schlag mit der Hand.

5. NE. *plunk* heavy coin, dollar: *plunk* resonant sound of a heavy blow, or of a plunge; plump or heavy fall; short, stout, and thickset person, animal, or thing, *plunky* short, thick, heavy, *plunk* drop or throw anything so as to produce a hollow sound or crackling noise; sink down heavily.

6. Swiss *plätscher* abgeschnittenes Geldstück, zumal Münze, perhaps *bletschger* französ. Sousstück, Als. *plätzger* grosses Geldstück: Swiss *plätscher* Stössel, Haufe, *plätschen* plumpes, schweres, grosses Stück Vieh; grosses, wuchtiges, bes. flaches Stück von irgend einem Stoffe, *pletschi*, *platschi* plumper Mensch, von plumpen Dingen überhaupt, NHG. *Platsch* Schlag, *Platsche* flaches Brett, um damit etwas eben und fest zu schlagen, *plätschen* mit schwerem Schlag fallen, MHG. *blatzen*, *platzen* geräuschvoll auffallen; (trans.) schlagen.

7. Swiss *rolle(n)batzen* Benennung der ältesten Batzen, Swab. *roll(en)-batzen* Münzsorte: Swiss *rollen* sich rollend bewegen, solchen Ton geben, wie rollende Dinge es tun; vom Ton einer Schelle, MHG. *rollen* hin und wieder fahren, MLG. *rullen* sich rollend bewegen.

8. NE. *rap*, *rap-farthing*, *rap-halfpenny* counterfeit coin of bad metal: *rap* heavy or quick, smart blow; sharp or resounding sound; sound produced by knocking, as at a door, or by any sharp concussion, *vb.* beat upon, strike heavily; give a quick short blow to.

9. NE. *spanker* a gold coin: *spanker* a blow, anything that flaps heavily, *spank* move with quickness and elasticity; throw with violence; knock anything out.

10. Swab. *tatsch* klatschender Schlag; Kreuzer (rotwelsch): Bav. *tatschen* drücken, mit flacher Hand schlagen, *detschen* beohrfeigen, Carinth. *datsch* breiter Schlag mit der flachen Hand; der Schall, wenn man mit dem Fusse in eine Pfütze tritt; verdorbene breiartige Masse; dummer, einfältiger Mensch, MHG. *tetschen* mit klatschendem Aufschlagen von Händen und Füssen im Wasser sich bewegen.

11. MLG. *tumeler* Seiltänzer, Springer; Schleudermaschine; die Kugel, die daraus geschossen wird; Goslarer Münze: *tumelen* sich im Kreise drehen, springen, tanzen, von Seiltänzern, usw., EFris. *tümelen* taumeln, hin und her schwanken, sich hin und her bewegen und drehen, wälzen, stolpern, E. dial. *tumbling tams* thick copper half-pennies: OE. *tumbian* tanzen, tummeln, purzeln, NE. *tumble*.

12. Styr. *tanz* Kreuzer: NHG. *Tanz* nach Kunst und Zeitmass geordnete Fortbewegung des Körpers, *tanzen*.

XV. JINGLE, RING, RATTLE: COIN THAT JINGLES, RINGS, RATTLES

1. NE. *jingle-boy* coin: *jingle* sharp tinkling metallic sound; little bell or rattle. Cf. dial. *jink* jingle; 'chink'; try money by ringing it, *sb.* chinking noise; sharp rattle; money, property.

2. NE. *chink* short, clear, metallic sound; coin, *chinkers* coins, money.

3. MDu. *clinker* certain gold coin, *clinkaert*, *clinkert* id., MLG. *klinkert* ältere burgundische Goldmünze, WFris. *klinkert* former coin: MDu. *clinken* clink, resound; chime, toll (of a bell), Du. *klinken* clink, tingle, resound, *klinker* kind of hard brick, MLG. *klinke*, *klenke* einfallender Türriegel, NE. *clink* sharp ringing sound made by the collision of sonorous bodies; money, cash, coin.

4. MDu. *clepper* name of a small coin, Hess. *klepperheller* Scheidemünze, kleines Geld, meist im Gegensatz gegen hartes Geld und grössere Summen; OFris. *klep-skelde*, *klip-skelde* Klippschuld, Klingschatzung (Abgabe in klingendem Gelde): OFris. *kleppa*, *klippa* klippen, aufklingen, MDu. *cleppen*, *clippen* kleppen, klepperen, klapperen, MLG. *kleppen* die Glocke mit dem Klöppel anschlagen, in kurzem Tone läuten, *kleppe* Klinke, Drücker am Türschloss.

5. EFris. *klötergeld* kleine klingende Münze, oder geringes, dünnes, klingendes Geld, Scheidemünze, Du. *kleutergeld* small money, change: EFris. *klöter* Rassel oder Ding, womit man Geräusch oder Lärm macht; Lärmmacher, *klötern* rasseln, klappern, klimpern, Bremen *klötern* rasseln.

6. E. dial. *ring* vibrate, tingle, *sb.* entire peal or set of bells; single coin to ring or jingle on a counter, generally used negatively, meaning nothing, not anything.

7. Bav. *schinderling* geringe Art Pfennige:*schindern, schinnern* glänzen; klingen, klirren wie Metall, klirren, rauschen, *schindergold* Rauschgold, MHG. *schindern* polternd schleppen, schleifen.

8. Tirol. *schetter* Geld, klingende Münze:Bav. *schattern, schettern* laut auflachen, schäkern, schwatzen, schreien wie die Elster; klingen wie ein gespaltener Topf.

XVI. DANGLE, HANG LOOSELY, FLAP; SOMETHING DANGLING, FLAPPING:COIN. FROM THE IDEA 'DANGLE, FLAP' COMES ALSO THAT OF 'FLAP, SMALL PIECE':'SMALL COIN OR COIN OF LITTLE WORTH.' CF. XVII

1. Dan. *kobber-dank* copper (coin):Nor. *danka* go about lazily; sink, fall, diminish, Sw. dial. *slå dank* dawdle, loiter, E. dial. *danking* dangling, *dink* bob up and down, *dink along* walk in an affected manner; Sw. *dangla*, Dan. *dangle*, N.E. *dangle* baumeln, schwanken, schlendern, NE. *dingle-dangle* swinging backward and forward; loosely pendant, Nor. *dingla* dingle, hang loosely, *sb.* small bell.

2. WFris. *flāb(b)e* old coin of Groningen and Overijsel of the value of four stivers:*flabberich* loose, weak, hanging, *flabhoed* man's hat with broad brim, MLG. *vlabbe, vlebbe* breithangendes Maul, Du. *flab, flabbe* sort of head-clout for women, E. *flabby* schlotterig, schlaff.

3. NE. *flag* groat; fourpence:*flag* hang down, flap about loosely, become limpid, placid, *sb.* piece of cloth or stuff, *adj.* hanging down, drooping, pendulous, esp. of hair, and a horse's or dog's tail, *flagged* flabby, limp, loose, placid. Or:*flag* broad, flat stone. Cf. XI.

4. Swab. *flucks* Mark (Geldstück):Bav., etc., *flucken* fluctuare, vacillare, MHG. *vlücken, vlucken* mit flatternden Zipfeln schmücken; flackern; (refl.) fliegen, sich schwingen, flattern, *vlücke* flatternder Zipfel an den Kopfschmucke, *vlockzen, vlogzen* in zitternder Bewegung sein, herumfliegen, flattern, *vliegen* fliegen. Perhaps here also Swab. *flügler* abgeschätzte Münze.

5. Als. *gingserle* kleines Zwanzigpfennigstück:Swiss *ginggel* etwas Herabhängendes und Schaukelndes; beweglicher Teil am Ohrgehänge; penis; Kropf (als schwappelnder), *gingeligang* Hin- und Herschwanken, Baumeln, *ginggelen* baumeln; kurze Zeit und mit einer kleinen Glocke läuten.

6. Du. *maf* (thieves' cant) small silver coin, kwartje, dubbeltje: *maf* lazy, loose, insipid, dull, *maffje* ninny, doodle, WFlem. *maf* staggering, tottering from weakness caused by drunkenness, *mafzak* lazy, lounging person, E. dial. *maff* foolish, silly person, *maffle* stammer, hesitate; blunder; muddle; idle away time.

7. Als. *plämperle* Geldstücke, Münze: *plämpel* Schaukelbewegung; träger, langsamer Mensch, Swiss *plamp* schwingende, schaukelnde Bewegung; wankelnder Gang; Schlendrian, *plempe* herabhängendes Ding; Person, die müde, schlaff, mit herabhängenden Armen einhergeht.

8. WFris. *skommeljild* change, small money: Du. *schommelen* swing backward and forward, shake, *schommel* swing; suspended rope in which a sailor sits when at work, EFris. *schummel* Schlampe, nachlässige, watschelig gehende, plumpe Person, Bremen *schummeln* schlecht und schlotterig gehen; im Gehen den Leib viel und unnötig bewegen.

9. Styr. *schmiss* Schmitz; Streich, Hieb, Wurf; Überrock für Männer; Gehänge am Frauengürtel; Name einer Scheidemünze im Werte von zehn alten Kreuzern, Bav. *schmissig* schlank, dünn, *schmeissen* werfen; spazieren, gemächlich gehen, schlendern, MHG. *smiz* Spitze; Streich mit der Rute, *smitzen* Spitziges schnell bewegen, zücken; mit Ruten hauen, *smīzen* streichen, schmieren, schlagen.

10. E. dial. *wig* slang word for penny: *wig, wiggle* wag, shake, move loosely, *wiggie* loose, shaky, waggly, *wig-wag* swing backward and forward, MLG. *wiggelen* schwanken, wanken, *wiggen* bewegen, rühren, MHG. *wigelen* wanken.

11. E. dial. *weng* penny: *wang* hang about in a tiresome manner, *wangle* totter, rock, shake, dangle, wag, *wangery* flabby, flaccid, soft; limpid, tired, *wangle* flutter, wave, dangle loosely, flap; wag; walk feebly; wriggle.

XVII. RAG, TATTER; SMALL PIECE OR FLAP: SMALL COIN, COIN OF LITTLE WORTH

1. Swiss *chupfer-bletz* Stück Kupferbletz zum Ausbessern; Kupfermünze: *bletz* Zeuglappen, lappenförmiges Stück, OHG. *blez, blezzo*, MHG. *blez, bletze* Lappen, Flicken, Fetzen; Streifen Landes.

2. Swiss *flecken* Flicken, Lappen, Stück Zeug; Taler (als Münze): MHG. *vlec*, *vlecke* Stück Zeug, Flicken, Fetzen; Stück Landes; Stück zerschnittenen Eingeweides, OHG. *flec* Stück Zeug, Lappen.

3. Du. dial. (Gron.) *koperlap* copper coin, WFris. *kopperlappen* (pl.) copper money:MDu. *lappe*, Du. *lap* rag, shred, tatter; patch; remnant, MLG. *lappe* Stück, Fetzen Tuches oder Leders, ON. *leppr* rag, tatter; lock of hair, OE. *læppa* Zipfel, Fetzen.

4. MDu. *placke* name of a coin of copper, silver, and gold, MLG. *placke* kleine flämische Münze, WFris. *plakje* dollar; slice, cut, whence OFr. *plaque*, *plecque* patch; plate; coin, MDu. *plackaet* coin, Du. *plaket* former Belgian coin, NE. *plack* small copper coin; smallest coin:MDu. *placke* rag, tatter; spot, stain, MLG. *placke* Stück eines Ganzen, Lappen, Fetzen, MHG. *placke* Flicklappen, Fetzen, E. dial. *platch* patch, piece of cloth in a garment to repair it. Cf. the following.

5. MDu. *plagge* name of a coin, MLG. *plaghe* (=*plagke*) holländische Münze:MDu. *plagge* cloth, rag of certain material, MLG. *plagge* Fetzen, Lappen; (pl.) vestes attritae.

6. NE. *rag* a farthing:*rag* small worthless fragment or shred of some woven material; (pl.) ragged or tattered garments or clothes, ME. *ragge* panniculus, ON. *rǫgg* tuft or strip of fur.

Cf. NE. *rag-money*, *rag-currency* used of paper money which has been subjected to considerable wear.

7. Dan. *slatte* coin:OSw. *slätta* Fetzen, MLG. *slatte* Lumpen, Fetzen, MDu. *slette* worn-out rag, tatter on clothes, *slet* rag, tatter, old garment, trifle. Cf. the following.

8. Dan. *slanting*, *slenting* coin, Sw. *slant* coin of small value; tatter, rag; slatternly person:*slant* small piece, remnant, MDu. *slenterlinc* refuse, rags, Du. *slenter* rag, shred, tatter.

9. ON. *penningr*, NIcel. *peningur*, Nor. *pen(n)ing*, *peng*, Dan. *penge*, Sw. *pengar*, OE. *penninc*, *peni(n)g*, *pending*, ME. *pening*, NE. *penny*, OFris. *panni(n)g*, *penni(n)g*, MDu. *penninc*, Du. *penning*, OLG. *penning*, MLG. *pennink*, OHG. *pfenni(n)c*, *phantinc*, (*p*)*fendinc*, *pfentinc*, MHG. *phenninc*, NHG. *Pfennig* names applied to various small coins; money:Lat. *pannus* cloth, garment; rag, MLat. *pannus* habitus, vestimentum; portio, segmentum.

Or the word may belong to I, going back to a time when trade was carried on by using cloth as a medium of exchange.

The occurrence of *-d-, -t-* in some few forms may be due to the influence of OE. *pund*, OHG. *pfunt*, etc., which were early in use for the designation of a certain weight of gold or silver.

XVIII. BREAK, SPLIT, CUT (OFF); PIECE CUT OFF, FRAGMENT, PARTICLE: COIN OF SMALL SIZE, OF LITTLE VALUE (CF. III)

1. NE. *bit* portion of food bitten off; small quantity of food; small piece or fragment of anything; small coin, as a *four-penny bit;* also, in parts of the United States, a silver coin formerly current, of the value of twelve and one-half cents; now chiefly in the West, the sum of twelve and one-half cents; in England, a piece of money, coin, esp. a three-penny piece: OE. *bītan*, Goth. *beitan* beissen, Lat. *findo* split, cleave, separate, Skt. *bhid-* cleave, cut asunder; break in twain.

2. MHG. *brolinc* Münze im Werte von Fünf Schillingen: perhaps *bruch* das Brechen; Bruch, Riss; abgebrochenes Stück, Bruchteil, OHG. *bruh* fragmen, fragmentum, *bruchili* fragmen: *brechan* frangere, carpere, scindere.

3. MDu. *mīte, mijte* worm in wood, cheese, etc.; small copper coin, Du. *mijt* small copper coin, MLG. *mīte* kleine niederländische Münze, WFris. *myt* small coin, NE. *mite* small coin of any kind; old money of account, the twentieth part of a penny; OE., MLG. *mīte* Milbe, OHG. *mīza* Mücke: ON. *meita*, Goth. *maitan*, OHG. *meizan* hauen, abschneiden.

4. Goth. *skilliggs*, ON. *skillingr*, NIcel. *skildingur*, Nor., Sw. *skilling* small coin, OE. *scilling*, ME. *schilling*, NE. *shilling*, OFris. *skilling*, MDu., Du. *schelling*, WFris. *skelling*, OLG. *scilling*, MLG. *schillink, schildink*, MHG. *schillinc, schillinger*, NHG. *Schilling* Münze verschiedenen Wertes: ON. *skilja* spalten, scheiden, OE. *scylian* trennen, Lith. *skélti* spalten.

5. E. dial. *scurrick* particle, least fraction of anything; coin of the smallest value; *scorrick* fragment, least particle, *scerrick* particle, scrap, morsel: OE. *sceran, sciran, sceoran* scheren, durchschneiden, zerhauen, NE. *shear*.

6. E. dial. *scriddick* atom, particle; smallest coin; *scred* shred, fragment, crumb: OE. *scrēadian*, NE. *shred* zerschneiden, abhauen; OE. *scrēad(e)*, NE. *shred* Stückchen, ON. *skrjōðr* Fetzen, MSw.

skrōdh coining, that which is coined, MLG. *schrōt, schrāt* abgeschnittenes Stück.

7. MLG. *scherf* Scherflein, kleinste Münze, MDu. *scherve* small coin, half a penny, OSw. *skärf* smallest coin, MSw. *skärver, skärf*, Sw. *skärf* penny, farthing, Dan. *skærv, skarv* smallest coin, OHG. *scerf*, MHG. *scherf, scherpf* kleinste Münze, Scherflein, as, *obolus*, stips, NHG. *Scherf, Scherflein*, halber Heller, Bav., etc., *scherf, scherpf, scherflein* kleine Münze:OE. *sceorfan* abbrechen, abbeissen, OHG. *scarbōn* in Stücke schneiden; MLG. *scherve, schervel* Scherbe, Bruchstück, Teil, MDu. *scherf, scherve* sherd, piece, part, fraction.

8. Swab. *ge-schnipf* Abfälle von Gemüse; Ungeziefer in Kleidern; kleine Münze; Bav. *schnipf, schnipfelein* Rand, Spitze von etwas abgeschnitten, LG. *snippel* kleines abgeschnittenes Stück:Bav. *schnipfeln* kleine Stückchen schneiden von etwas, EFris. *snippel* Schnitzel machen, in kleine Stücke zerschneiden, MDu. *snippen*, NE. *snip* mit der Schere abschneiden.

9. NHG. (Gaunerspr.) *spältling* Heller:Bav. *spältling, spältlein* jeder schindel- oder spanähnlicher Teil eines gespaltenes Holzblocks, Stück Holz, *spalten* der Länge nach gewaltsam trennen. Cf. MHG. *spelte* abgespaltenes Holzstück, Lanzensplitter, OE. *speld* Splitter, Holzstück.

10. MLG. *stuver* Stüber, kleine Münze, MDu. *stuver*, Du. *stuiver* small coin, EFris. *stüfer* frühere kleine Münze, Westf. *stüwer* Münze, Cologne *stüver* altkölnische Münze, E. *stiver*, Sw. *styfver*, Dan. *styver;* MLG. *stuve* Stumpf, Rest, nam. von einem Stück Zeug, *stubbe* Baumstumpf, *stūf* stumpf, ohne Spitze, OE. *stybb*, NE. *stub* stump, ON. *stubbi, stubbr* stub:ON. *stȳfa* cut off, chop off, curtail.

11. OE. *stycce* piece, bit, frustum; short space of time; small piece of money, MLG. *stucke* Stück, Teil eines Ganzen; Ackerstück; Geldstück; Gewichtstück, Du. *stuk* piece; coin, as *een stuk goud* piece of gold, Antw. *stuk* five-franc piece, OHG. *stucchi* frustum, fragmentum, segmentum, pars, crusta, obolus, stadium, spatium, tempus, MHG. *stücke, stucke* Teil wovon, Stück; Abschnitt; der zehnte Teil einer Mark, Styr. *stück* Stück; eine von Max I. geprägte Silbermünze:ON. *stykki* piece, chop, OE. *stycce* piece, etc.

In compounds, as NHG, *Markstück*, Du. *geldstuk*, Sw. *rundstycke*, etc.

12. *þveit, þveiti* piece of land, paddock; unit of weight; small coin, doit, subdivision of an ounce, MDu. *duit, deyt* small copper coin, Du. *duit* old Dutch copper coin, eighth part of a stiver, *duitje* doit, WFris. *duit* copper coin, Antw. *duit* piece of one centime, LG. *düttke, dittke, döttke* Silbergroschen, NHG. *Deut* kleinste Münze, E. *doit* small copper coin; any small coin, money, *doitkin, dodkin, dotkin* name given by the English to a small Dutch coin which was illegally imported into England, Dan. *dǿit* small coin:ON. *þvīta,* OE. *þwītan* cut, shave off, OE. *ge-þwit* what is shaved off, chip.

13. ON. *flosu-penningr* a sort of small coin:*flosa* splinter, thin slice, Nor. *flosa* little thin slice torn loose, hanging splinter, rag, tatter, *flus* small bits of peelings, etc.

14. Bav. *piessel* quinarius, von sechs Kreuzer oder Schilling, Swiss *biessen* Stück; fremdländische Scheidemünze wechselnden Wertes, Swab. *pies, pieslein* kleines Geldstück, Als. *biesel,* büsel Zwölfsolsstück, später nur zehn Sols geltend, NE. *piece* separate or detached portion, part, bit, or fragment of anything; a coin, as a piece of eight, pound-piece, crown-piece; Fr. *pièce* Stück; Flicken; Geldstück (*pièce de monnaie*), It. *pezza, pezzo* piece, strip; remnant, bit, MLat. *pecia, petia* broken piece, fragment; piece of land.

XIX. SMALL OR INFERIOR PERSON; SMALL ANIMAL; INSECT; ANYTHING SMALL OF ITS KIND; SMALL, WORTHLESS OBJECT: COIN OF SMALL SIZE OR OF LITTLE VALUE

1. NE. *alderman* in English and Scottish cities, a magistrate next in dignity to the mayor; in England, a half-crown, sort of half-mayor (*Cent. Dict.*).

2. Du. d. (Antw.) *ballekens* francs:Du. *ball.*

3. WFris. *bigge, bichjen* half a cent:*bichje* sucula, Du. *big* pig, farrow.

4. NE. *yellow-boy* gold coin; *jingle-boy* coin:*boy.* Cf. VIc, 1, and XV, 1.

5. E. dial. *bean* small seed of various plants; money, esp. a sovereign or guinea. Cf. the following.

6. Hess. *bonen* (pl.) fabae; Groschen, Batzen:NHG. *Bohne.*

7. Sw. *batting* little creature, young child, boy, urchin, young ox; copper coin of little value:NE. *bantling* young or small child.

8. Swab. *bezig* Abfall, Kehricht aller Art; geschnittenes Viehfutter; schlechtere kleine Münze:perhaps Swiss *batzger* bleierne Spielmarke; Knirps; unansehnliches, geringes Ding, *batzgeren* mit einem stumpfen Werkzeug mühselig schneiden, hauen, *bätzgi* Kernhaus; etwas Geringes, Wertloses; kleiner, misswachsener, auch nichtsnutziger Mensch. Cf. *batzen*, XIII, 4.

9. NE. *dandiprat*, *dandyprat* little fellow, urchin; small silver coin formerly current in England, equal to three pence.

10. Pruss. *filzlaus* Skorpionspinne; das frühere Sechspfennigstück:MHG. *vilzlūs*, NHG. *Filzlaus* crab-louse, body-louse.

11. MDu. *vinkenoge* name of a small Dutch coin, MLG. *vinkenoge*, *vinkenogenpennink* kleine Münze in Pommern und Mecklenburg, perhaps *vuncheyen* (pl.) eine Münze. Lit. 'finch's eye.'

12. MLG. *vūstken-dreilink* Münze (=2 Pfg.). Lit. 'little fist,' contrasted with *dreilink*=3 Pfg.

13. Swiss *futzerli* kleinere Münze:*fotz*(*en*) Troddel, Quaste; Abgang von gehecheltem Flachs oder Hanf, *fötzli* Zotte, Haarlocke, *fotzel* abgerissener Faden, Lappen, Fetzen, Hader.

14. Swab. *floh* pulex; Gulden:*vlōch*, *vlō*, NHG. *Floh*. Cf. WFris. *flie* pulex irritans, vloo; (pl.) *de gouden flieën* money.

15. MDu. *geselle* companion, young fellow, comical chap; name of a coin:MLG., MHG. *geselle* Teilnehmer, Genosse; Bursche, junger Mann, etc.

16. Du. dial. (Boek.) *gronsje* trifle, very small thing, bit; small coin, a half-cent.

17. MDu. *corte* name of a small billon and copper coin:MDu., MLG. *kort* kurz, klein. Cf. the following.

18. MLG. *kortlink* Kurzebold, von kleiner Statur; kleines Holzstück; kleine Münze:MDu. *cortelinge* (pl.) parings, pealings, lint, Du. *korteling* short stick; short piece of wood, Swiss *chürzling* gekürzter Balken oder Baumstamm; MLG., MDu. *kort* kurz, klein.

19. E. dial. *chesle-money* Roman brass coins found in some places, and so called by the country people:*chesell*, OE. *cisil*, *ceosel* pebble.

20. Als. *chluttermünz* kleine Scheidemünze, Ein- und Zweipfennigstücke, Swiss *chlütter-münz* kleine Scheidemünze:Swiss *chlütter*

flüssiges Excrement, schmutziger Mensch; Anhängsel, *chlütteren* dicke Person; unordentliches (schlotteriges) Mädchen; baufälliges Gebäude, altes Haus, *chlutteren* kleine Arbeit machen, flicken; Kleinigkeiten treiben, tändeln.

21. Du. dial. (Jong.) *krentje* five-groschen piece, thirty cents: Du. *krent*, dim. *krentje* currant, NHG. *Korinthe*.

22. Als. *leitsch* kleines Geldstück, Heller: perhaps *leutsch*, *leytsch* weiblicher Hund; faules Tier, auch faules Weib, *leische* dummes Mädchen, Swab. *lätsch*, *laitsch* weiblicher Hund.

23. Du. dial. (Gron.) *mop* dubbeltje, twopence piece: Du. *mop*, *mops* kind of small dog, pug-dog. Cf. Waldeck *möpse* (pl.) Geld, E. dial. *mopuses* (pl.) cash, coin, money.

24. NE. *picayune* Spanish half-real, fippeny bit, small coin, Fr. *picaillon* a farthing; 'tin'; It. *picciolo*, dim. *picciolino* farthing, old coin: *piccolo* little.

25. Berlin *piepen* (pl.) Silbergroschen. Cf. phrase: *det is eene piepe* das ist ganz dasselbe. That is, a coin of little value.

26. NHG. *Pistole* Goldstück, EFris. *pistole* frühere Goldmünze zum Werte von fünf Reichstaler, Swiss *pistole* Münze, NE. *pistol* name applied to certain foreign coins; also to English coins: possibly a shortened form of *pistolet* name given to certain foreign gold coins, and referring to the small size of the coins (*N.E.D.*).

27. OHG. *silih(h)a* kleine Münze: Lat. *siliqua* husk, pod, shell.

28. OFris. *skubbe* kleine Münze: MDu. *schubbe* skin, fleece, scale, MHG. *Schuppe*.

29. Styr. *schustertaler* kupfernes Vierkreuzerstück des Jahres 1861 und 1864: NHG. *Schuster*.

30. MLG. *schāp*, *schāpken* Schaf; eine Münze, EFris. *schāp* alte Münze. Originally a sheep contrasted with larger animals (oxen, horses, etc.). Cf. Als. *schafmünz* kleines Kupfergeld, Lothr. *schafminz* Kleingeld.

31. Du. dial. (Gron.) *schoaploeske* louse in sheep; half a cent: Du. *schapenluis* sort of insect or maggot in sheep.

32. E. dial. *scuddick* the lowest measure of value; a small coin; a fragment, particle, *skiddick* atom, particle; coin of the smallest value: *scuddy* naked, esp. of an infant or unfledged bird; scant; too small; not having a sufficiency, penurious. Cf. the following.

33. E. dial. *scuttick* fragment, particle; coin of the smallest value: *scut* short, as a garment, *scutty* short-tailed; stumpy; small; scanty.

34. E. dial. *squiddish* twentieth part of a farthing: *squidlet* diminutive piece, esp. of meat or cloth.

35. E. dial. *scrat* scratch, very slight wound; anything very small and insignificant; tiny child; meager, mean-looking person; smallest coin; *scratty* small, insignificant, puny. Cf. the following.

36. E. dial. *scrittick* smallest possible coin: *scrit* tear, rent; scratch, *vb.* tear, rend, scratch. Cf. the above.

37. NE. *smelt* a small fish, osmerus eperlanus; applied to various other small fishes; a half-guinea.

38. NE. *sprat* small fish; small coin.

39. E. dial. *steine, steenie* a gold coin; a guinea: perhaps a dimin. of *stean, stein,* dialectical forms of stone.

40. E. dial. *stickamstam* an imaginary coin of the smallest possible value; a halfpenny Scots, the twenty-fourth part of an English penny: perhaps *stick* piece and *stam* stem, stalk; trunk or stump of a tree.

41. Ger. d. (Cronenberg) *wayklȳ*: *skən* (Wandläuschen); das kleine Zwanzigpfennigstück: MHG. *wantlūs* Wanze.

42. LG. (Bremen) *poggenōge* (frog-eye) eine gewisse Gattung ganz kleiner Schwaren, deren fünf auf einen Groten gehen; von Ton gebackene und glasierte Schnellkügelein.

43. NE. *tanner* a sixpence: perhaps Gipsy *tano* little (cf. *Cent. Dict.*).

XX. Often Coins Are Named from the Use Which Is Made of Them

(A coin derives its name from the fact that it is used in payment for a tax or contribution, or for any definite article or thing, or is given as a gratuity, is spent at a certain place or institution, is used in a game, worn as an ornament, etc.)

1. Du. *bakerschelling* schilling, given, mainly on account of its large size, as an emolument to a nurse (*baker*); (fig.) very large shilling.

2. OFris. *braspenning* Art Pfennig, MLG. *braspennink* grosse flandrische Silbermünze, MDu. *braspenninc* small silver coin of ten doits, Du. *braspenning* small Dutch coin, WFris. *braspenning* old

coin; MDu. *brasdenier* small coin: MDu. *brassen* prassen, epulari, that is nummus epularis.

3. MLG. *būr-krosse* Bauergroschen, Goslarer Groschen mit dem Bilde der heiligen Simon und Judas, *būr-gelt* Bauergeld, Geld womit das Bürgerrecht erkauft wird, OFris. *būrield* Bauergeld; NHG. *Bauergroschen* Zinsgroschen, wie ihn die Bauern dem Gutsherrn entrichten: MLG. *būr* Bauer, Bürger.

Cf. MDan. *borger* citizen; certain sort of coin.

4. WFris. *būtergoune* coin of twenty-eight stivers, because the price of butter was fixed at this price.

5. NE. *case* a dollar: perhaps originally the price paid for a case of something.

6. E. dial. *chester* a penny: so called because kept or saved up in a chest or box.

7. Bav. *champagner-taler* weil eben die Bouteille Champagner auf diesen Preis stand.

8. Swab. *eierbatzen* "bis zur Einführung der neuen Münze gab es für den Eierhandel besondere Eierbatzen."

9. NE. *Edward shovel-board* shilling of Edward VI, formerly used in playing shovel-board, also called: *shovel-board, shovel-penny, shove-groat, shove-halfpenny, shove-board, slide-groat.*

10. NE. *fiddler's money* lot of small coins, being the remuneration paid to fiddlers in old times by each of the company; small change, small silver coin, *fiddler* one who plays a fiddle; a sixpence.

11. Du. dial. (Antw.) *voetje* frank, WFlem. *voetje* name of an old coin. Cf. EFris. *fōtje* kleine Gabe, Trinkgeld; maybe a shortened form of *voet-geld* dismissal, and originally a gratuity given upon dismissal.

12. Styr. *frauenhälbling* Silberhälbling, den sich der Schrotmeister aus den Silberabfällen bei der Münze als Zahlmittel für galante Abenteuer ausprägen liess.

13. NE. *grocery* small money; halfpence and farthings: money paid out at the grocery for various small things.

14. MDu. *gruterkijn* a small coin: *gruter*, MLG. *grūthere* der Ratsherr, der die Aufsicht (Einnahme) über das Bier hat. Originally an amount paid to the officer in charge.

15. MHG. *kamer-guldīn* eine Art Ducaten: *kamer*, that is tax or payment made to the exchequer (*kamer*).

16. ON. *kinga* brooch worn on the breast by women; drachma (in the Vulgate); Nor. *kinga, kjenga* Trinkegefäss mit Henkeln.

17. WFlem. *kanne* measure of two pints; twenty-five centimes, the price of a 'kanne' of beer, or twelve centimes, the price of a 'pinte' of beer.

18. Bav. *käsperl* Silberstück, weil der Eintritt ins Kasperltheater zu Wien auf einen Viertelkrontaler gesetzt war, Swiss *chasperli* frühere österr. Münze.

19. Westf. *kassen-dāler* preussischer Taler, *kassengeld* preussisch oder Berliner Courant: so called because this money was required in payment at the official exchange (*Kasse*), and was saved up for this purpose. Cf. the following.

20. Hess. *kasse-männchen* Zweigutegroschenstück, Waldeck *kasemänneken* kleine Münze, Westf. *kassmännken* 2½ Silbergroschenstück, and by analogy to *Kasten* (chest where the money was kept) Cologne *kastemännche* altes 2½-Groschenstück. On the second part cf. XXVII, 9.

21. Styr. *kaufmünze* kleine Silberscheidemünze: NHG. *Kauf, kaufen.*

22. Westf. *kerken-dāler* Pfennig. Lit. 'money given at church (Kirche).' Cf. E. dial. *devil's bit* three-penny piece: so called because proud people will not give copper at collections, and therefore provide themselves with the smallest silver coin which is current.

23. MDan. *krigsmark* mark (money), *krigsmønt* coin: *krig* Krieg.

24. MDu. *labay(e)* old Flemish coin, braspenning, Kil. *labbaeye* epulum; dupondius, nummus epularis, WFlem. *labaaie* banquet, feast, epulum, *labaaien* drink, carouse, banquet.

25. MDan. *lejreskilling* coin: *leger, lejre* bed, couch, lodging. Cf. Styr. *schlafkreuzer* Geld, das für einquartierte Soldaten dem Wohnungsgebenden bezahlt wurde.

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[To be concluded]

SOME VERB-FORMS IN GERMANIC

1. The Injunctive

The injunctive, which in form is an unaugmented indicative, functions in part as a preterit: Skt. *bhárat*, Gr. *φέρε* 'he bore' (cf. Brugmann, *Kz. vergl. Gram.* 551). According to Dieter, *Altgerm. Dial.* II, §§ 203, γ, 189, 2, this use of the injunctive in Germ. is confined to such forms as ON. *kom* 'came' and the second sing. pret. in WGerm. Failure to see the injunctive in the preterit of a whole class of verbs is apparently due to a tenacious adherence to the old theory of the so-called reduplicating verbs.

In these verbs the second and third series correspond most closely to the regular ablaut-verbs. Here the regular preterit of the reduplicating verbs in N. and WG. have (or had originally) the same vowel as the present of the regular ablaut-verbs. That is, they are injunctives of the type Skt. *bhárat*, Gr. *φέρε*. Of the same type are several preterits with Germ. *eu* or *e* in regular ablaut-verbs of the second and third series.

The following preterits with Germ. *eu* have either IE. *ēu* or *eu*, which would fall together: ON. *bió*, (*búa* 'wohnen'): Skt. *bhávati* 'wird, ist,' OE. *bēon* 'be.' OE. *hēof*: *hēofan* 'lament,' Goth. *hiufan* 'wehklagen.' OE. *hnēop* 'plucked': Goth. *dishniupan* 'zerreissen.' OE. *onrēod* 'inbuit': *rēodan* 'redden,' ON. *rióða*, Gr. *ἐρεύθω*. OE. *bēot* (*bēatan* 'beat'): root **bheu̯ā-* (Walde², 185). OE. *dēog* (*dēagian* 'dye'): *dēogol*, *dēagol*, *dīegle* 'hidden,' OHG. *tougal* 'dunkel, verbórgen,' *tougan* 'dunkel, finster, verborgen,' Lett. *dukt* 'matt sein' (hinsinken); OHG. *tūhhan* 'tauchen,' *petochen* 'versunken,' *fertochenen* 'verborgenen,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 89; *IE.* a^x 74 f.). OHG. *screot* (*scrōtan* 'abschneiden'): ON. *skrióðr* 'Fetzen, zerfetztes Buch.' OHG. *stioz* (*stozan* 'stossen'): root **steud-* 'tundere' (cf. Walde², 798 f.).

The following preterits have Germ. *e*, *i* from IE. *e* or, in some cases, *ē*, which would be shortened before a liquid or nasal combination: ON. *giall* (*gall*): *gialla* 'gellen,' OHG. *gellan*, etc. ON.

hialp (*halp*, OSwed. *halpa* 'helfen'): ON. *hialpa*, Goth. *hilpan* 'helfen.' ON. *blett* from **blind* (*blanda* 'mischen'): Goth. *blinds* 'blind,' Lith. *blendžiúś* 'sich verfinstern.' ON. *fell*, *felt*, *feldom* (*falda* 'den Kopf bedecken,' Goth. *falþan* 'falten'): root **pel-t-* 'fold.' ON. *gekk*, *gingom* (*ganga* 'gehen'): 3d sing. pres. *gingr*, Lith. *žengiù* 'schreite.' ON. *hell*, *helt*, *heldom* (*halda* 'halten,' Goth. *haldan* 'weiden,' Gr. *βουκόλος* 'Rinderhirt'): Gr. *κέλομαι*, *κέλλω* (Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*[2] 72). OS. *skeld* (*skaldan* 'schalten, stossen'): OHG. *sceltan* 'schelten.' OS. *well* (*wallan* 'wallen'): ON. *vella* 'sieden.' OS. *weld* (*waldan* 'walten'): Lith. *veldėti* 'regieren, besitzen.'

Outside of the Norse the original Germ. *e*, *i* of the preterit is changed by analogy of other types. Thus the pret. vowel in OHG. becomes either *ia*, *ie* after the analogy of *hiaz* 'hiess,' *liaz* 'liess,' or *eo*, *io* after the analogy of *liof* 'lief.' OHG. *spialt* for **spelt* (*spaltan* 'spalten'): OE. *speld* 'splinter.' OHG. *wialk* for **welk* (*walkan* 'walken'): Lith. *vélti* 'walken.' OHG. *wialz* for **welz* (*walzan* 'wälzen'): ON. *velta* 'wälzen.' OHG. *spian* for **spinn* (*spannan* 'spannen'): *spinnan* 'spinnen,' root **spē-* 'stretch.' This is practically the same as my original explanation in *Germanic Studies* II.

2. THE DUAL OF THE VERB IN GERMANIC

The Goth. 1st dual pret. *witu* exactly corresponds to Skt. *vidvá*. In ON. this is represented by Run. *waritu* (**writu*) 'wir beide ritzten,' ON. *tóko vit* 'we two took' (cf. Noreen *Aisl. Gr.* § 461, 3). This gives the best explanation for the apparent loss of final *-m* in *tóko vér* 'we took' as compared with *vér tókom*. That is, for original *vit tóko*, *vér tókom* and *tóko vit*, *tókom vér* arose *vit*, *vér tókom* and *tóko vit*, *vér*. In some cases also the loss of final *-m* may have been phonetic, as certainly was the case with *-ð* of the 2d plur. before an initial *þ-* (Noreen *Aisl. Gr.* § 459, 4).

In WG. the 1st dual of the pret. would likewise end in *-u:* OE. *aru*, *nutu* (*wit*) *wē*, etc. Forms ending in *-a* may represent Goth. *-ōs* as in *nimōs* 'we two take': *gonga*, *walla*, *wyrca wē*. The forms in *-e* are evidently opt., as *binde wit*, *wē*, *bunde wē*, etc.: Goth. *bindaiwa*, **bundeiwa*, WG. **bindēu*, **bundīu*. From these forms the usage spread to the 2d dual and plur., as: *binde git*, *gē*, *bunde gē*, etc. (cf. Sievers *Ags. Gr.* § 360).

OHG. *wizzu* in *wizzuwir* T 132, 17 is identical with Goth. *witu*. Forms in *-e* are opt.: *wege wir, sage wir, genese wir*, etc. (cf. Braune *Ahd. Gr.* § 307, Anm. 7). In the 1st plur. pres. the opt. forms early crowded out the ind., hence the more frequent forms in *-e*. In MHG. the forms without *n* where the verb was followed by *wir* became more common.

The 2d dual in Goth. ends in *-ts*: *saihwats, wituts, wileits*, etc. This regularly represents the IE. suffix *-tes* or *-thes*, which would become in Germ. *-ðiz* or *-þiz*, according to accent. The *i* would disappear in Goth., and there would result *-þs*, which would be assimilated to *-ts*. We may assume that Goth. *-þs* would always become *-ts* when not prevented by association. Similarly *-þs* becomes *-ts*, *z* in ON., as: *orz*, gen. of *orð*, *kuazk* from *kuað sik*, etc. (cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Gr.* § 183, d); and *ts* in OE., as: *snītst* 'du schneidest' for *snīþst* (cf. Sievers *Ags. Gr.* § 359, Anm. 7).

In ONorw. the usual form in the 2d plur. ends in *-ir*, as *bindir* 'bindet.' Noreen, *Pauls Grundriss* I², 637 f., derives this from **bindiđ-r* from *bindiđ ér* 'bindet ihr.' But *bindir* may be more simply and easily explained as coming from **bindiđ-r*, Germ. **bindiðiz*, the 2d dual.

In WG. a **bindiðiz* (Lat. *regitis*) or **bindaðiz* (Goth. *bindats*) would fall together with the 2d plur.: OHG. *nemet, nemat*, more rarely *quidit, ferit* for *quedet, faret* (cf. Braune *Ahd. Gram.* § 308). The *a* in Goth. *nimats* is probably not original. But if so, then it is identical with OHG. *nemat*. The pret. ind. *nēmuts, nēmuþ* and opt. *nēmeits, nēmeiþ* fall together completely in OHG. *nāmut, nāmīt*. Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II, 2, p. 1373.

3. WEST GERMANIC *deda* 'DID'

For WG. *deda* 'did' the most satisfactory explanation is that it is a reduplicated perfect. But whatever its original form it is evident that it has suffered a number of analogical changes. In general it may be compared with Skt. *dadhāú* (cf. Brugmann, *Grdr.* II², 3, p. 457), though not corresponding exactly, for this would give OS. **dedo*, OHG. **teto*. But *deda* does not stand in Germ. by itself. It is like Goth. *saisō, lailō, waiwō*, ON. *sera, rera* (from *sá* 'säen,'

róa 'rudern'), and other reduplicated preterits modeled after them, as: *slera* (*slá* 'schlagen'), *grera* (*gróa* 'keimen'), *snera* (*snúa* 'wenden'), *gnera* (*gnúa* 'schaben'), *bnere* (Goth. *bnauan* 'zerreiben').

From these we can reconstruct, if not the original IE. forms, at least the common Germ. forms from which they sprang. Of the Goth. verbs the following forms are preserved: 1st and 3d sing. *saisō*, 2d sing. *saisōst*, 3d plur. *lailōun*, *waiwōun*. These forms are no doubt nearest the Germ. forms, but they have all suffered an analogical change. For the stem *saisō-* (for **saizō-*, pre-Germ. **sesó-*) is carried through after the model of *lailōt*. A pre-Germ. 1st sing. **sesó* or **sesóm* could only give Goth. **saíza*, and a 3d sing. **sesót* would give the same. The form that exists (*saisō*) is plainly analogical. The 2d sing. *saisōst* is either made over from **saisōs*, Germ. **sezōs*, with *t* tacked on from the usual ending of the 2d sing. perf. as: *wast*, *gaft*, *falht*, etc., or else, which is less likely, changed from **sezōþ(a)*, with *st* taking the place of the proper perf. ending, after the analogy of *ga-stōst*, *wast*, *waist*, *laist*, *gast*, etc. The plural must have been in Germ.: **sezōmę*, **sezōþ(i)*, **sezōn(þ)*. These were changed in Goth. by adding the usual endings of the pret. plur. to *saisō-*, giving **saisōum*, **saisōuþ*, *saisōun* for **saisōm*, etc.

In ON. the corresponding *sera* is conjugated in the sing. like a weak verb. In the plur. *serom*, *seroð*, *sero* can represent either the original Germ. forms with *ō* or the later analogical forms with *u*.

In OS. the forms of *deda* that correspond most closely to the above are 1st and 3d sing. *deda*, *-e*, 2d sing. *dedos* (older **dedōs*), plur. *dedun*, representing both the 1st pl. *dedum* (for older **dedōm*) and the 3d pl. *dedun* (older **dedōn*). The 2d sing. *dādi* and pl. *dādun* are plainly after the analogy of a strong verb of the 5th class. The same is true of OHG. *tāti*, *tātum*, *tātut*, *tātun*. But even in OHG. the form **tetun* must have occurred, being represented by MHG. *teten*, and the opt. *tete* (:OHG. **teti*, OS. *dedi*). Moreover, there is evidence that the earlier forms for OHG. were *teta*, **tetōs*, **tetōm*, **tetōt*, **tetōn*. For this best explains the endings in Alem. *suohtōm*, *suohtōt*, *suohtōn*, and the 2d sing. *-ōs(t)* in all the dialects. Compare OS. *sōhtos*, *-as* (:*dedos*) for the more common *sōhtes*. The *e* in OS. *dedun* also points to an original *-ōm*, *-ōn*, for *-um*, *-un* would have given **didun*.

4. THE ē- AORIST IN GERMANIC AND THE WEAK PRETERIT

Attention has been called to a number of weak preterits without a dental. Examples are: OIcel. *mis-gere*, Run. *kiari* 'machte,' pl. *kiaru*:ON. *gerua* 'machen'; WN. *horfe* 'wandte,' *horfo* 'wandten sich': *horfa* 'sich wenden' (*huerfa*, Goth. *hwairban*, etc.); ODan. *havæ*, OSw. *have*, OIcel. *hafe* 'hatte':*hafa* 'haben'; OSw. *laghi*, ODan. *laghæ* 'legte,' OSw. *laghu* 'legten': Goth. *lagjan* 'legen'; ODan. *saghæ*, OSw. *saghe* (with *ā* according to Noreen, *Altschw. Gram.* § 553, A18), *seghi* 'sagte,' OIcel. *sǫgoð* 'sagtet': OHG. *sagēn* 'sagen'; OSw. *lēghi* 'mietete':OIcel. *leiga* 'mieten,' Goth. *leihwan* 'leihen' (cf. Noreen, *Pauls Grundriss* I², 635; *Aschw. Gr.* §§ 552 Anm. 5, 553 Anm. 5, 9, 13, 18). Here also belong OHG. *fermisson* 'vermissten,' pret. opt. *missīn* (cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gr.* § 363 Anm. 6) and Goth. *iddja* 'ging.'

Put into Goth. as forms of *sagen* this would give: **saga, sagēs, saga; sagum, saguþ, sagun.* In ending, these correspond exactly with the weak preterit. Thus the forms of WG. *sagda* would be the same as the above with *d* after *g*. However, this means only that the words were conjugated after a common type. For the plural the terminations are the same as in all preterits in Germ. They therefore prove nothing as to the original form. The singular, however, points to an aorist of the type of Gr. *ἐδάρην, ἐτάκην*, etc. The same formation also gives ē-presents: Gr. *ἐτάκη* 'schwand dahin': Lat. *tacet*, OHG. *dagēt* 'schweigt'; Gr. *ἠλίφη* 'anointed':OHG. *lebēt* 'lebt'; Gr. *ἐμάνη* 'raged':OHG. *formonēt* 'verachtet,' etc.

Similarly we may compare ON. *hafe* 'hatte':OHG. *habēt* 'hat'; ON. *horfe* 'wandte':*horfer* 'kehrt um'; OSw. *saghe* 'sagte': OHG. *sagēt* 'sagt'; ON. *-gere, kiari* 'machte':OE. (Merc.) *gearweþ* 'macht.'

Goth. *iddjēs* can hardly be anything but an ē- aorist with preserved augment: Germ. **ijjēs* from **e-i̯ē-s*:Goth. *jēr* 'jahr,' MHG. *jān* 'fortlaufende Reihe, Strich,' NHG. dial. *jān* 'gerader Strich, Reihe, die der Mäher einhält,' Skt. *yâna-ḥ* 'Bahn,' *yâti* 'geht,' Czech *jěti* 'fahren, reiten,' Lith. *jóti* id., etc., base **i̯ē-*, **i̯ā* 'go, ire' (cf. Schade 462). Here also probably OHG. *jāmar* 'leidvoll,' *sb.* 'Schmerzgefühl, das ein herber Verlust erzeugt, Herzeleid, schmerzliches Verlangen': Skt. *yāma* 'Gang, Weg, Zug; das Angehen, Anrufen, Flehen'; *yācati* 'fleht, heischt, fordert, bittet um,' *yā-*

'gehen, ziehen; gelangen zu, kommen nach, angehen um,' *yāpáyati* 'macht gehen': Gr. ἵημι 'let go, send away; set in motion, throw; *mid.* go eagerly towards: long for, yearn after, wish, desire.'

The conjugation of *iddja* in pre-Germ. would therefore be: **eį̄ēm, -ēs, -ēt; -ēu̯e, -ētes; -ēmen, -ēte, -ěnt.* This, with doubling of the *į*, would give in Germ.: **ijjȩ̄, -ēs, -ē; -ēwi, -ēðiz; -ēmę, -ēði, -ēn.*[1] In the dual and plur. the forms were modeled in Goth. after the perfect by adding the perfect endings to the stem *ijjēð-*, which was abstracted from the 2d dual and 2d plur., perhaps also influenced by a Goth. **didum.* In WG. *ijē-* would naturally become by analogy, at least in the plur., **ijō-* or **iju-*, whence OE. *ēo-de, ēa-de, īo-de.*

This gives the type for all the weak verbs in Gothic. That is, to the preterit stem, as: *iddj-, brāht-, mund-, kunþ-, wiss-, nasid-*, etc., were added the terminations *-a, -ē-s, -a; [-ē-du], -ē-duts; -ē-dum, ē-duþ, -ē-dun.* Whatever may be the origin of these stems, in feeling the forms must have been divided, e.g., for the 3d plur., *iddjē-dun, brāhtē-dun, mundē-dun, kunþē-dun, wissē-dun, nasidē-dun, habaidē-dun, salbōdē-dun*, etc. For otherwise the forms would be without system, and Gothic is systematic to an extreme. And this division in feeling corresponds to the historic division. For *iddjē-, brāhtē-, mundē-*, etc., are the aorist stems in *ē-*.

In WG. and NG. the weak preterit substituted the perfect endings of the plural for the *ē-* aorist endings. So Germ. **sagēmę, sagēðį, sagēn* became in ON. **sǫgom, sǫgoð, *sǫgo* (cf. OSw. *laghu*). Words of this type were no doubt common at an earlier time, but they were more and more displaced by the *d-* preterits. The appearance of these is best explained by the Wackernagel-Behaghel theory that the ending *-thēs* of the 2d sing. (Skt. *-thās*, Gr. *-θης*, OIr. *-the*) gave a feeling for a new tense stem. Thus pre-Germ. **sagdhēs* (from **saghthēs*) gave a lengthened stem **sagdhē-* beside **saghē-*. Later still arose the analogical preterits with an intermediate vowel: Goth. *lagida, salbōda, habaida*, OHG. *legita, salbōta, habēta.* In part these must have arisen in pre-Germ. The new tense stem thus made would end in *-dhē-*. For *-dhē-* would naturally be abstracted from **sagdhē-, *libdhē-*, etc., to form **loghidhē-*. This *-dhē-* might

[1] This would phonetically be *-in* with shortening of *ē* before the nasal combination. But the long vowel would be carried through by analogy as in Goth. *salbōnd*, OHG. *salbōnt, habēnt*, etc.

have been associated in feeling with the root **dhē-*, *dhō-* 'set, do,' but there is no good reason for assuming that the weak preterit had any other connection with the root **dhē-*.

This explanation does not exclude the possibility that in some instances the weak preterit was formed on a stem ending in *t*. Thus to *to-* participles were formed *tē-* aorists. In some cases also the *t* was a part of the verb stem, as: OHG. *fermisson*:*missen;* ON. *olla*: *valda*.

As an original *ē-* aorist may also be explained OSw. *byggi*, ONorw. *biuggi*, *biugge* 'wohnte,' *bioggio*, *buggio* 'wohnten.' Compare Gr. *ἐφύη* 'grew,' Lat. *fuē-re* 'were,' OBulg. *bě* 'was,' and the analogical pret. Goth. *bauaida* 'wohnte.'

If the weak preterit is an *ē-* aorist the 1st sing. would end in *-ēm*. This would give Goth. *-a* as in *munda*, *bauhta*, *nasida*. The *-a* in ON. is for older *-ō*:Run. *tawido*. This *-ō* according to Brugmann, *Grdr.* II², 3, p. 457, may represent IE. *ōu* as in Skt. *dadhāú*. But since WG. has *-a*:OHG. *teta*, *nerita*, OS. *deda*, *nerida*, OE. *dyde*, *nerede*, which cannot represent IE. *-ōu* (cf. Skt. *açtāú*, Goth. *ahtau*, OHG., OS. *ahto*, OE. *eahta*), it is more probable that the *-a* in ON. is the same in origin as in WG., namely from *-ōm*, and that this *-ōm* came from the 1st sing. **dhedhóm* 'did,' **sesóm* 'sowed,' etc. The usual interchange between the *-ō* of the 1st sing. and the *-e-* in the 2d and 3d may also have had something to do with this change.

The 3d sing. would end in *-ēt* in the *ē-* aorist, from which regularly Goth. *-a* in Goth. *munda*, *bauhta*, etc., *-e*, *-i* in ON. *hafe* 'hatte,' *skulde*, *suafðe;* *e* in OE. *lifde;* and *-e* in OS. and OHG. for the usual *-a*. After the analogy of these is conjugated the 3d sing. in ON. *sere*, *rere*, etc., and OE. *dyde*. The *-a* in OS. and OHG. is probably regular in *deda*, *teta* (**dhedhót*) but analogical in *thāhta*, *dāhta* (**tonktēt*). The assimilated forms in *-o* as in OHG. *ruarto mo* (Braune *Gram.* § 319, Anm. 1) may indicate the original *-ō* in *teta*.

That pre-Germ. **dhedhōm* would give the forms that occur admits of no doubt. But whether **dhedhōt* would result in OS. *deda*, OHG. *teta* is not altogether certain. For Germ. we may safely assume **đeđō*[*þ*]. Inasmuch as this *ō* was protected, it might well have developed differently from final unprotected *ō*, which becomes

WG. *-u*. The only parallel for final *-ōt* occurs in noun stems in *-ōt* as Goth. *mēna*, ON. *máne*, OE. *mōna*, OS., OHG. *māno* 'Mond': Goth. *mēnōþs*, etc. But here analogy has dictated the forms.

Evidence for the *ē-* aorist may also be seen in the pret. opt. of weak verbs. Only from an unthematic stem ending in a consonant or from an *ē-* aorist could the opt. have *-ī-*. So OHG. *missīn* 'missten,' *wissīs* 'wüsstest,' *muosīn* 'müssten,' *brāhtīt* 'brächtet,' *neritīt*, *salbōtīt*, *habetīt*, etc., may be compared in formation with Gr. *πεισθεῖτε*, *δειχθεῖτε*, *τιμηθεῖτε*, etc.

In the other WG. dialects and in NG. occur corresponding forms. In Goth., however, are found only the longer forms made from the stem of the plur. ind. Thus ind. *wissēd-un*, *kunþēd-un*, *mahtēd-um*, *nasidēd-un*, etc.: opt. *wissēd-eis*, *kunþēd-eiþ*, *mahtēd-i*, *nasidēd-i*.

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ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL EPIC

Since the publication of Joseph Bédier's *Légendes épiques* several prominent students of mediaeval literature, acting independently of one another, have expressed the opinion that the pattern, if not the actual predecessors, of epic composition in the vernacular might be found in the Latin poetry of the ninth and tenth centuries. W. Tavernier suggests mediaeval Latin poetry in general.[1] M. Wilmotte argues that the vernacular epic of the early period (around the year 1000) probably continued some of the traditions of Latin learned poetry.[2] J. Salverda de Grave, more specific than his colleagues, finds in certain historical compositions of the ninth century, such as Angilbert's *Battle of Fontenoy*, true progenitors of historical poems in folk-Latin, whose existence during the tenth century he considers probable. And they, in their turn, would beget the epic songs of the eleventh.[3] So that each of these scholars would bridge over in about the same way the gap between the reigns of Charlemagne and his immediate descendants, when most of the events of the later epic poetry occurred, and the rule of Hugh Capet and William the Great of Aquitania, when these events first entered into rhythmical narratives.

Yet it may be allowable to apprehend the genesis of the French epic somewhat differently, and perhaps in so doing to gain an insight into its substance and purpose, an insight which the most searching

[1] *Archiv. f. d. St. n. S.*, CXXXI, 187–212.

[2] *Revue historique*, CXX, 241–88.

[3] *Publications of the Amsterdam Academy*, 1915, Part I, pp. 464–515.

analysis of mediaeval Latin verse fails to give. For French heroic poetry, as it worked itself out in its best examples, took for its leading ideas three fundamental conceptions: zeal for religion, pride of race, and the personal relation of feudalism. Of these three ideas, two are fairly general, and have existed apart or together at various times and among different peoples. But the third, the peculiar valuation of the personal tie between vassal and suzerain, attains its growth only at certain periods of social evolution. In France this period seems to have been reached during the first half of the tenth century. Therefore we should not look for its expression in literature before that date, at the earliest.

But, as we know full well, this notion of the feudal tie is not essential to the production of epic poetry. The nations of antiquity had their epic without it. On the other hand, the emotion of pride of race, or patriotism, does seem essential. In France of the Middle Ages this emotion was mingled from the beginning with religious zeal, if literature is to be taken as a safe guide. Indeed, the latter sentiment seems to have been expressed before the other, possibly because of the fact that all the extant literature of the day is of clerical origin. Or it may be that Charlemagne's ideal of one universal Christian state, which should embrace all believers, overcame the feeling of patriotism with the more enlightened, a feeling quite separatist in its nature. At all events, whatever explanation may apply here, during nearly the entire ninth century while the French tongue was gradually fitting itself for its future calling, the authors on French soil were a unit in setting forth the merits of religious devotion. Their heroes were Christian heroes, not national patriots. With them Charlemagne stood pre-eminently as the champion of the faith, and his storied invasion of Spain in 778 was regarded as a holy crusade, set in motion to free the church of the Peninsula from infidel oppression.[1]

Yet already even, not long after this characterization of the Spanish campaign was made—in a Life of Louis the Pious, around 840—another note was being feebly echoed. The Empire had fallen on evil days. Civil discord was wrecking Charlemagne's great structure, and national interests, blindly seeking to be satisfied,

[1] Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, IV, 440–46.

were perhaps having their share in the destruction. And it is in a censure of this discord, which was bringing ruin on the country, that we first find the trace of what may have passed for patriotism.

Paschasius Radbert, a monk of Corbie near Amiens, and who died as abbot of the monastery in 865, undertook among other writings a biography of Abbot Wala, who had died at Corbie in 835. Appearing in the midst of the troubles of the century, this work takes occasion more than once to denounce the ambitions which were destroying state and church alike. Wala, it declares, was ever anxious for the welfare of the country as well as for the security of the Christian faith. Or, in Paschasius' words: "Unde ut erat iste [Wala] amore fervens circa Deum et circa religionem sanctam, circa propinquos sui generis et patriam."[1] And another passage expresses the same concern in behalf of folk and religion by the phrases, "circa patriam et ecclesias, circa proceres et magnatos, circa religionem et salutem populi."[2]

The exact modern equivalents for Paschasius' terms are, of course, not absolutely certain. He brackets *Deum* with *religionem sanctam* and *propinquos sui generis* with *patriam*. The meaning of the first set is self-explanatory, of the second tending toward that feeling which we now call patriotism, if not already there. In regard to religion he apparently prefers the concrete *ecclesias* to the abstract *ecclesiam*, and from this practice we should suppose that *patria* is also concrete in its application, and does not stand for a synonym of *res publica*. However this may be, and whether Paschasius' *patria* represents our present notion of "fatherland" or not, the spirit of the times was favoring the development of national feeling, and we are soon to meet with convincing evidence that patriotism vied with religious zeal in stirring French hearts under the weaker successors of Charlemagne.

Shortly after Wala's death the Norman raids began to prove a veritable scourge to the river valleys of Northern and Central France. Aiming at the churches, because of the reputation of their treasures, quite as much as at the wealth of cities, the Normans

[1] Pertz, *Scriptores*, II, p. 535, ll. 56, 57.

[2] Pertz, *op. cit.*, p. 556, ll. 45, 46. Similar expressions, which occur elsewhere, are "Pro amore patriae et populi, pro religione ecclesiarum et salute civium" (*op. cit.*, p. 552, ll. 3, 4), and "pro salute populi et patriae" (*op. cit.*, p. 554, l. 13 [cf. p. 555, ll. 36–38]).

ruined clergy and parishioners indifferently. They stopped commerce by making the highways unsafe, and so halted the local pilgrimages. They killed priests and burghers, monks and serfs without distinction of calling, and this common danger finally forced all classes to join with one another in mutual defense.

Resistance to the raids was often conducted by ecclesiastics. Indeed in the general breakdown of temporal power the church remained the most stable organization still standing. For the individual nobles could not be relied upon. They often proved to be self-seeking, careful of their own safety only, and would avoid the invader. Consequently we frequently find priests and abbots enlisting soldiers, naming leaders, even planning campaigns. And their activity was not at all illogical. For the enemy was not only an alien, he was also a heathen. Paschasius had already qualified his forays as "paganorum . . . . incursiones."

Instances of this federation of church and people are plenty with the writers of the waning ninth century. Praise or blame are portioned out in due measure in their works to valiant or cowardly suzerains. Odo, count of Paris from 879, and afterward king of France (†898), is the more often commended. Charles the Simple (893–929), the rival of Odo's later years, the more often censured, if we may judge by the severe rebuke he received in 897 from the Archbishop of Rheims, for proposing an alliance to the Normans. And Louis III, whose short life and shorter reign (879–882) would have hardly been marked by posterity, acquired, on the contrary, immortality because he saved the abbey of St. Riquier from invasion. Even before his death, which followed shortly after his victory, he could have listened to the poet of the *Ludwigslied* exalting his piety and devotion to the Christian cause, while two centuries later these qualities of his, combined with his prowess in the fight, were to furnish the main inspiration for the epic poem of *Gormond et Isembard.*[1]

The *Ludwigslied,* however, with all its eulogy of the monarch's faith, makes no appeal at all to patriotism, and perhaps the learned

[1] Salverda de Grave counts the *Ludwigslied* among the predecessors of the national epic (*op. cit.*, p. 505). Bédier, in a brilliant discussion of the problem (*Légendes épiques*, IV, 21–91), fails to find any evidence of historical continuity (from Louis' day) in *Gormond et Isembard.*

poetry of the time in whatever tongue, could we possess it in its entirety, would fail to recognize such a sentiment. Yet there is a document which refers to events of this period, and which probably dates, in its original shape, from these last years of the ninth century, that does disclose, bound in closest union, these emotions of religious zeal and racial pride. Besides, in expressing them it makes use of genuine poetical language. This document is the story of a campaign of King Odo against the Normans, in 893, and has been preserved in Richer's history, written at Rheims around the year 996.

Odo had wintered in Auvergne. On the approach of spring he was told that the Normans had broken into Aquitania, and were heading farther south, apparently for the rich shrine of St. Julian of Brioude. Assembling his men, he marched to meet them, and defeated them at Montpensier in two successive onslaughts. The second of these attacks was led, on the part of the French, by one of Odo's grooms promoted to standard-bearer, in default of the king's recusant nobles. The Norman chief was taken prisoner, was offered death or conversion, and chose the latter, though only to be killed at the baptismal font itself by this same commoner, who feared the Norman's revenge, should he regain his liberty. Christian fervor and pride of race animate the whole recital, while episodes and incidents of a truly epic flavor embellish its sentences.[1] Here is at least one witness to that religious and racial solidarity which was created—or perhaps merely confirmed—among the French by the Norman warfare of the ninth century. And it is given with fitting terms of artistic expression. Were it also characterized by the affirmation of the feudal tie, it could be distinguished with difficulty from a page of the later epic.

Unfortunately for our contention a second text of the kind is yet to be found among the works of the ninth and tenth centuries. For all that, we should not consider its absence a proof that it did not once exist. An event of the tenth century which bears no

[1] Cf. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XXX (1915), 645–57. We are reminded of a somewhat similar incident on the eve of Caesar's conquest of Britain. His ships had drawn near the island, and his men were fearing to leave them, on account of the depth of the water, when the standard-bearer of the Tenth Legion addressed his comrades with the words: "Desilite, ... milites, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero." Whereupon he jumped overboard with the eagle, and all followed him at once to shore (*De Bello Gallico*, iv. c. 25).

relation to Viking forays, and is animated neither by a deep sense of religion nor yet by patriotism, nevertheless was kept alive for two hundred years by the community where it occurred, and in the form, original or acquired, of a rhythmical narrative. This event was the murder of William Longsword by his vassals, in 942. And the vassals' version of the affair continued to persist in the face of clerical opposition and the enmity of the chroniclers.[1]

It must also be confessed that the Latin authors of the early eleventh century too are exceedingly sparing in allusions to what might have been songs of the Norman wars. Raoul Glaber of Auxerre, writing about 1040, circulates the report that the celebrated Viking, Hasting, of the ninth century, was in reality a Christian renegade, a serf from the vicinity of Troyes, whose craving for power had led him into the camp of the enemy.[2] Now this is what will be said not many years later of Isembard, in the poem of *Gormond et Isembard*. And not long before Glaber, a scribe of Angoulême, Adémar de Chabannes, connected the familiar epic incident of the stroke which cleaves at the same time armor and body with the surname of William Taillefer of Poitou (916–62). William's army would have fought a drawn battle with Norman raiders, and the decision would have been left to the fortunes of a single combat between the two leaders. In this fight William would have driven his very hard, short sword with one swing through both cuirass and breastbone of his adversary.[3]

In his efforts to account for the citation of historical personages by the poets of the national epic, Bédier reduces to five the number whose presence there he cannot explain. Among the five is Seguin of Bordeaux, whom Longnon had identified with a Count Seguin, who was killed by the Normans in 845. The identification does not appeal to Bédier,[4] and yet the death of this particular ruler seems to

[1] Because Wace says he heard minstrels sing about this quarrel in his youth, Gaston Paris has named the vassals' version, represented by the minstrels, *La chanson de la vengeance de Riul* (*Romania*, XVII, 276–80). Philippe Lauer discussed the matter afterwards in his *Louis d'Outre-Mer* (*Bibliothèque de l'école pratique des hautes études*, No. 127), Paris, 1900, pp. 276–83.

[2] Bédier, *op. cit.*, IV, 56.

[3] "Ense corto durissimo per media pectoris secuit simul cum torace una modo percussione."—Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ii, c. 28. Cf. Baist, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, XVI, 456, 457. Adémar was writing toward 1028.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 390, 391.

have vividly impressed itself on the population of the western provinces. A number of chronicles, extending over a long period of years, continue to record it. And the reason for this persistence may not be far to seek. For Seguin's fate was accompanied by the sack and burning of Saintes, and the treasures which the pirates carried away from the unfortunate town undoubtedly included the rich offerings to its shrines, if not their holy relics.[1]

Something also which hints at the existence of heroic poetry based on the Norman raids may be derived from existing texts of the national epic itself. *Gormond et Isembard* is confessedly the echo of such a raid, whether a late fabrication out of local legends, or the last of a series of poems on that event. It is inspired also by the related sentiments of religious zeal and racial pride, which we have supposed the Viking invasion crystallized in France, and it undoubtedly owes its origin, whether early or late, to the gratitude of some devotee of the abbey of St. Riquier, which had been saved by the victory, a combination of attributes which makes the rejection of the seductive idea, that the original poem formed a French counterpart to the *Ludwigslied* quite difficult.

On the other hand, the *Chanson de Guillaume*, which lacks a known historical background and assumes the outward appearance of a song against the Saracens, contains unmistakable marks of the Norman inroads. The first part of it, on the early exploits of Vivien, in topography and names clearly derives from stories of the Viking terror. From allusions in the poem we learn that Vivien had formerly despoiled a Hun of his shield, had killed the pagan, Alderof, and had

[1] The chronicles in question tell of the disaster in these words: "Alio anno Siguinus, comes Burdegalensis et Sanctonicensis, a Normannis captus et occisus est, et Sanctonas a Normannis concremata est, thesauris ejus obtimis exportatis."—Bouquet, *Recueil*, VII, 222, or Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronicon*, iii, c. 17.

Another of Bédier's five, Rispeu of Brittany, could also have been bequeathed to the later epic by popular tradition. For he came to a tragic end (in 857) not at the hands of the Normans, like Seguin, but by the treasonable daggers of his own vassals, as William Longsword was to do. And to make the murder the more striking, Rispeu's vassal was a kinsman who profited by his deed to usurp the crown. Such a pitch of villainy could not fail to strike every imagination, and consequently we are not at all surprised to find it a constantly recurring entry in the annals of the Loire Valley for the next two centuries. Perhaps the severest denunciation of the crime was expressed by an admirer of Bishop Hérard of Tours (†869): "Postea autem in tertio ordinationis suae [Hérard's] anno Salomon, nepos Nomenoi, cupiditate magna ductus, Herispogium regem cognatum suum furtive aggrediens, ut iniquus et dolosus interfecit; arripiensque coronam capiti suo imposuit."—Bouquet, *Recueil*, VII, 51B. In favor of a popular tradition, however transmitted, would be the form "Rispeu," for Herispogius of the chronicles.

decapitated Borel's twelve sons, all at one and the same battle of the Gironde.[1] Now the Huns had ravaged Central France in the second quarter of the tenth century, but had seen their power broken by Otto I, in 955. A certain Borel was count of Barcelona from 967 to 993, but he was a Christian and had waged almost continuous warfare with the Saracens, so that here there may be an inversion of rôles due to confusing all Spaniards with Saracens. Consequently the net result of these particular references makes for uncertainty.

Other allusions to Vivien's early battles, however, are more definite. He had carried on war along the English Channel, in Kent and near Tréguier, and had met the enemy at Fleury, on the Loire.[2] By the Rhone, under Orange, he had also conquered "Tiedbalt, l'Esturman" (Thibaut, the Pilot), in a fight which remained famous.[3] And these deeds were now to culminate in the fatal conflict of Larchamp, a locality situated to the north of the Gironde and to the west of Bourges, so that an army coming down from Bourges found it "desur la mer a destre" (l. 151). The foe also arrived there from Spain by ship, instead of marching overland as the Saracens of history would do in their invasions of Western France.[4] Besides, a battle on the west coast fought by William of Orange remained tenacious in tradition, while two of his barons in *Chevalerie Vivien* and *Aliscans* are still Gautier of Blaye and Hunaud of Saintes, localities quite remote from Orange—or Barcelona.

These indications are few in number, to be sure, and their meaning is not always plain.[5] They are also widely scattered. Yet they nearly all look toward the same locality—exception being made for Vivien's combat with Thibaut—to the coast and river valleys of France which lie between the Somme and the Gironde. And their general tenor is the same. So that taken collectively they supplement one another fairly well, and seem to warrant the belief that the Norman forays into Northern and Central France during the

[1] Suchier's ed. (*Bibliotheca Normannica*, VIII), ll. 376–79, 643–46.

[2] *Op. cit.*, ll. 653–55, 991–93; cf. also pp. xxx–xxxix, xl, of the Introduction.

[3] *Op. cit.*, ll. 669–78. Both name and calling point clearly to the enemy's race.

[4] *Op. cit.*, ll. 16–20, 39–46. See R. Weeks, *Mod. Phil.*, II, 8, n. 3; Suchier, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. lii–liivi, lxii, lxiv.

[5] They should be increased by a passage from the *Enfances Vivien*, where W. Schulz finds the echo of a Norman raid in the west (*Zeitschrift f. fr. Sp. und Lit.*, XLIV [1916], p. 40).

last half of the ninth century and the first third of the tenth, continually repeated and usually fraught with the sack of shrines and slaughter of the common people, aroused and solidified with the French their latent sense of religious and racial unity. The expression of this unity in the mother tongue was not long delayed, an expression that probably assumed the form of half-historical, half-lyrical narratives, into which speedily entered some of the romantic episodes which afterward appear in the poems of the national epic.

These narratives, however, could have had little connection with one another. Their constant theme of Christian faith and pride of birth constituted perhaps their sole bond. The events they would celebrate would be the story of some petty resistance, the praise of the hero of a day, the deliverance of a neighborhood sanctuary. And though they would naturally conform to the same general style of composition, since they were the products of one and the same race at a certain period of its development, and more immediately of a set of writers trained along the same lines, yet, because of their sporadic origin, they would lack all consciousness of interrelationship, and they remained perhaps in entire ignorance of one another—certainly isolated from the other specimens of their kind.

But as to the Latin historical poetry of this generation, or generations, even that part of it which rejoiced over Christian victories, we can hardly believe that it served as model for these rhythms of the people. At the most it may have been their learned accompaniment. For the scattered instances of picturesque incident and romantic detail, which we glean from the sentences of the chroniclers and the allusions to the youthful exploits of Vivien, correspond in no particular to the rhetorical manner of Carolingian verse. Nor, in considering the derivation of our supposed songs against the Normans, should we once dismiss, as without bearing on the matter, the fact that out of these half-dozen assumed survivals, the legends of Vivien's prowess, of William Taillefer's duel, King Odo's campaign in Auvergne, and Seguin's death at the burning of Saintes were all borne in mind and handed down by the inhabitants of the territory which lies between the Loire and the Gironde, the land which was soon to cradle the literature of France.

Now if there actually did exist within this region and to the north of it, during the first half of the tenth century, rhythmical narratives of Norman inroads, narratives that with all their provincial flavor and artistic leanness, still represented ideals which were cherished by a whole people, and that were based on material which was colored by poetical fancies—as was the case with the story of Odo or William Taillefer—then their presence at this time and in this region would go far to explain the sudden rise of the French national epic, the epic against the Saracens. For it was sudden. The Santiago pilgrimage, seemingly its exciting cause, did not assume even a moderate importance before the last decades of the tenth century. And yet by the third decade of the eleventh the national epic had received its frame, its topography had been fixed, and Charlemagne had been drafted from his conquests of the East and South to lead barons whose names are mainly strangers to the annals of history on a holy crusade against the Moors of Spain. Two generations only had been sufficient to compass this astonishing result. And with whatever rapidity the mind of man may have worked during this period, a wonderful period in truth, and one marked by a genuine rebirth of commerce, art, literature, and religion, so perfect a fusion of history with legend seems almost beyond belief.[1]

But if we could assume that older compositions than those we now possess had already formulated the related notions of religious faith and racial pride, had illustrated them with tales of real events, had touched them though ever so lightly with romantic fancy, and had fashioned however rudely acceptable methods of narration, then we could understand to some degree how the songs of the wars of Charlemagne and his barons gained headway so quickly. The general theme would be retained. The enemy of France would still be a foreigner and an unbeliever. But the infidel of the South had now displaced his ally of the North, a substitution all the more welcome because he of the North had become in fact a brother in arms and in creed.

The new epic pivoted on the figure of Charlemagne, for reasons which Bédier's brilliant pages have made familiar. Yet perhaps

[1] Wilmotte would place the formation of the national epic back toward the middle of the tenth century (*op. cit.*, p. 273).

one question still remains open, the question why the choice of Charlemagne was made at this particular time, why at the end of the tenth century his commanding presence was necessary, why the crowd of individual champions of Christianity should be rallied to his standard and their occasional and spasmodic acts of mere resistance be converted into a steady, consistent war of aggression. Is the rise of the pilgrimage to Santiago alone a conclusive answer? Was life on this frontier of Christendom during these years affected by nothing else which may have contributed to the appropriateness of such a selection?

For some decades before the year 1000 the road to Santiago had been in Christian hands, and only occasionally exposed to raids that were dangerous to the pious wayfarer. The Moslem states which bordered it offered no especial menace, divided and weakened as they were by futile rivalries. But when toward 980 a great general appeared at the head of the forces of the Caliph of Cordova, the whole situation of Northern Spain was changed. Gathering the armies of the rival rulers under his sole leadership, Almanzor, rightly surnamed, quickly overran the Christian kingdoms, seized Barcelona on the east, pillaged Compostela on the west, and finally drove over the Pyrenees themselves. In the opposite camp no chief could be found to cope with this powerful adversary. And it may be that because of this deep need and because of this distress devout souls were stirred up to find a remedy, if not in fact then in imagination. And it is possible that thus seeking for escape from the burden of actual defeats, some downcast monk of the Santiago road caught then and there the fortunate inspiration of invoking the shade of Charlemagne. And so the great emperor would have been summoned from his tomb to unite again the Christian hosts for victory. A vision of despair may have suggested the idea, or a sorrowful heart seeking consolation in the glorious records of the past.[1]

Whether such a view is essential or not to the full explanation of Charlemagne's overlordship in the national epic, the earliest glimpse we can gain of that epic shows him already in command. The Hague *Fragment*, admittedly a Latin reworking of a Romance text,

[1] Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, IV, 383, 384, where something like the opposite of this notion is expressed.

tells us of the siege of a Saracen town actively conducted by barons who belong to what is known as the William of Orange group, but who are subject to the Emperor's general direction. He himself does not appear in person in the section preserved, and may have been only a figure-head in the whole poem. One of the Saracens is Borel, whom we found in connection with Vivien, and it is noticeable that he is again given out as old, and that he loses a son in the fight, as he had lost twelve to Vivien. The action, so far as can be seen, is simple. The taking of the town is the goal. The episodes are so many individual combats. Any complicated plot seems wanting, and indeed the early date of the original—the first third of the eleventh century[1]—probably precludes any notion of a developed plot.

Our next example of the national epic, the fragment of *Gormond et Isembard*, also presents a simple action, though we are now near the end of the eleventh century—the fragment dating from the early twelfth. Challenges it offers in plenty, protestations, affirmations of belief, outbursts of national pride, combats—quite certain indications of the entire contents. The *Chanson de Guillaume*, which in its first form may be contemporary with *Gormond et Isembard*, or even older, agrees with it in the simplicity of its plot, although in the oath of Vivien it contains the germ of a tragedy, and in its episode of the cowards it approaches genuine drama. But the oath theme is not yet developed, and what is said of the cowards may have passed for simple satire. Consequently, in spite of the abundance of its dialogue and its numerous descriptions, we are apparently in the first stage of epic composition still.

But it should be said that in one important particular the *Chanson de Guillaume* and *Gormond et Isembard* differ from the Hague *Fragment*. Their heroes are not placed under the direction of Charlemagne. The suzerain of *Gormond et Isembard* is Louis, "son of Charles," and designated indifferently as emperor or king. Vivien's suzerain in the *Chanson de Guillaume* is Thibaut of Bourges. Charlemagne is mentioned quite incidentally, and only by the reviser at that.[2] In other words, of the three pioneer works of the French

[1] Bédier thinks the Latin version may be as early as 1040 (*op. cit.*, IV, 452).

[2] In the lines,

Criet Munjoie: ço fut l'enseigne Charle. [l. 329.]
De Charle Maigne, de Rollant sun nevou. [l. 1270.]

national epic, two have successfully resisted incorporation into the historical framework of that epic, a fact which may perhaps be adduced as further testimony to their independent origin and early development. They would have already attained sufficient strength, by the time the idea of Charlemagne's overlordship was accepted, to withstand its centralizing tendency. Yet such a notion, that *Gormond et Isembard* had reached its majority as a poem of the Norman wars before the Emperor's tutelage was generally invoked, begs the question of its genesis. The early growth of the *Chanson de Guillaume*, or more strictly speaking the Vivien section of that poem, would not encounter this objection.

Still we should not conclude on this account that the Hague *Fragment* is the only eleventh-century representative of Charlemagne's legendary triumphs. Another record of that day may be brought forward in its support. The Spanish campaign of 778 seems to have found an almost immediate entry into annals which now bear the name of the monastery of Lorsch, near Darmstadt. Toward the year 840 a copy of these annals was made for the abbey of Moissac in Southern France, in the department of Tarn-et-Garonne. Copy and original alike rehearse Charles's invasion of the Peninsula, his capture of Pampeluna, the submission of Ibitaurus, the Saracen king, and his surrender to the invader of brother and son as hostages. The army of the Franks then advanced as far as Saragossa, only to be recalled from before that town by the news of a revolt among the Saxons. But nothing whatever is said about a fight on its return over the Pyrenees.[1]

Now around 1030, or before, for the last date given is 1017 and the last king of France mentioned is Robert the Pious who died in 1031, the Moissac copy underwent a pietistic revision, which incidentally affected the account for 778. No change at all was made until after the word *moraretur*. Then we meet with this addition: "commissum est bellum fortissimum die dominica. Et ceciderunt Saraceni multa milia. Et de ora nova factus est sol ora secunda. Et iterum (Saxones, etc.").[2] Still no mention of Roncesvalles,

[1] "Congregans Karolus rex exercitum magnum, ingressus est in Spaniam et conquisivit civitatem Pampelonam. Et Ibitaurus Sarracenorum rex venit ad eum et tradidit ei civitates quas habuit et dedit ei obsides fratrem suum et filium. Et inde perrexit ad Caesaraugustam. Et dum in illis partibus moraretur, Saxones, perfida gens. . . ."—Pertz, *Scriptores*, I, 296.

[2] Pertz, *op. cit.*, XIII, 262.

As we know, the story of Ganelon's treason and Roland's death is given a certain amount of historical setting. The first lines of the *Chanson de Roland* tell of Charles's stay in Spain, seven years, and his conquest of all the land excepting Saragossa. Also of the submission of the Saracen ruler of that town and his proffer of hostages, including a son of one of his counselors, Blancandrin. Then the catastrophe of the Pass is staged, after which Charlemagne returns to take a vengeance which is made all the more thorough by the stopping of the sun at his prayer. A comparison of this outline with the details of the revised Moissac manuscript only emphasizes the agreement of the two records. In *Roland* the "delay" in Spain has been extended to seven years, but this extension is more than counterbalanced by the unaccountable failure of the author of *Roland* to place the miraculous battle on a Sunday.[1]

The Moissac revision and the Hague *Fragment* may both come within the boundaries of a single decade, and at all events are not far removed from each other. Consequently we may infer from their joint witness that, by 1030, legend had already expanded the Spanish campaign of 778 so as to make it include at least one battle which was not recorded by authentic history. By the end of the eleventh century the time thus extended had grown to seven years, as the statement in *Roland* shows. This elasticity has an obvious advantage. For, once allowed, any combat or series of combats could be fathered on the soil of Spain, provided the inventors of these fights observed the limits of Charlemagne's presence there, limits fixed on the one side by his entrance into the Peninsula, and on the other by the great struggle that the miracle of the sun prolonged. Within this designated space poetic imagination could run riot. That it availed itself of the opportunity is seen from the epic poems of the twelfth century.

So the new epic, the epic of Charlemagne, would have created to a great extent its own history. It used a setting of fact, and filled it in with imaginary events. But its inspiration and its material were in large part bequeathed to it by the older epic, the

[1] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX (January, 1914), 3, 4. The notion of treachery on the part of the Saracens was probably known to the readers of the Moissac revision. Otherwise they could hardly have understood a battle on a holy day, and prolonged in Charles's favor by a miracle, after the Saracens had apparently yielded to the Emperor's demands.

inspiration of faith and patriotism, the material of romantic episodes, descriptions of fighting, poetic ornamentation. It probably continued also the old forms of narration, while improving on them. But it differed from its forerunner in acknowledging a common bond of union and another purpose. The bond was the Emperor. The purpose was conquest. The Christians of France, who had once stood dismayed before the raids of sea pirates, offering to them only an occasional effectual resistance, now flocked to the standard of Charlemagne, with a firm determination to win glory for their race and territory for their creed.

The new epic also acquired in time a new and dramatic element. Eulogies of lineage and belief, uniform, constant, must have become conventional after a while. Speeches and combats, however varied, could be foreseen. Change the actors as you would, their parts differed little. Could we know the entire poem of which the Hague *Fragment* is only a section, there is little doubt that we should find its tenor essentially like the substance of the whole epic of *Gormond et Isembard*. And what we possess of the latter discloses little advance in quality over Richer's account of Odo's campaign against the Normans. In the new epic sieges would have been introduced, the partisan leaders of the older poetry would have been promoted to the post of barons of the Empire. There would have been a general expansion of theme, an increase in quantity. But as vernacular literature developed and acquired artistic aspirations, such a growth in mere size could have satisfied only for a while. The poets would soon seek other sources of interest. To refinement of expression they would try to link subtlety of sentiment, and retaining the traditional emotions of religion and patriotism, which were universal, they would enhance them at times by an emotion which would be individual. And this emotion they could find in one of the chief traits of French feudalism, the personal tie between vassal and suzerain.

Actual occurrences may have suggested this enlargement of the epic theme. We have seen that the vassals' side of the circumstances attending the death of William Longsword had survived nearly two centuries in the memory of the people, notwithstanding the opposition of all learned testimony. The duke's vassal,

Riul, had surrendered his own father at his suzerain's behest, and this father, William had blinded. Let a like situation enter into epic verse and the simple action of the older poetry vanishes. Complexity takes its place. A plot may then be built up, of which the hearer cannot anticipate the solution. For the outcome no longer hinges on the promptings of general emotions, it must vary with the uncertain waverings of the human mind. With some natures expediency might prevail; with others, revenge; with still others, honor. Any especial feeling which would sway a man's acts could be aroused by this appeal to his individuality.

Consequently the spirit of heroic poetry was inevitably transformed. The analysis of the possible bearings of the personal tie between vassal and suzerain surely led to the idea that man could shape his own fate and could by his own free choice make or mar his own fortunes. Before this discovery the conventional formulae of the older epic were bound to give way. No longer could virtue be foreordained to triumph over vice, the French Christian to overwhelm the Moslem Saracen. For the exercise of some human attribute, however trifling, would always suffice to turn the scale. And when in the process of this exercise a course was elected which decided not only the destiny of an individual but the welfare of those also with whom he was associated, then the results of that election could assume tragic proportions. Such was the consequence of Roland's *desmesure*, of Vivien's fidelity to the oath of his knighting. And the full acceptation of this idea, that the will of man can rise superior to man's environment and dominate it, marked the culmination of French epic poetry.[1]

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[1] This stage was probably reached near the end of the eleventh century, and shows itself soon afterward in its best, if not its earliest, exponent, the *Chanson de Roland*. The potential consequences of Vivien's oath did not seem to have been grasped at that time, nor were they as yet fully appreciated by the scribe of the *Chanson de Guillaume*, their first known narrator. (For the influence of *Roland* on his text, see M. Wilmotte, *Romania*, XLIV, 55–86).

We might again question whether one of Caesar's episodes did not affect this notion of an oath taken in view of the enemy. Vercingetorix had assembled the cavalry of the Gauls—their nobility—to resist the Romans, and harangued them so eloquently that they took an oath not to return home before they had ridden twice through Caesar's battle line: "Conclamant equites: sanctissimo jurejurando confirmari oportere, ne tecto recipiatur, ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ad uxorem aditum habeat, qui non bis per agmen hostium perequitasset." But they were defeated and fled the field (*De Bello Gallico*, vii. c. 66, 67).

FRANCESCO GRISELINI AND HIS RELATION TO GOLDONI AND MOLIÈRE

The name of Francesco Griselini will be sought for in vain in most histories of literature and encyclopedias. If he is mentioned at all, it is in connection with his biography of Fra Paolo Sarpi, which appeared in several editions of the *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino* from 1760 on, and attracted so much attention that it was put on the Index;[1] this is, with very few exceptions, the only work by Griselini that can be found in American libraries. Yet in his day he was a writer of some prominence. He was born in Venice in 1717 and died in Milan in 1783. From 1765 to 1776 he edited in Venice the *Giornale d'Italia*, contributing to it many articles on science and agriculture. In 1768 he began the publication of a *Dizionario delle arti e de' mestieri*, of which he compiled five volumes.[2] He was a member of numerous academies, including those of London, Berne, Gorizia, Florence, and Bologna. His brief excursion into the field of the drama is the occasion of the present paper. While undoubtedly a mediocre writer, he does not quite deserve the oblivion into which he has fallen; some scholar having access to the archives of Northern Italy might well make a thorough study of his career. In 1890 an essay of 35 pages, which in spite of repeated efforts I have not been able to procure, was published about him by Domenico Maddalena, at Schio; and S. Rumor published in 1907 a brief sketch of his life, with a bibliography of his writings.[3]

In 1752 Griselini published a critical essay on Italian comedy;[4] in 1755 a tragi-comedy entitled *Socrate filosofo sapientissimo*, with

[1] See G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica* (Venezia, 1840–61), XCII, 467–72; Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* (Firenze, 1805–10), VII, 502–7.

[2] This work was continued by others, and completed, with Vol. XVIII, in 1778. There is a copy in the Yale Library.

[3] Sebastiano Rumor, *Gli Scrittori vicentini dei secoli decimottavo e decimonono*, II, 85–92, in "Miscellanea di Storia Veneta, R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria," serie seconda, tom. XI, parte ii. The bibliography is not absolutely complete; the British Museum Catalogue contains several additional titles. See also E. A. Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia Veneziana* (Venezia, 1847), Nos. 1497, 3230, 3759–64, 3854, 4441–44; G. A. Moschini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana del secolo XVIII* (Venezia, 1808), III, 207; IV, 121.

[4] *Della commedia italiana e delle sue regole ed attinenze considerate in riflesso al secolo nostro. . .* See S. Rumor, No. 3.

an essay on Aristophanes' *Clouds*;[1] and in 1756, *La Schiava nel serraglio dell' Agà de' Giannizzeri, commedia turca.*[2] These works are completely forgotten; but another play, *I Liberi Muratori*, is frequently mentioned in connection with Goldoni's *Le Donne Curiose*. It was printed at Roveredo in 1754.[3] The title-page gives the names of the author and of Goldoni, to whom the comedy is dedicated, in anagram; it also gives the place of printing as Libertapoli, the name of the city which the Masons proposed to build in the Libyan Desert.[4] This title-page has been quoted inaccurately so many times that it is worth while to present it here in a photographic reproduction, together with the engraving which faces it (representing the lodge). See pp. 20–21. It will be observed that the anagram "Ferling' Isac Crens" turns into "Francesc' Griselin." The *o* of Francesco is supplied in the form given in the dedication on p. 3:

> Al celebre, magnifico, ed illustre signore Aldinoro Clog primo introdutore del buon gusto nel teatro comico, diletto delle muse, e d' Arcadia filologo, e giurisperto chiarissimo, onore e decoro della letteraria republica, questa commedia composta l' anno MDCCLII. Isac Ferlingo Crens in segno di venerazione e rispetto dedica, e consagra.

The name of the author is usually given as Griselini, the form indicated by the anagram, but sometimes as Grisellini or Grisselini. Cantù[5] gave the anagram as "Fersing Isac Crens," asserting that it corresponded to "Francesco Grisellini," which it does not; and he furthermore misread the place of printing as "Libertinapoli." These errors are repeated by G. Mazzoni,[6] while S. Rumor[7] has "Fersing," "Grisselini," and "Libertanopoli."

Why Griselini disguised his name in this way is not evident, unless he deemed it safer not to be known as a defender of Free-

[1] Rumor, No. 5; British Museum Catalogue. [2] Rumor, No. 6.

[3] Rumor, No. 4. There seems to have been another edition: G. B. Pellizzaro, "Ancora sulle 'Donne Curiose' di C. Goldoni," in *Rivista teatrale italiana*, XVIII (1914), 193–212, 280–91, states (p. 193) that a copy in the Marciana is dated falsely 1785; but P. L. Jacob, in the Catalogue of the *Bibliothèque dramatique de M. de Soleinne* (Paris, 1843–45), IV, 95, mentions the edition of 1785 as having 87 pages, while the 1754 edition has 110.

[4] See Act IV, sc. viii, p. 82: "Diconsi Muratori, perchè hanno formato il gran progetto di edificare negli aridi deserti della Libia una Città vastissima, la quale di Libertapoli dovrà portare il nome."

[5] Cesare Cantù, *Gli Eretici d' Italia* (Torino, 1866), III, 417.

[6] Guido Mazzoni, *Memorie di Carlo Goldoni riprodotte integralmente dalla edizione originale francese* (Firenze, 1907), I, 467.

[7] Rumor, No. 4. H. C. Chatfield-Taylor, *Goldoni* (New York, 1913), p. 611, gives the date as 1652.

masonry. His purpose in claiming that his play was written in 1752, was apparently to establish its priority over Goldoni's *Le Donne Curiose*, which was written, performed, and printed in 1753.[1] Goldoni does not refer directly to Freemasonry, either in the play itself or in its preface; years later, however, he stated in his *Mémoires* that his intention was, as the spectators at once recognized, to represent a Masonic lodge.[2] In this connection there has been some discussion as to whether he himself was a Mason, whether he undertook to defend the order for the sake of some friends (Casanova and others) who were members of it, or, finally, whether he simply took the subject, in combination with satire on feminine curiosity, as suitable material for a comedy. There is no direct evidence to guide us.[3] Griselini claims on his title-page to be "fratello operajo della loggia di Danzica"; but he does not indicate in his dedication, as he surely would have done if it had been the case, that Goldoni also was a Mason. *Le Donne Curiose* and the *Mémoires* fail to give any definite ground for making the assumption. Freemasonry, in spite of being condemned by two popes,[4] was established in various parts of Italy in the middle of the eighteenth century. Goldoni seems to have given a friendly satire of the institution and of popular curiosity concerning it, rather than a defense;[5] and in fact it does not seem to have been taken very seriously.[6] Griselini's comedy is far more definitely a defense of Masonry, at least in showing that it was

[1] See E. Masi, *Scelta di Commedie di C. Goldoni* (Firenze, 1897), I, 455–61; Chatfield-Taylor, *Goldoni*, p. 611.

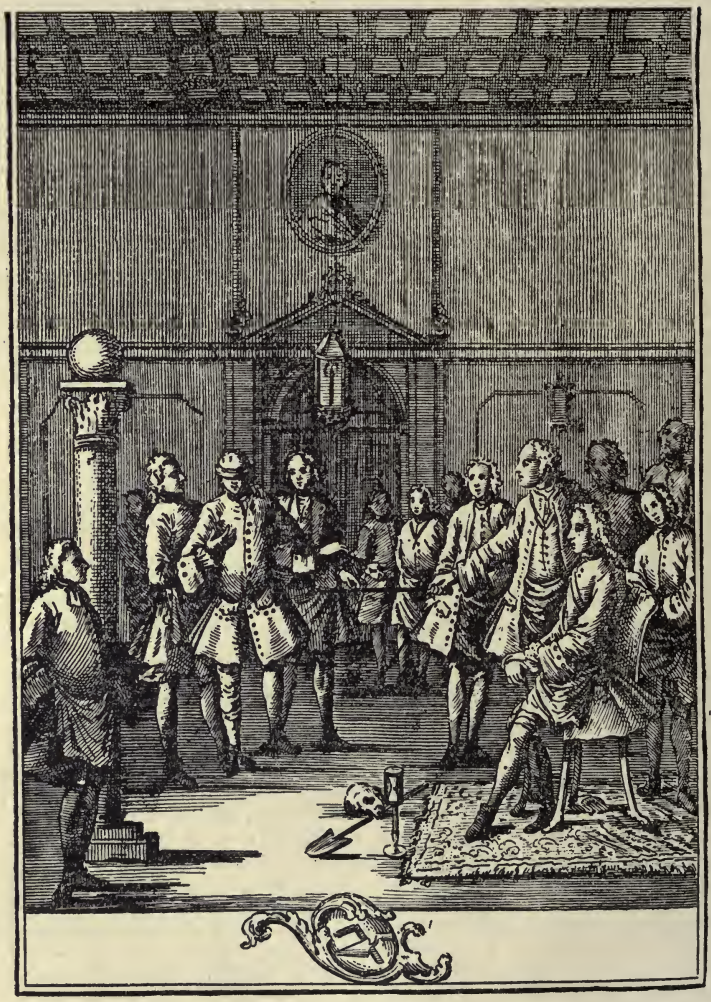
[2] *Memorie di C. Goldoni*, ed. Mazzoni, I, 381–82: "Pièce qui, sous un titre bien caché, bien déguisé, ne représentoit qu'une loge de Francs-Maçons. . . Les Etrangers en reconnurent le fond sur-le-champ, et les Vénitiens disoient que si Goldoni avoit deviné le secret des Francs-Maçons, on auroit tort en Italie d'en défendre les assemblées."

[3] E. Maddalena, "Nota storica" in *Opere complete di C. Goldoni edite dal Municipio di Venezia*, IX (1910), 369–71, inclines to the opinion that Goldoni was a Mason; so also Masi, *op. cit.*, p. 460; Falchi, *Intendimenti sociali di C. Goldoni* (Roma, 1907), p. 122; A. Neri, "Carlo Goldoni e i liberi muratori," *Rivista Europea*, XXVI (1881), 790–98 (reprinted in his *Aneddoti goldoniani* [Ancona, 1883]). For the history of Freemasonry in Italy and the persecutions of its members, see F. Sbigoli, *Tommaso Crudeli e i primi Framassoni in Firenze* (Milano, 1884) (reviewed by Saltini in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, quarta serie, XVII, 111–23).

[4] Clement XII (1738) and Benedict XIV (1751). See Cantù, *op. cit.*, p. 398; Pellizzaro, *op. cit.*, p. 201; Neri, *loc. cit.*; Sbigoli, *op. cit.*

[5] Cf. Pellizzaro, *op. cit.*, p. 209; and an essay which I have not seen, "Il Goldoni e la Massoneria," in F. Beneducci, *Scampoli critici*, III (Oneglia, 1906).

[6] Cf. A. Graf, *L' Anglomania e l' influsso inglese in Italia nel secolo XVIII* (Torino, 1911), p. 137. A German critic goes so far as to doubt that Goldoni had Freemasonry in mind at all (R. Schmidbauer, *Das Komische bei Goldoni* [München, 1906], p. 126).



I LIBERI MURATORI.

COMMEDIA

DI

FERLING' ISAC CRENS

FRATELLO OPERAJO DELLA LOGGIA DI DANZICA.

DEDICATA

AL CELEBRE ED ILLUSTRE SIGNORE

ALDINORO CLOG

AUTORE

COMICO PRESTANTISSIMO.

IN LIBERTAPOLI, P Anno dell'Era Volgare 1754.,
e della riſtaurazione della Loggia 152.

a perfectly harmless association for mutual benefit, the secrecy of which is rather amusing than dangerous. There is no question that Goldoni and Griselini were friends, and remained so.[1] The younger and less gifted writer very likely discussed with the more famous dramatist the subject of Freemasonry, suggested the subject as suitable for dramatic treatment, and perhaps exhibited the manuscript of his own effort in that line. In any case, there are striking similarities between the two comedies, as a brief analysis will show.

The scene of *I Liberi Muratori* is "Cosmopoli"—not Venice, to which city Erasto proposes (Act V, sc. viii) to take his bride. Act I takes place in the house of Procopio, who has just been elected Gran Capo Maestro of the Masonic lodge. He has two daughters, of whom the younger, Lucilla, is loved by Erasto and Dorante; while the elder, Bellisa, has a comic admirer, il Conte di Poltronico—a personage recalling il Marchese di Forlipopoli in *La Locandiera* and il Conte in *Il Ventaglio*. Marinetta, the maid, tells of her discovery that Procopio, Erasto, and the valet Fabricio are members of the lodge. In answer to the questions of Bellisa, Poltronico claims to be a member, and promises to reveal—but to Bellisa alone—the great secret of Freemasonry.[2] Marinetta therefore allies herself to Lucilla in an effort to discover the mystery; and Lucilla, who really prefers Dorante, decides to favor Erasto. When the latter declares that the mystery is simply the fact that there is no secret, Lucilla refuses to believe him. Dorante asserts that if he knew the secret he would gladly tell it to Lucilla, and Erasto offers to have him initiated at once. In Act II, Poltronico, having falsely stated that he is a Mason, seeks to learn from Fabricio how he may make his word good by becoming one. Fabricio, being only a *fratello servente*, refers him to a certain Dr. Scanagonzi, with whom he gets into a violent dispute. Erasto and Dorante separate them. Sganarello learns

[1] In 1765 Goldoni wrote two letters to Griselini from Paris, printed by E. Masi, *Lettere di C. Goldoni* (Bologna [1880]), pp. 280, 292. The second, which Griselini printed in the *Corriere Letterario*, 25 gennaio 1766, contains an interesting discussion of theatrical conditions in France. As to conditions in Italy, "I teatri . . . hanno poco perduto nella mia persona, ma hanno perduto assai, se sono ricaduti nell' antico genio mostruoso."

[2] As an example of Poltronico's language, which is not at all that of the other characters, the following may be quoted (Act I, sc. iv): "Saprete il tutto inanci che Febo giunga all' Occaso per immergersi nel seno della marina Teti. Ma con questo patto, amabile Bellisa, che ad altri non palesarete quanto confiderovvi, e che nel tempo medesimo avrete mercè delle mie sventure, poichè già i riflettuti riflessanti riflessi del vostro bello m' hanno consumato il cerebro, ed incendiati i ventricoli del cuore."

that his master Dorante is to join the lodge, and begs to be admitted with him: he has heard that Masons assist one another so effectually that they are never obliged to work or go hungry.

Act III takes place in the lodge. The Sopraintendente instructs Procopio in his duties as Gran Capo Maestro: (1) harmony must prevail; (2) the traditional ceremonies must be observed; (3) no new members shall be admitted without paying the entrance-fee; (4) the secret signs of recognition must not be divulged; (5) women are not admitted, and if any woman, moved by curiosity, should penetrate into the lodge, she must be punished even if related to one of the members. Then the members simultaneously go through a series of motions with their hands—*dare il segno*. The candidates for admission, Dorante and Sganarello, are brought in blindfolded; after swearing secrecy, they are declared members. They then watch the others eating and drinking with certain ceremonies. Procopio informs Dorante that there is no secret other than what he has seen; the rest of the members have undergone the same disappointment, but have kept quiet about it in the hope of seeing others made ridiculous in their turn. Sganarello finds that he must now work harder than ever, and be beaten when he is awkward in learning the signs of recognition; his *lazzi* are worthy of his prototype Arlecchino in the *Commedia dell'arte*. In Act IV Dorante admits to Lucilla that there is, as Erasto had told her, no secret; she refuses to believe him, and he goes off, threatening suicide. Sganarello gives the signs to Marinetta, and she, pretending to be a "Muratora," exchanges his lodge-key for another. Poltronico relates to Bellisa, as the great secret, something which he afterward confesses he has just read in a book. Marinetta displays the key, and they all prepare to visit the lodge. In Act V, Lucilla, Bellisa, Marinetta, and Poltronico enter the lodge, and hide. Two of the Masons discuss the history of the society from its formation at the time of the Crusades, and the ridiculous ideas that outsiders have of it: some think that Masons profess a heretical religion, others that they possess the secret of transmuting metals, others again that they propose to overthrow all governments and establish a universal republic. The intruders are discovered; Procopio wishes to punish his daughters, but Erasto offers to take Lucilla to Venice as his bride, and find a

husband there for Bellisa. The location of the lodge must, however, be changed: "Conviene che ci nascondiamo, affinchè il nostro Secreto, e l' esistenza de' Liberi Muratori siano sempre due cose problematiche, e incerte."

Griselini thus gives us an avowed description of contemporary Freemasonry, making it more or less ridiculous, and entirely innocuous. The play is fairly well constructed; while the characters are conventional, it is not devoid of interest. In *Le Donne Curiose*, on the other hand, the technical terms of Masonry are not used, and the apologetic purpose is not made evident; yet in this play also we find it demonstrated that a society surrounded by mystery and suspected of sinister purposes is in reality devoted exclusively to innocent social relaxation. In each case women are excluded, and the lively curiosity of the female relatives of the members furnishes the basis of the plot.

Goldoni introduces three of the traditional masked characters, who speak in dialect—Pantalone de' Bisognosi, the Venetian merchant; Brighella, his valet; and Arlecchino. The other personages bear the conventional names that Goldoni frequently uses—Ottavio, a citizen of Bologna, in his homely good sense often compared to Goldoni himself; Beatrice, his wife; Rosaura, their daughter; Florindo, "promesso sposo a Rosaura"; and several friends. We are at once introduced to the club, where the members are reading and playing *dama;* the conversation indicates the informal social purpose of the club, and the exclusion of women. The scene changes to Ottavio's house, and Florindo declares that there is nothing secret about the club, and that Rosaura is mistaken in thinking that women are received there. Beatrice believes that the members gamble, Eleonora that they search for the philosopher's stone. Act II is taken up with the fruitless efforts of the women to learn the secret and to gain admission to the club. As Corallina, the maid, remarks: "Non è curiosità, ma volontà rabbiosissima di sapere." To this Arlecchino rejoins: "Da resto po, no se pol dir, che le sia curiose." Brighella finally takes it upon himself to restore harmony by secretly admitting the four women. In Act III the scene is again the club, with the women in hiding. Pantalone reads to a new member the by-laws of the organization:[1] members must be of

[1] Act III, sc. iv. Translated by Chatfield-Taylor, *Goldoni*, p. 297.

good character; in the clubhouse they must behave with decorum; they must pay their dues, and assist one another in case of need; in order that scandal and jealousy may be excluded, women are not to be admitted; among the members there shall be no other salutation or compliment than the word *Amicizia*. This scene is the only part of the play which seems to apply definitely to the Freemasons; the by-laws are supposed to have been derived from those actually in effect at the time. Finally the women are discovered; Brighella is scolded for admitting them; but, as Goldoni himself says,[1] the men are after all not sorry that the women have been undeceived, so that the innocent diversions of the club may continue.

I Liberi Muratori has the more conventional plot, aside from its introduction of Masonic matters, and shows no influence of *Le Donne Curiose*. Thus there is no reason to doubt Griselini's statement that his comedy was written in 1752, before Goldoni's. On the other hand, the similarities, while not extending to the plot as a whole, or to the characters, are striking. It seems obvious, then, that Goldoni at least knew in a general way about Griselini's play, whether or not he had actually read it; and that with his instinct for dramatic effect and his readiness to appropriate an idea wherever he found it, he used in his own inimitable manner such portions of it as appealed to him.

The influence of Molière on the Italian dramatists of the eighteenth century, and in particular on Goldoni, has been studied by various scholars;[2] but Griselini has not hitherto been mentioned in this connection. We should naturally expect a friend and admirer of Goldoni to be at least superficially acquainted with Molière's works; and in fact the names of the characters, and two short passages of dialogue, seem to have been derived from Molière. Lucilla, her lover Erasto, and her maid Marinetta correspond to Lucile, Eraste, and Marinette in *le Dépit amoureux;* Bellisa, the elder sister, has many of the characteristics of Bélise in *les Femmes savantes* —a type also used by Goldoni (for instance, Beatrice in *Il Vero Amico*). Sganarello, an Italian *zanni*, evidently derives his name from the French Sganarelle; this name, in spite of its Italian appearance, has not been traced farther back than Molière, who gives it not

[1] *Memorie*, ed. Mazzoni, I, 382.

[2] See especially P. Toldo, *L'Œuvre de Molière et sa fortune en Italie* (Turin, 1910).

only to a valet (*le Médecin volant*,[1] *Don Juan*), but also to a woodcutter (*le Médecin malgré lui*) and to a bourgeois (*Sganarelle, l'Ecole des maris, le Mariage forcé, l'Amour médecin*). The name Dorante is common in French drama of the seventeenth century. Molière uses it in *le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, and also, in connection with Eraste, in *les Fâcheux*. The supposition that Griselini derived these names from a general acquaintance with Molière's works is confirmed by two passages of dialogue. In Act II, sc. ii, Poltronico rewards Fabricio for some misleading information, and the following dialogue ensues:

Con. Avete fatto bene ad avvertirmi. Vi ringrazio il mio caro Fabricio. Intanto per ricompensarvi tenete questi dieci Zecchini.

Fab. Obbligatissimo al Sig. Conte. Grazie a vostra Eccellenza.

Con. Eccellenza! Eccellenza! Oh bravo! Aspettate. Quest' Eccellenza merita qualche cosa non essendo già parola ordinaria. Questi sono cinque Zecchini che l' Eccellenza vi dona.

Fab. Mi confonde colla sua generosità; ed oggi certo voglio fare un brindisi alla salute di vostra Grandezza.

Con. Vostra Grandezza? ah, ah, ah. Tenete questi otto Zecchini per la mia Grandezza.

Fab. La sua liberalità arriva all' eccesso. Io m' inchino profondamente, e la ringrazio di tutto cuore. (Oh pazzo maledetto! Pazzo, tre volte pazzo, pazzo da catena!) *Via.*

SCENA III

Il Conte solo

Se Fabricio proseguiva a dirmi anche Altezza io gli dava tutta la Borsa.

This recalls the scene at the end of Act II of *le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, where Monsieur Jourdain rewards the *garçon tailleur* for calling him successively "mon gentilhomme," "Monseigneur," and "Votre Grandeur," and finally remarks: "S'il va jusqu'à l'Altesse, il aura toute la bourse."

Again, in Act IV, sc. viii, the Conte is alone with Bellisa:

Bel. . . . Ma, se vi piace, sediamo. *Siedono.*

Con. Son io sicuro, Madamigella, appresso di voi?

Bel. Perchè mi chiedete ciò?

Con. Ah, temo assai, che gli occhi vostri mi vogliano assassinare.

Bel. Assicuratevi sopra la loro integrità, che non han eglino questo reo disegno.

[1] This little play, written by Molière while *en tour*, also contains a Lucile, with whom the master of Sganarelle is in love; but it appears not to have been published until 1819. Cf. *Œuvres de Molière*, ed. Despois, I, 47; and II, 160.

Con. Cospetto! Bisognarebbe essere l' antipoda della ragione per non confessare che siete il Collegio di tutte le meraviglie, e che in voi a gara signoreggiano, alma beltà, grande spirito, e leggiadria: Ma cosa dite di questo bel vestito? Non è egli ben fatto? Ah, gran Monsiù di Cutifo! Gran Sarto!

Bel. Vi sta dipinto.

Con. E di queste calzette di Francia, che ve ne pare? Osservate che bella sacoma hanno i miei scarpini! Questi manichetti poi sono un capo d' opera! A dir il vero, sono poi stato sempre di buon gusto.

Bel. Siete la stessa galanteria.

With this passage compare scene x of *les Précieuses ridicules*, where, after Mascarille and the two *précieuses* have seated themselves, the following remarks are made:

Mas. Mais, au moins, y a-t-il sûreté ici pour moi?

Cathos. Que craignez-vous?

Mas. Quelque vol de mon cœur, quelque assassinat de ma franchise. Je vois ici deux yeux qui ont la mine d'être de fort mauvais garçons, de faire insulte aux libertés. . .

Madelon. Ne craignez rien: nos yeux n'ont point de mauvais desseins, et votre cœur peut dormir en assurance sur leur prud'homie.

Madelon uses, in speaking of Paris, some of the expressions that the Conte addresses to Bellisa:

Il faudroit être l'antipode de la raison, pour ne pas confesser que Paris est le grand bureau des merveilles, le centre du bon goût, du bel esprit, et de la galanterie.

Later Mascarille draws attention to his costume:

Mas. Que vous semble de ma petite-oie? La trouvez-vous congruente à l'habit?

Cathos. Tout à fait.

Mas. Le ruban est bien choisi.

Mad. Furieusement bien. C'est Perdrigeon tout pur.

Mas. Que dites-vous de mes canons?

Mad. Ils ont tout à fait bon air. . .

These resemblances are superficial and slight, but they are sufficient to indicate that Griselini should be added to the list of Italian dramatists who were influenced by Molière.

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"TOUT CRACHÉ"

In telling the Draper how extraordinarily he resembles his "late father," Pathelin exclaims:

> car quoy! qui vous aroit crachié
> tous deux encontre la paroy
> d'une maniere [*var.* matiere] et d'ung arroy
> si seriez vous sans difference. [Vss. 153–57.]

Later, in relating his visit to Guillemette, he quotes himself thus (vs. 427): "C'estes vous, fais ie, tout crachié."

In his "Observations," Nyrop quotes examples and concludes: "*Cracher* est évidemment, comme il ressort aussi des exemples anglais, une métaphore burlesque pour produire, créer."

Although I can quote no examples older than those in *Pathelin*, this locution, in various forms, is presumably of earlier date, and its frequency in English and in Italian indicates that it arose from a popular belief that *like begets like* (cf. "his father's own son"; "like father like son"; "a chip of the old block," etc.). "Why Lord! you might even ha' come to be champion o' England in time—you're the very spit o' me," says father to son in J. Farnol's *The Amateur Gentleman* (1912, chap. i); and in Masefield's *The Campden Wonder* (1907, *ad init.*) we read: "A dear, a dear, he be the very spit of his poor feyther, and he be a sad one, he be." In Verga's *I Malavoglia*, (1888, p. 91) occurs, not *nato e sputato*, but *nato sputato:* "Questo è proprio un Malavoglia nato sputato! osservava padron 'Ntoni gongolante." An example occurs in *Arsène Lupin* (IV, 3): Charolais père to Lupin: "Je vous ai dit: 'Patron, c'est vous tout craché!'" Very few persons using or hearing the expression *tout craché* would have any but an individual notion as to its original meaning, and our "spitten image" (with the older past participle, but sometimes confused with "spitting") seems to me to lead the same kind of life as *tout craché*. Nevertheless, an explanation can be offered from an authoritative source. Montaigne (I, chap. 28) tells of a man who, on being reminded of the affection he owed his children because they had issued from him, "se mit à cracher. 'Et cela, dit-il, en est aussi bien sorty; nous engendrons aussi bien des pouz et des vers.'"

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THE NATURALISM OF ALPHONSE DAUDET

Few writers have been more beloved than Alphonse Daudet. Even the severest critics of the naturalistic school, under the spell of his personal charm, have been disposed to treat his work with indulgence, if not with actual approval.[1] Yet whenever an attempt has been made to analyze the admirable qualities of his writings, we have been confronted at once with the strangest contradictions.

The most serious ground for debate is Daudet's realism. For example, Ferdinand Brunetière feels that Daudet truly succeeds only where he rises above the realistic method, and uses his imagination.[2] In the opinion of Emile Zola, however, it is just these occasional departures from realism which are the one blot upon the work of the author.[3] It is when he has adhered rigidly to the naturalistic method, declares Zola, that Daudet has sounded the depths of the human heart, and produced novels of universal interest.[4] Brunetière, on the other hand, condemns Daudet precisely for his want of "connaissance du cœur humain."[5] He believes that the eternal human nature revealed in *Gil Blas*, *Manon Lescaut*, *Candide* and *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is conspicuously lacking in the works of our author.

René Doumic, A. de Pontmartin, and E. Montégut, among others, agree substantially with Brunetière in regard to the essential superficiality of Daudet's work. Doumic thinks that Daudet's art succeeds where he would portray simple people, whose character is understood at a glance, while it fails where a profounder analysis is necessary.[6] De Pontmartin emphasizes the abnormality of certain

[1] Emile Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes* (1893), p. 316; R. Doumic, *Portraits d'Ecrivains*, Première série (1911), I, 285; F. Brunetière, *Le Roman naturaliste* (1896), p. 358; E. Gilbert, *Le Roman en France pendant le XIX^e siècle* (1909), p. 288; A. Hermant, *Essais de critique* (1912), p. 48. The following comment from Jules Lemaître, *Les Contemporains*, IV (1893), 235, is typical of the opinion of most critics concerning Daudet: "Il est, je crois, l'écrivain le plus sincèrement réaliste qui ait été."

[2] F. Brunetière, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

[3] Emile Zola, *Une Campagne* (1908), p. 393.

[4] Emile Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 285.

[5] F. Brunetière, "L'Impressionisme dans le roman—*Les Rois en exil* par M. Alphonse Daudet," *Revue des deux mondes*, XXXVI (3d series, 1879), 458, 459.

[6] René Doumic, *Etudes sur la littérature française* (1899), III, 137, 139.

characters of Daudet, which prevents his work from having the universal appeal of the masterpieces referred to by Brunetière.[1] Montégut observes with regret that within the naturalistic school itself there has been a tendency away from the study of human nature in general to the detailing of the exceptional and the pathological. Mme Bovary, for instance, despite her depravity, is still troubled by the voice of conscience.[2] Mme Risler, on the contrary, is a heartless product of artificial modern society.

Opposed to this view is that of Georges Rodenbach, who maintains that Daudet has created numerous "general" types, such as Tartarin, Sapho, Delobelle, the Nabob, Numa Roumestan, and the Immortal; that to determine the type Daudet, like the painter Whistler, required of his subject innumerable poses, which taken together resulted in the *expression d'éternité*.[3] Rodenbach in turn is directly contradicted by Paul Franche who, noting Daudet's inaccuracy in quoting the ritual of the Catholic church, says that the author never demands numerous sittings of his model: an instantaneous photograph satisfies him.[4]

Before venturing to express my own opinion as to the merits of Daudet's realism, it is my purpose to study in some detail the methods by which he composed his stories and novels. The consideration of first importance in such an investigation is the passion which Daudet had for the *histoire vraie*. "Je prenais déjà des notes dans les escaliers," he is reported to have said, on his return from an academic dinner.[5] Doumic assures us that he drew materials not only from his own recollections, but directly from the newspapers; and that so minute were his observations, that he preserved even the gestures and the names of his models.[6] Zola adds that the real constructive work of Daudet lies, not in the creation of char-

[1] A. de Pontmartin, *Souvenirs d'un vieux critique* (1885), VI, 311: " . . . il faut qu'il [Jean Gaussin] soit idiot, ou bien que son cas, essentiellement pathologique, relève de la médecine expérimentale; ce qui rentre d'ailleurs dans la spécialité du roman naturaliste."

[2] E. Montégut, *Dramaturges et romanciers* (1890), p. 264.

[3] Georges Rodenbach, *L'Elite* (1899), pp. 102, 103.

[4] Paul Franche, *Le Prêtre dans le roman français* (1902), p. 290.

[5] G. Rodenbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 102.

[6] René Doumic, *Portraits d'Ecrivains*, I, 285; *Etudes sur la littérature française*, III, 132; cf. Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 312. A typical case is that of the *prince valaque*, spoken of in *Trente ans de Paris*, p. 49, who appears in *Le Nabab*, pp. 153–55.

acters or plots, but in the skilful arrangement of documents.[1] We learn that, like Balzac, he constructed scenarios from his materials, as a preliminary step in the composition of his novels.[2] Jules Lemaître, however, asserts that his works, by their lack of unity, reflect their notebook origin.[3]

In his methods, Daudet scrupulously followed the example of the Goncourts, with whom he was on intimate terms.[4] Out of an almost filial devotion, he took notes upon the last hours of Edmond de Goncourt, trying to equal if possible the very precise observations which the latter had made upon his dying brother Jules. However, he sat very humbly at the feet of his masters. "Non que j'aie la prétention," he began, "non que j'aie la prétention de rien écrire de vibrant, de pénétrant, comme ces feuillets du *Journal des Goncourt*, juin, 1870, mais ce qu'il a fait pour son frère Jules, ma tendresse d'ami et de témoin veut essayer de le faire pour lui."[5]

Daudet follows his masters occasionally to the extent of putting his notes, without any alteration whatever, into his books.[6] In almost the exact language of the Goncourts, he asserts that "le roman est l'histoire des hommes."[7] He concludes, in accord with them, that the realistic novel must necessarily be sad.

Not only his methods, but also his themes are suggested by the Goncourts, whose influence is evident in more than one story in the little collection entitled *Les Femmes d'artistes*. The exasperating Mme Heurtebise, the former shop-woman, quarrels incessantly with her high-strung literary husband, whom she despises because his profession is not lucrative, and whom she plagues even on the deathbed to which she finally brings him. Marthe, the actress, displays

[1] E. Zola, *Une Campagne* (1908), pp. 385–87.

[2] Alphonse Daudet, *Notes sur la vie* (1899), Preface by Mme Julia A. Daudet, p. xi; cf. Lane Cooper, *Methods and Aims in the Study of Literature* (New York, 1915), p. 94 (quoted from Théophile Gautier, *Honoré de Balzac—Famous French Authors* [New York, 1879], pp. 204–7).

[3] Jules Lemaître, *Les Contemporains*, IV, 235. [4] *Notes sur la vie*, p. 124.

[5] *Notes sur la vie*, p. 224. See the concluding pages of the *Journal*, Vol. III.

[6] *Contes du lundi* (1895), p. 98 ("Aux Avant-Postes"): ". . . Tout cela est haché, heurté, bâclé sur le genou, déchiqueté comme un éclat d'obus, mais je le donne tel quel, sans rien changer, sans même me relire. J'aurais trop peur de vouloir inventer, faire intéressant, et de gâter tout;" cf. Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, *Charles Demailly* pp. 74–89.

[7] *Souvenirs d'un homme de lettres*, p. 112; cf. the Goncourts, *Préfaces et manifestes littéraires* (1898), p. 45: ". . . nous écrivions une biographie véridique à la façon d'une biographie d'histoire moderne."

an equally complete lack of sympathy with the work of the writer Charles Demailly, whom she eventually drives insane by her refined torture.[1] La Transtévérine finally dominates the household of her artist husband just as the other incompatible wife, Manette Salomon, by her heartlessness, separates Coriolis from every natural friend and kills his artistic soul.[2]

In *Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné,* the dénouement revolves around the visit of Frantz to Sidonie, to prevent her from ruining her husband's fortune in riotous living with Georges Fromont. In order to get Frantz in her power, Sidonie extracts from him a fatal billet-doux, by much the same tactics that Manette Salomon employs to entice Anatole to make love to her.[3] Working seductively on Frantz, Sidonie finally places her hand on his: " ' Frantz . . . Frantz!' et ils restaient là l'un contre l'autre, silencieux et brûlants, bercés par la romance de madame Dobson qui leur arrivait par bouffées à travers les massifs:

> Ton amour c'est ma folie.
> Hélas! je n'en puis guéri i i i r! . . . "[4]

Manette Salomon, more boldly, lies invitingly upon a couch in the presence of Anatole. When he seeks to embrace her, she calls for Coriolis: "Ah! mon cher,—ricana Manette,—tu as un ami qui est galant aujourd'hui . . . mais galant!" . . .

"Elle avait ce qu'elle voulait: une histoire qu'elle pouvait empoisonner, une arme traîtresse en réserve pour combattre et tuer quand elle voudrait l'amitié de Coriolis pour Anatole."[5]

Sidonie uses the note which she obtains from Frantz to open a fatal gulf between his brother and himself, leading eventually to the suicide of Risler. As for Anatole, he is driven from the house of Coriolis, the companion of his youth, and the supremacy of the viper Manette Salomon is assured.[6]

[1] *Les Femmes d'artistes,* pp. 15–26; cf. *Charles Demailly.*

[2] *Les Femmes d'artistes,* pp. 41–53 ("La Transtévérine"); cf. the concluding chapters of *Manette Salomon* (Edmond et Jules de Goncourt).

[3] *Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné* (1894), pp. 251 ff; cf. *Manette Salomon,* chap. cxiv, pp. 341–43.

[4] *Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné,* p. 232.

[5] *Manette Salomon,* p. 343.

[6] *Manette Salomon,* p. 343; cf. *Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné,* pp. 425 ff. La Merquier resorts to a somewhat similar stratagem when he entraps the unsuspecting Nabab into offering him a picture as a bribe.

The difficulty of collecting a quantity of interesting notes on normal, everyday life led the naturalists to devote considerable attention to diseases. We thus find Daudet, as a faithful disciple of the Goncourts, carefully analyzing his own sufferings. For the description of the death of Elysée Méraut, the faithful tutor of little Zara, exiled heir-apparent to the throne of Illyria, he utilized his own sensations during illness.[1] Like the Goncourts also, he frequented the hospitals in order to collect data upon the patients. A series of four articles, entitled "La vie à l'hôpital," published in an ephemeral medical journal called the *Journal d'Enghien*, were sent to Daudet by Raoul D . . . , the original of Jack. In addition to the material obtained in this way, Daudet made long observations at the bedside of Raoul. Learning, however, that the Goncourts were undertaking a long description of the Charity hospital in *Sœur Philomène*, Daudet decided to make little use of the data which he had collected.[2]

He was attracted toward the field of psychology, especially abnormal psychology, but here he was following in the footsteps of the Goncourts even more than ever. For instance, his *Notes sur la vie* contains a chapter of "Rêves et Hallucinations," which is hardly more extensive than the material in the *Journal* on the same subject.[3] In his investigations of abnormal psychology, he was indebted also to Dr. J. M. Charcot, to whom he dedicated *L'Evangéliste*, and who appears as the great Dr. Bouchereau not only in that novel, but also in *Les Rois en exil* and *Numa Roumestan*.[4] *L'Evangéliste* undoubtedly contains many pathological details due to Daudet's friendship with the great specialist in nervous diseases. The general

[1] *Notes sur la vie*, p. 124; cf. *Les Rois en exil* (1890), pp. 474–80.

[2] *Trente ans de Paris*, pp. 264, 276.

[3] *Notes sur la vie*, pp. 158–76. On p. 173 he speaks of a kind of dream which reminds one of Dickens: "Un des phénomènes les plus étranges du rêve, c'est la participation qu'y a souvent la réalité; les bruits extérieurs très réels se mêlent souvent à l'action rêvée, y jouent un rôle," etc; cf. *Oliver Twist*, ed. Harper & Brothers (1902), p. 67 (chap. ix): ". . . . There is a drowsy state, between sleeping and waking, when you dream more in five minutes with your eyes half open, and yourself half conscious of everything that is passing around you, than you would in five nights with your eyes fast closed, and your senses wrapt in perfect unconsciousness. At such times, a mortal knows just enough of what his mind is doing to form some glimmering conception of its mighty powers, its bounding from earth and spurning time and space, when freed from the restraint of its corporeal associate."

[4] *L'Evangéliste*, p. 251; *Les Rois en exil*, chap. xviii, pp. 481–99; *Numa Roumestan*, p. 203. The identification of Bouchereau with Dr. Charcot was indicated by my colleague, Professor D. S. Blondheim.

theme, however, is taken from the Goncourts, the novel being recognized as a direct imitation of *Madame Gervaisais*.[1] The Protestant Mme d'Autheman, by her insidious influence upon Eline Ebsen, whom she induces to separate from her mother, is a worthy rival of the Catholic fanatic who shuts the door in the face of her half-idiot son, Pierre-Charles, at the behest of Father Sibilla.

Thus it would appear already that the naturalistic school, despite its pretensions to the contrary, tends fatally to a restricted field of observation. Nor is it surprising that Daudet is obliged to return frequently to the themes treated by the Goncourts. When we come to consider the materials which seem to be entirely the fruit of his own observations, we shall find him using over and over again the same themes, the same characters, and even the same language. This fact is the more significant because as a precaution against repetition, we are told by his widow, he drew a blue pencil mark through such notes as he used in the composition of his novels.[2]

There are a few examples of the simplest form of repetitions, where the same narrative is published in different volumes. For instance, the story of "Les trois messes basses" is found both in the *Lettres de mon moulin* and in the *Contes du lundi*.[3] "Les Aventures d'un papillon et d'une bête à bon Dieu" appears in *Les Amoureuses* as well as in *Le Petit Chose*.[4]

Sometimes the story takes the form of a brief sketch, which is elsewhere expanded into a novel. Amaury, the poetaster, recites the "Credo de l'amour," charming a circle of silly women, and eloping with the wife of the nurseryman.[5] In *Jack*, "M. le vicomte" Amaury d'Argenton, by pompously declaiming the same lines, "Moi je crois à l'amour comme je crois en Dieu," etc., persuades the "Countess" Ida de Barancy to forsake for him her son Jack and her aristocratic lover.[6]

[1] René Doumic, *Portraits d'Ecrivains* (1911), I, 281.

[2] Alphonse Daudet, *Notes sur la vie* (Preface by Julia A. Daudet), p. vii.

[3] *Lettres de mon moulin* (Paris, 1895), pp. 211–28; *Contes du lundi* (Paris, 1895), pp. 265–67.

[4] *Les Amoureuses* (1857–61) (Paris, 1912), pp. 122–41; *Le Petit Chose* (1894), pp. 228–35.

[5] *Les Femmes d'artistes*, p. 33 ("Le Credo de l'amour").

[6] *Jack*, p. 98; cf. Jules Lemaître, *Les Contemporains* (1893), II, 280.

Such examples are sufficiently obvious, and extended comment upon them would be commonplace.[1] There remains, however, a type of repetition in Daudet which apparently has attracted little attention heretofore. I mean his frequent recourse to the same motif. In *Les Rois en exil*, little Prince Zara laughs at his father Christian, ex-king of Illyria, and at his mother Frédérique, the ex-queen, and with a caress brings their foreheads together, as if he understands that he is the only bond of union between the weak, dissolute husband, and the heroic wife. Similarly, it is only because of her child that Rosalie becomes outwardly reconciled to Numa Roumestan, from whom she has separated after he has betrayed her a second time.[2] Villemessant, out of employment and lying to his daughters who do not suspect his poverty, is the model for M. Joyeuse, who is discharged from the banking firm of Hémerlingue et fils.[3] "On se figure le supplice de M. Joyeuse, obligé d'inventer des épisodes, des anecdotes sur le misérable qui l'avait si férocement congédié après dix ans de bons services. Pourtant il jouait sa petite comédie, de façon à tromper complètement tout le monde. On n'avait remarqué qu'une chose, c'est que le père en rentrant le soir se mettait toujours à table avec un grand appétit. Je crois bien! Depuis qu'il avait perdu sa place, le pauvre homme ne déjeunait plus."[4] In like fashion, the granddaughter of Colonel Jouve is

[1] It might be remarked here that Daudet frequently uses "interlocking" characters, like Balzac, Zola, and others. The "illustre Docteur-Professeur de Schwanthaler" is found in the *Contes du lundi* ("la Pendule de Bougival"), pp. 64–72, as well as in *Tartarin sur les Alpes*, p. 9, etc. M. Bompard, who figures prominently in the latter story (*Tartarin sur les Alpes*, p. 109, and especially pp. 349–65, as well as *Numa Roumestan*, p. 295, etc.), is mentioned also in the *Contes du lundi* ("La Défense de Tarascon," p. 76). The same is the case for the gunsmith Costecalde (*Contes du lundi*, p. 78; cf. *Tartarin de Tarascon*, p. 17; *Tartarin sur les Alpes*, p. 36, etc.), and General Bravida (*Contes du lundi*, p. 80; on p. 81, General Bravida speaks characteristically of *nos lapins*, a term applied particularly to Tartarin; cf. *Tartarin de Tarascon*, p. 22). In fact, the only important omission in "La Défense de Tarascon" is Tartarin himself. In *L'Immortel* figure Colette de Rosen, as well as Christian, king of Illyria, who are among the most important figures in *Les Rois en exil* (*L'Immortel* [1890], pp. 22, 43). Amy Férat, who flirts with Jansoulet, the Nabab, gives a rendezvous to M. de Fagan in *Rose et Ninette*, p. 36. (Cf. *Le Nabab*, p. 498, etc.) The Sautecœur family, inveterate poachers, who play a tragic rôle in *La Petite Paroisse* (p. 189), appear also in *L'Obstacle* (p. 159). Delobelle, the unsuccessful actor, one of the foremost figures in *Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné*, is mentioned in *Jack* (p. 95) as an associate of the *raté* d'Argenton.

[2] *Les Rois en exil*, p. 10; *Numa Roumestan* (1896), p. 344.

[3] *Trente ans de Paris*, p. 34.

[4] *Le Nabab*, p. 95.

Irma Borel (*Le Petit Chose*, pp. 277–80) raves against the Petit Chose exactly as Sapho does against Jean Gaussin, p. 278: "Elle bavait, elle étranglait"; cf. *Sapho*,

obliged to invent cheerful stories for him, although in the greatest distress herself: "Vous figurez-vous le désespoir de cette pauvre enfant sans nouvelle de son père, le sachant prisonnier, privé de tout, et obligé de le faire parler dans des lettres joyeuses, un peu courtes, comme pouvait en écrire un soldat en campagne, allant toujours en avant dans un pays conquis."[1]

Like Joyeuse, she suffers the pangs of hunger during her ordeal:

"—Comprends-tu cela, petite? nous mangions du cheval!

"Je crois bien qu'elle le comprenait. Depuis deux mois elle ne mangeait pas autre chose."

The young hero of "Le Pape est mort" invents a tale of the death of Pope Pius IX, for purposes of his own. He is well aware that he will be forgiven the next day, so overjoyed will his parents be to learn that the Pope is really still alive.[2] In *Tartarin sur les Alpes*, Bompard, returning to Tarascon, recounts the tragic death of Tartarin exhibiting relics of the deceased mountain-climber to substantiate his story. When Tartarin suddenly appears, the inhabitants are so delighted that no attention is paid to the imposition which has been practiced upon them.

Father Stenne, discovering that his son has betrayed the French army, goes back himself to repair the fault, without so much as looking round as he leaves the room. The old blacksmith, Father Lory, refusing to turn round when his aged wife would call him back, goes as a substitute for his son, who has deserted from the Third Zouaves.[3]

The Nabab, taking voluntarily upon himself the guilt of his worthless brother, when to speak the truth would have saved his fortune and seat in the Chamber of Deputies, is not unlike the Petit Chose, who loses his position in school by shouldering the blame for the gallant adventures of the *maître d'armes*.[4]

ed. Flammarion, p. 314: "Dans l'ombre qui les gagnait, il ne voyait plus que cette figure pâle, levée vers lui, cette bouche ouverte, clamant d'une intarissable plainte." Like Jean Gaussin, the Petit Chose makes ineffectual efforts to break away from his mistress. He actually writes his brother of his intended separation, but "cette lettre ne partit pas" (p. 280).

[1] *Contes du lundi* ("Le Siège de Berlin"), pp. 51, 52.

[2] *Contes du lundi* ("Le Pape est mort"), p. 284; cf. *Tartarin sur les Alpes*, p. 364.

[3] *Contes de lundi* ("L'Enfant Espion"), p. 37; cf. *ibid.* ("Le Mauvais Zouave"), p. 63.

[4] *Le Petit Chose*, pp. 120 and preceding; cf. *Le Nabab*, pp. 413–14.

At the close of "Le Siège de Berlin," Colonel Jouve, who had accompanied Napoleon I on many glorious marches through Germany, cries, as he witnesses the triumphal entry of the enemy into Paris: "Aux armes! . . . aux armes! . . . les Prussiens!" then falls dead with apoplexy.[1] Hornus, the Porte-Drapeau, seeing the beloved banner which he has so often borne to victory in the possession of the enemy, rushes upon the Prussian officer, crying: "Au dra . . . ," but his voice chokes, and he falls in an apoplectic fit.

Repetitions of this kind can doubtless be found in all voluminous writers, although it is perhaps fair to say that they are seldom more abundant than in Daudet and the naturalists. They confirm the conclusion that while theoretically the province of the naturalistic school may be nature in its entirety, as Zola would maintain,[2] practically it is quite as limited as that of most other schools of writers. There remains to be discussed the question whether Daudet's restricted field of observation is compensated for by a correspondingly profound study of human nature. In order to answer that question, let us consider a feature of Daudet's style which is sufficiently distinctive to have received considerable comment. I refer to his use of characteristic phrases or gestures—the *tics* by which one individual is readily distinguished from another. Jules Lemaître asserts that these puppet-like gestures are significant enough to demonstrate that Daudet, contrary to the contention of some critics, was a profound observer of the human heart.[3] Paul Franche[4] and E. Gilbert[5] are among the numerous other critics to emphasize Daudet's use of the *tic* as a means of psychological analysis. Gilbert[6] cites the Alsatian cashier in the house of Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné, who murmurs: "Chai bas gonviance," as he sees the

[1] *Contes du lundi* ("Le Siège de Berlin"), p. 56; cf. *ibid.* ("le Petit Drapeau"), p. 130. The Nabab also dies of apoplexy, when he witnesses the triumph of his adversaries.

[2] E. Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 285.

[3] J. Lemaître, *Les Contemporains*, IV (1893), 242: "On a dit que les personnages de *l'Immortel* n'étaient que des pantins fort expressifs, qu'ils n'avaient pas de 'dessous.' Ces dessous ne sont pas exprimés, c'est vrai, mais le pantomime de ces véridiques et vivantes marionnettes est si juste que chacun de leurs gestes ou de leurs airs de tête nous révèle leur âme et tout leur passé; et je ne croirai jamais qu'un romancier qui, rien qu'en notant des mouvements extérieurs et de brefs discours, a pu suggérer à M. Brunetière l'idée d'un si beau roman (*Revue des deux mondes* du 1er août), soit un psychologue si insuffisant."

[4] *Op. cit.* [5] *Op. cit.* [6] E. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

inevitable approach of disaster; Delobelle, the unsuccessful actor, who repeats "Je n'ai pas de droit de renoncer au théâtre!" and dramatically observes, at the funeral of his daughter: "As-tu remarqué ?—Quoi ?—Il y a deux voitures de maître!"; the pompous d'Argenton, who recites, "Moi, je crois à l'amour comme je crois en Dieu," in *Jack;* Monpavon, in *Le Nabab*, spotless "dans son plastron impeccable"; and old Peyrotte in *Le Petit Chose*, with his perpetual "C'est bien le cas de le dire . . ."

The list of Gilbert might be extended considerably. For instance, there is the plaintive wail of little King Mâdou: "Si pauvre monde avait pas soupir, pauvre monde étouffer bien sûr."[1] The origin of this expression is indicated in *Trente ans de Paris:* ". . . C'est le soupir humain dont parle la chanson créole, cette soupape qui empêche le monde d'étouffer: 'Si pas té gagné, soupi n'en mouné, mouné ta touffé.'" Again, there is Monpavon in *Le Nabab*, with his incessant *machin, chose, pst,* borrowed from the language of the Duke of Mora.[2] In the same way, the French officers in the story "Mon Képi" have a habit of crying, "Du sang-froid! du sang-froid!" in order to encourage themselves during their periodical camp panics. This expression was also attributed to the intrepid Tartarin, in *Tartarin sur les Alpes.*[3] Other instances are Marc Javel's patronizing words, "Ne l'oubliez pas, jeune homme," which he used to remind his ward, Eudeline Raymond, of the duties of an eldest son. His attitude closely resembled that of d'Argenton, with his perpetual "La vie n'est pas un roman," which glossed over his cruelty toward Jack.[4]

Now, if it be true, as Lemaître and others would contend, that each of these little characteristic remarks and gestures reveals the whole past, the very heart of the man, how are we to differentiate between Monpavon, the Duke of Mora, and the host of satellites

[1] *Jack*, p. 65, etc.; cf. *Trente ans de Paris*, p. 326.

[2] *Souvenirs d'un homme de lettres*, p. 229; cf. *La Fédor* ("Souvenirs d'un Chef de Cabinet"), p. 152; cf. also *Le Nabab*, p. 453: ". . . le vieux sybarite songeait à s'endormir dans une baignoire comme chose . . . machin . . . ps . . . ps . . . ps . . ."

[3] *Contes du lundi* ("Mon Képi"), p. 163; cf. *Tartarin sur les Alpes*, p. 66: "Tartarin, pour se réconforter lui-même et rassurer ces demoiselles, criait en se précipitant et bousculant tout le monde: 'Du sang-froid! du sang-froid!' avec une voix de goëland, blanche, éperdue, une de ces voix comme on en a dans les rêves, à donner la chair de poule aux plus braves."

[4] *Soutien de famille* (1898), p. 29; cf. *Jack*, p. 199, etc.

who all affected the same blasé attitude? What is to distinguish in our minds little King Mâdou from the thousands of Creoles who gave vent to their despair in the same words as he? The ejaculation "Du sang-froid!" may disclose to us the inner workings of the heart of Tartarin, but it discloses just as much about the excitable French officers in the story of "Mon Képi." We may thus be tempted to conclude that the puppet-like remarks and gestures are less significant than has been supposed. The characters so revealed may easily be like Dr. Jenkins, the inventor of the famous *perles*, who probably bears a physical resemblance to one man, while his detestable qualities of heart are taken from quite another.[1]

Indeed Daudet's regular procedure in the creation of his characters was to make, as Montaigne would say, "un fagotage de diverses pièces." He tells us, for example, that all the characters in *Numa Roumestan*, from the central figure himself to little Audiberte, are constructed in this way.[2]

The method is applied to localities as well: "De même pour Aps en Provence, la ville natale de Numa, que j'ai bâtie avec des morceaux d'Arles, de Nîmes, de Saint-Rémy, de Cavaillon, prenant à l'une ses arènes, à l'autre ses vieilles ruelles italiennes, étroites et cailloutées comme des torrents à sec, son marché du lundi sous les platanes massifs du tour-de-ville," etc.[3] Again he writes: "La maison où je fais naître Numa est celle de mes huit ans, rue Séguier, en face l'Académie de Nîmes; l'école des frères terrorisée par l'illustre Boute-à-Cuire et sa férule marinée dans le vinaigre, c'est l'école de mon enfance, les souvenirs de ma plus lointaine mémoire. 'Oiseaux de prime,' disent les Provençaux."[4]

It is for this reason that Lemaître objects to the episode in *L'Immortel* of Astier-Réhu, member of the Academy, to whom Albin Fage sold worthless manuscripts. Lemaître maintains that the incident was comprehensible enough in the case of the real victim, Emile Chasles, who was a mathematician, and hence an easier prey to the mystifications of Vrain-Lucas than a trained man of letters, such as Astier-Réhu. "M. Daudet," he writes, "parti d'un fait vrai, l'a rendu totalement invraisemblable et faux parce qu'il en a

[1] Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 323.
[2] *Souvenirs d'un homme de lettres*, p. 51. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

changé toutes les conditions."[1] At the same time, Brunetière defends Daudet, insisting that all romancers have resorted to similar methods for creating their characters, and that as for the incident of Albin Fage, history is full of such impositions, of which even the most skilled have been victims.[2]

It is not my purpose to decide here upon the merits of this controversy. I will grant for the sake of argument the right of any romancer to compose his characters by piecing together features from a number of individuals. I will even allow that there is nothing incongruous in the case of Astier-Réhu, especially as that man of letters is constantly depicted as lacking in the most elementary common-sense. The question which remains is: What becomes of our much-trumpeted realistic method, once the romancer makes such extensive use of arbitrary combinations? Are we not now confronted with the dilemma so well described by Brunetière himself, in his discussion of Daudet's expression *roman d'histoire moderne?* He writes: "Car vous crierez à l'invraisemblance, et l'on vous répondra que pourtant les choses ses sont passées telles que l'historien les raconte,—ou vous crierez à l'inexactitude, et l'on vous répondra que, pour emprunter quelques traits à l'histoire, le romancier n' a pas abdiqué cependant les droits de l'imagination."[3]

And what becomes now of the little gestures and characteristic remarks which afford such a deep insight into the souls of Daudet's heroes? It has been observed that we can hardly distinguish these characters from others who have behaved in the same way, but who doubtless possess quite different souls. However, there remain still the remarks which have been attributed to the proper individual, but only after his nature has been considerably altered by Daudet's avowed method of "un fagotage de diverses pièces." How can we know that the words are any longer so characteristic? Or, granting

[1] J. Lemaître, *Les Contemporains*, IV (1893), 229; cf. *L'Immortel* (1890), p. 317: " 'La lettre aussi . . . ,' dit Epinchard. Mais dès les premières phrases, on cria: 'Assez . . . assez . . . cela suffit . . .' Ils en rougissaient maintenant, de cette épître de Rotrou dont l'imposture crevait les yeux. Un pastiche d'écolier, tournures impropres, la moitié des mots ignorés de ce temps-là. Quel aveuglement! comment avaient-ils pu? . . ."

[2] F. Brunetière, "*L'Immortel* par M. Alphonse Daudet," *Revue des deux mondes*, LXXXVIII (series 3, 1888), 699.

[3] F. Brunetière, "*L'Impressionisme dans le roman—Les Rois en exil* par M. Alphonse Daudet," *Revue des deux mondes*, XXXVI (3e series, 1879), 447."

that they are, is it not the effect of the author's imagination, which Zola insists is so conspicuously lacking, and not of his realism?

What Daudet has succeeded in accomplishing is frequently to give an illusion of reality, due principally to the large number of details which he employs. The method has the disadvantage that where the description of particular features is excessively minute, the image as a whole suffers, and a frequent criticism of Daudet is that his novels often seem rather a collection of scenes than a connected whole. The method succeeds best with his short stories, which need no recommendation here.

In conclusion, let us consider certain characteristics of Daudet's writings which have little or no place in the doctrine of realism, and sometimes seem inconsistent with its fundamental tenets. Perhaps the quality which recommends Daudet to his readers' sympathies more strongly than any other is his class humanitarianism. "Je me sens au cœur," he writes, "je me sens au cœur l'amour de Dickens pour les disgraciés et les pauvres, les enfances mêlées aux misères des grandes villes; j'ai eu comme lui une entrée de vie navrante, l'obligation de gagner mon pain avant seize ans; c'est là, j' imagine, notre plus grande ressemblance."[1] Inspired with such a sentiment of pity for the weak and the oppressed, he takes many of his heroes from among the indigent classes. As has been observed already, from Raoul D . . . . , broken down with toil, as a model, he draws the picture of Jack.[2] La Pouponnière, a farm which supplied children with indigestible goat's milk, furnished him with the idea of Dr. Jenkins' heartless Œuvre de Bethléem, in *Le Nabab*.[3] His enthusiasm almost tempts him away from realism when, in *Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné*, he creates Désirée, "cette enfant, ayant hérité un brin de l'extravagance paternelle, transformé l'exaspération artistique en doux sentimentalisme de femme et d'infirme."[4] He thought first of making her a dressmaker for dolls, so that her taste for elegance and delicacy could find expression,[5] but was distressed to learn that little Jenny Wren, in *Our Mutual Friend* of Dickens, had exactly the same occupation as he had intended for Désirée.[6] It was difficult

[1] *Trente ans de Paris*, pp. 309, 310.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 258, etc.; cf. R. Doumic, *Portraits d'Ecrivains* (1911), I, 285, 286.
[3] Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 324.
[4] *Trente ans de Paris*, p. 306. [5] *Ibid.* *Ibid.*, p. 309.

to find any other kind of work that suited the purpose so well, but finally Daudet discovered a little sign on a house in the Rue du Temple: "Oiseaux et Mouches pour Modes,"[1] which solved the difficulty, without too flagrant a departure from realism.

Furthermore Daudet was a poet. It is unncessary to insist upon the poetic qualities of a story like "La Chèvre de M. Seguin." In his earlier days he even attempted verse, and the little volume of *Les Amoureuses* is said to have been admired by the Empress, whose literary taste was mediocre.[2] The *Contes du lundi* contains a story entitled "Les Fées de France,"[3] in which the author, possessed by a kind of a idealism, seems haunted with the spirit of the good old times. In the midst of "realism," he gives as subtitle to this story "Conte Fantastique."

Indeed, Daudet was frequently tempted to delve into the past for subjects, archpriest of modernism that he was. He acknowledges having a lifelong desire to make a romance about Napoleon I, whom he calls "Empereur du Midi," or, failing in that, to take Talleyrand as a subject.[4] The nearest that he came to gratifying his ambition was in the closing pages of *Port-Tarascon*, where Pascalon persuades Tartarin, a prisoner aboard the English "Tomahawk," that he resembles Napoleon aboard the "Northumberland." It is perhaps noteworthy that it is from the Napoleon of legend that Daudet here delights to draw his incidents.[5]

[1] *Trente ans de Paris*, p. 310. [2] H. D'Alméras, *Avant la gloire* (1902), p. 53.

[3] *Contes du lundi*, pp. 198–203.

[4] E. Faguet, *Propos Littéraires* (4e série, 1907), IV, 252, 253; cf. Alphonse Daudet, *Notes sur la vie*, pp. 100, 148, 152, 153.

[5] Note the following passages from *Port-Tarascon:*

" ' Ainsi, tenez, disait-il à son petit Las Cases, Napoléon avait des colères terribles, moi de même . . .' " (p. 234).

" Mais, en y songeant, c'est par l'imagination, leur fougueuse imagination méridionale, que l'Empereur et lui s'étaient le plus ressemblés . . ." (p. 235).

"Chaque matin, après le déjeuner, Tartarin montait sur le pont et s'installait à une place, toujours la même, pour causer avec Pascalon.

" Ainsi Napoléon, à bord du 'Northumberland,' avait son poste favori, ce canon auquel il s'appuyait et qu'on appelait le canon de l'Empereur" (p. 239).

"—Cela ne m'étonne pas, fit Tartarin simplement, je suis très populaire en Angleterre.

" Encore une analogie avec Napoléon" (p. 244).

" Pascalon, qui savait ses auteurs, racontait qu'à bord du 'Northumberland' Napoléon mangeait à la table de l'amiral.

" ' Voilà qui me décide,' fit aussitôt le Gouverneur" (p. 253).

" Tout à coup les vins apparurent. Aussitôt lady William quitta la salle, et Tartarin, jetant brusquement sa serviette, se retira à son tour sans saluer, sans s'excuser, conformément à la légende napoléonienne" (pp. 256, 257).

Tartarin de Tarascon, harking further back into the past, is an avowed imitation of *Don Quixote*.[1] Both heroes set out on their adventures with an elaborate equipment which is altogether out of date. Tartarin mistakes light porters for pirates, as Don Quixote does sheep for the armies of knights. He diets and fasts for hunting, just as Don Quixote feeds on true knight's fare, and that very sparingly. He worships the prostitute Baya, just as his prototype becomes the champion of the vulgar Dulcinea. His first lion turns out to be an ass, as the giants turn out to be windmills. Where the hero of Cervantes drinks the balsam of Fierabras, Tartarin goes through similar spasms by becoming seasick. And always faithful to his method of "un fagotage de diverses pièces," Daudet draws from the prosaic Sancho Panza the characteristics of Tartarin which do not conform to those of the impetuous Don Quixote.

Not only was Daudet influenced, like the Romanticists, by the glamor of the dead past, but he felt a certain antipathy toward the scientific determinism that is the very root of naturalism. In *Soutien de famille* he breaks out into an invective against the laws of heredity, which form the basis of Zola's major work: "Oh! ces lois sinistres de l'hérédité, dont la science est venue assombrir la vie déjà si noire!"[2] The entire play *L'Obstacle* is directed against the same laws. The Conseiller tries, from selfish motives, to prevent the marriage of Didier d'Alein with Madeleine de Rémondy, using every possible argument to prove that the young marquis had inherited the insanity of his father.[3] The dénouement is a complete vindication of Didier, and his happy marriage with Madeleine, who succeeds in eluding her odious guardian.

Thus the "most sincerely realistic" of modern French authors does not, Zola to the contrary, write books which are universal in their appeal. His characters, which he uses over and over again, are restricted to a very definite set of favorite types. The incidents that he is fond of repeating suggest no broader experience than that of a number of writers belonging to the Romantic or the classical school. The simple, recurring motifs of his stories suggest no deep

[1] Daudet frequently compares his hero to Don Quixote in *Tartarin de Tarascon*. For the details in this paragraph I am indebted to Messrs. A. B. Brown and H. E. Smith.

[2] *Soutien de famille*, p. 55. [3] *L'Obstacle*, p. 159, etc.

acquaintance with the mainsprings of human action. And the little gestures and characteristic remarks, the *tics* which appeal to so many critics, can hardly be said after all to prove anything beyond a rather superficial psychology, not clear enough to distinguish individual traits, and perhaps not realistic at all in many cases.

Yet, if it be true, as has been said, that Thackeray could not have written *Vanity Fair* without Eden in his inner eye, may we not also assume that in the most somber pages of *Jack*, *Numa Roumestan*, and *L'Evangéliste* Daudet never lost a certain idealism, which tended to counteract the realism to which he had committed himself? Perhaps we could account thus for the comparative innocence of Daudet's works, which makes most of his books safe reading for the young. Perhaps also we might explain in part the secret of his unquestionable charm.

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ANATOLE FRANCE[1]

Few writers appear to have taken such delight in being paradoxical as has Anatole France. He has maintained that there are no such things as literary standards, and he has produced four volumes of literary criticism. He has denied that there is such a thing as historical science, and he has published two large tomes of serious historical research. He has insisted that there is no such thing as the creative imagination, and he has written nearly thirty volumes of novels and short stories. After declaring in 1886 that the virtues of the soldier "ont enfanté la civilisation toute entière," he affirms in 1893 that men are "légers et vains . . . . pour mettre les ruines de la guerre à plus haut prix que les arts de la paix."[2] In 1914 he returns to his first position, seeking, at the age of seventy, to enlist in the French army, and publishing a few months later in 1915 a book on the European war, entitled *Sur la voie glorieuse*. The author who wrote "souffrir . . . . là seulement est la véritable joie" (*Jardin d'Epicure*, p. 62) writes, a decade or so later, "N'écoutons pas les prêtres qui enseignent que la souffrance est excellente. C'est la joie qui est bonne."[3] The skeptic and conservative whose candidacy for the Academy was supported as recently as 1896 by the aristocratic coterie in preference to that of the anti-clerical Ferdinand Fabre,[4] appears during the *Affaire* and after as a socialist and a radical. These changes of position, especially the last, make Anatole France a perplexing figure. They raise the question: Is there any real unity in his character and his works? Is he a chameleon, or are his inconsistencies merely superficial? Are his books reflections of

[1] G. Michaut, *Anatole France: étude psychologique*. Paris: Fontemoing, 1913. Pp. xxxv +306.

Victor Giraud, "M. Anatole France" (in *Les Maîtres de l'heure*, II, 179–310). Paris: Hachette, 1914.

W. L. George, *Anatole France*. New York: Holt, 1915. Pp. 128. For important suggestions in connection with this review I am indebted to Professor S. P. Sherman, of the University of Illinois. Professor Kenneth McKenzie and other colleagues have likewise favored me with helpful criticism.

[2] Cf. Giraud, pp. 239, 259.

[3] Giraud, p. 269.

[4] G. Brandes, *Anatole France* (New York, 1908), p. 34 (where the date is incorrectly given as 1897).

passing moods, or are their tendencies fairly uniform? It is this problem that the three books here under discussion attempt to solve.

We shall first take up the views of the three critics on this most important issue, and try to reach some conclusion as to the essential quality of the work of Anatole France. We shall then pass to an examination of the three studies separately, in order to determine what light each may throw on such matters as the sources of Anatole France and the characteristics of his style.

M. Michaut's essay is intended to be exclusively psychological. He endeavors to analyze the traits of M. France's nature which appear at all periods of his career. The psychology of the author of *Thaïs* is discussed under three headings: *intelligence*, *imagination*, and *sens esthétique et sensibilité*. The following is a brief summary of the conclusions set forth. The intelligence of M. France, wide rather than deep, is that of a dilettante, not that of a systematic thinker. This incapacity for system explains his critical impressionism, his lack of a definite theory of literary values. He is, moreover, not merely incapable of systematizing ideas, but he is purposeless in his interest in ideas. He believes sentiment more important than reason, and has no hope of arriving at absolute truth. Consequently his erudition and his intellectual interests, ranging over all time and all being, natural or supernatural, are forms of idle curiosity. The skeptic regards the spectacle of the universe as meaningless, and is moved by it to irony and sympathy, to the irony which is the most obvious characteristic of his style and the sympathy which is the most pleasing trait of his personality. In the intellectual experiences referred to, all he seeks and all he remembers is his own pleasure; he gets no notion of external reality whatever, but sees only himself. Hence his critical work is an entirely subjective account of the "adventures of his soul," and his novels contain, aside from a few figures which interest him because of their contrast to himself (e.g., Lantaigne, Guitrel, Gamelin), no convincing characters except portraits of his own ego (Bonnard, Bergeret, Brotteaux). In other words, he is entirely lacking in creative imagination. He has no power to breathe life into the materials, derived from experience and literature, from which he constructs his works. This deficiency explains his critical sympathies. A man naturally tends to admire

those who resemble himself. M. France's lack of creative imagination forces him to restrict himself to a slavish reproduction of experience; consequently, he commends only such writers as give a faithful transcript of it, the classical school who portray universal verity, rather than the romantic school who give free rein to imagination. Though without the higher type of imagination, he has a high degree of fancy, which produces those unexpected associations of words and ideas that constitute much of the charm of his style. His ability, indeed, is chiefly stylistic; consequently he reserves his highest approval for merits of form, and prefers the men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who relied upon application, to the men of the nineteenth, who trusted to inspiration. The classicism just outlined becomes less narrow in his later phase. As a critic he is remarkable for the wide range of literature he studies; as a stylist he is notable for the great variety of writers he imitates. He succeeds, however, in fusing the elements derived from them into a style, having an originality of its own, defined as a certain sensuous appeal. The *sensualité* which his literary manner expresses is a fundamental element in his nature, and is at the bottom of all the psychological traits outlined. It also explains his inconsistencies. His change from an indifferent conservatism to a decided radicalism, for example, is due to his tardy recognition of the fact that traditional ideas in morals, philosophy, and religion are "hostiles au plaisir, ennemies de la volupté. . . . . Son œuvre est vouée au Désir et à la Volupté."

Such is M. Michaut's conception of France's psychology. M. Giraud's work is much easier to follow. He uses the biographical method and manages expository narrative with skill. He divides the career of the author of the *Histoire contemporaine* into two periods: that previous to the outbreak of the *Affaire* in 1897, and that following it. He indicates certain changes which occurred during the first of these periods. Consequently it seems to me that a more satisfactory division might be a tripartite one: first, a period of dilettantism, ending in 1889, with the discussion over the *Disciple;* this is the period of *Sylvestre Bonnard,* and the dominating influence is that of Renan; secondly, a period of skepticism, ending in 1897, with the *Affaire;* this is the era of the *Opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard,* and Anatole France recalls Montaigne; thirdly, a period

of socialism; this is the epoch of the *Histoire contemporaine*, and during this phase France reminds one of Voltaire. Throughout all these variations Giraud finds that the character of Anatole France does not change fundamentally. The view of it presented is substantially in accord with that of Michaut, though Giraud's more natural plan and greater breadth of mind make his results seem more acceptable. He concludes that M. France's ideas are those of the eighteenth century, of Voltaire and Diderot. The author of the *Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* is essentially an anarchist, "le plus séduisant et le plus dangereux professeur d'anarchie que nous ayons eu depuis Renan."

Mr. George's hurried and somewhat flippant study likewise finds consistency in Anatole France. This consistency, however, is asserted rather than defined. The clearest statement of it seems to be that the "instinct" of the great ironist is "hedonistic," his "reason" humanitarian (p. 24). These tendencies pervade all his work, which is praised without reserve. Even *Les Dieux ont soif*, with its jarring note of hostility to the French Revolution, though preceded and followed by works of strongly socialistic character, can extort from Mr. George no admission of inconsistency: "Irony and pity, pity and hope, it is always the same gospel" (p. 87).

What are we to think of these three different conclusions? Are they hopelessly at variance with one another, or is it possible to disengage from them elements of truth that may be combined into a fairly accurate portrait? If we attempt to do the latter, we must not lose sight of the personal bias of the critics. M. Michaut, before becoming a teacher in the University of Paris, was a professor in the Catholic University of Fribourg in Switzerland. His critical position is that of Brunetière, the great opponent of Anatole France; in other words, he is a decided conservative in matters of religion and politics as well as in questions of literary taste. It has been said that the object of his book is "to undermine the tower of ivory and dethrone the great hereditary prince of the dilettantes."[1] The animus thus picturesquely characterized must not be left out of account in evaluating his conclusions. Nevertheless it is obvious that he is right in insisting upon the importance of the sensual ele-

[1] *The Nation*, XCVIII (1914), 404.

ment in M. France's nature. In this respect the bookseller's son resembles Chateaubriand, Flaubert, Sainte-Beuve. He himself does not scruple to say: "Le désir a conduit ma vie entière."[1] To proceed, however, as Michaut does, to derive all the tendencies of Anatole France's nature from this single source is carrying consistency too far. No one on this side of the Atlantic will readily believe that his lack of creative imagination, his intellectual curiosity, his pity for human misery, and his praise of suffering are all traceable to his sensuous nature.

Like M. Michaut, M. Giraud formerly taught in the Catholic University of Fribourg. He is at present an editor of the *Revue des deux mondes*. Brunetière, it will be remembered, directed this review for many years; it is not surprising, then, that M. Giraud should be as firm an adherent of Brunetière's doctrines as his predecessor. This fact suggests, as before, the need of caution in accepting his conclusions. Still, there can be little doubt that he is justified in stressing the connections of M. France with the eighteenth century. Consider his politics, for example. The man who planned an *Encyclopédie de la révolution* in 1868[2] and published three volumes of socialistic speeches in 1906 is evidently not an advocate of the *ancien régime*. Similarly, in religion, a certain emotional sympathy with Catholic Christianity which he shares with Renan does not alter the fact that both men are at bottom hostile to the church. Men in this country are surprised, nevertheless, to find Renan and France coupled as "anarchists," even if we take the word in a milder sense than it bears in English. We are not disposed to accept the antinomian writings of either as really representative. We do not find the true Renan in the *Abbesse de Jouarre*, nor the true Anatole France in the *Opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard*. France is not fundamentally an indifferentist.

Mr. George[3] is clearly in the right in pointing out that there are elements in France's nature which are worthy of respect. The English writer properly emphasizes that sympathy with human misery

[1] Giraud, p. 179; cited from *L'Homme libre*, May 5, 1913.

[2] Giraud, p. 196.

[3] An Englishman educated in France, Mr. George has published *France in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1909), and a number of novels. As he is a radical, the unduly laudatory tone of his *Anatole France* is not surprising.

which tempers the Frenchman's irony and produces his socialism. In this humanitarianism, which M. Giraud largely ignores, we find another eighteenth-century element. It leads us back to Rousseau, with whom M. France has closer affinities than has generally been admitted.[1]

Further evidence that Anatole France's nature is not a shifting quicksand is afforded by his ethical attitude, of which one usually hears little. No one, to be sure, could be farther from being a moralist. Nevertheless he is not devoid of moral principle. It has been said of Lucian, with whom he has been so often compared: "En morale . . . . son idéal se réduisait à vivre sagement. . . . . "[2] Anatole France formulates his own morality in almost identical terms.[3] He learned it in the garden of Epicurus.

The results we have just arrived at seem to give a reasonably clear portrait of Anatole France. He is physically a voluptuary, intellectually a Voltairian, emotionally a Rousseauist, ethically an Epicurean. These epithets are not all rigorously applicable, however. M. France himself states, for example,[4] that his moral ideal is aesthetic rather than ethical. In so doing he leads us to the most permanent and significant element in his nature. None of the tendencies we have analyzed pervades his work so completely as does his love of the beautiful. There is no sensuality and no skepticism in *Abeille*, little humanitarianism and less morality in *Jérôme Coignard*. There is the passion for *le beau*, however, in every one of his books, from *La Légende de Sainte Radégonde* of 1859 to the *Sur la voie glorieuse* of 1915. He is aflame with that devotion to art which

[1] Cf. Giraud, pp. 234–35: "Du xviii[e] siècle il accepte et goûte à peu près tout, sauf Rousseau, qu'il ne peut sentir," a notion Giraud supports only by a passage in the *Dieux ont soif* (p. 88; Giraud says wrongly, p. 148), in which Rousseau is called a *Jean-fesse*, in connection with his idea of the goodness of primitive nature, which M. France has always repudiated. M. Giraud has overlooked the important passage, *Vie litt.*, I, 87–88 ("Jean-Jacques a . . . . jeté par le monde, avec une éloquence enchanteresse, un sentiment nouveau d'amour et de pitié"), the theory of education set forth in *Sylvestre Bonnard* (pp. 152–53, ed. Wright), and the frequently stressed idea that sentiment is more important than reason (cf. Michaut, pp. 37–39). Note also that Anatole France has two busts of Rousseau in his sitting-room (Frank Harris, *Contemporary Portraits* [New York, 1915], p. 332).

[2] A. and M. Croiset, *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature grecque* (7th ed., Paris, n.d.), p. 764.

[3] Cf. the interesting interview recorded by Mr. Harris (*op. cit.*, p. 343). See also the articles published in regard to Bourget's *Disciple* (*Vie litt.*, III, 54–78).

[4] Harris, *loc. cit.*

seems to burn brighter and purer in France than in any country of the modern world; he is a fanatic of that cult of the beautiful which lends dignity and meaning to the lives of Gautier and the Goncourts, of Maupassant and Flaubert. In his striving toward the aesthetic ideal he draws inspiration from the fountain-head at which all French writers have drunk since the Renaissance, from the literatures of Greece and Rome. So completely has this latter-day Alexandrian assimilated their content, and so perfectly has he reproduced their form, that that master of phrase, Jules Lemaître, once called him *l'extrême fleur du génie latin.* M. France is an artist who takes his place in the classical tradition; this fact was uppermost in the mind of Lemaître, as in the minds of most readers of Anatole France. Professor Babbitt has voiced their impression in the best definition of the author of *Thaïs* that has hitherto been proposed. M. France is a "humanistic aesthete."[1]

There is, then, a real unity in the life and works of Anatole France. If so, how are we to account for the inconsistencies noticed at the beginning of this review? In undertaking to explain them, it is important not to forget that we are dealing with an ironist. There is an old saying that irony is a knife without a handle; the ironist is frequently distressed to find himself taken literally. Anatole France does not expect his readers to accept his statements without reservation. In other words, as Professor Sherman acutely suggests, "the skepticism of M. France is largely a literary pose."[2] There is not a little of such affectation in the denial of the existence of literary standards. Anatole France hurled Georges Ohnet neck and crop *hors de la littérature.* How could he have done so if he did not believe in some generally acceptable measure of literary values? Like his critical impressionism, his historical impressionism is largely whimsical. No man who writes a book like *Jeanne d'Arc* believes real knowledge of the past impossible. The situation is somewhat different as regards his denial of the creative imagination. It may be that M. Michaut is right in thinking that the deficiency of M. France in the higher forms of this faculty leads him to deny their existence.

[1] *The Masters of Modern French Criticism* (Boston, 1912), p. 321.

[2] *The Nation*, LXXXIX (1909), 96.

The inconsistencies as to militarism are real, but hardly difficult to understand nowadays. The more violent anti-militaristic utterances, moreover, date from the period of skepticism. Hence they are perhaps not to be taken too seriously.

The change from Christian praise of suffering to Epicurean praise of joy is part of a larger change in his attitude toward Catholicism. Before 1897, especially before 1889, he is agnostic but not unfriendly to the church; after 1897 he is violently anti-clerical. This religious shift synchronizes with the political metamorphosis from a conservative to a radical. It is to be explained in the same way. M. Michaut and M. Giraud think it a recrudescence of native tendencies to lawlessness and anarchy. He opposed the church and the nationalists because he feared that a victory for traditionalism would curtail his personal freedom of speech and action. Such an apprehension, it seems to me, would have been rather unfounded. M. Lanson and M. Pellissier would probably find in his change of front a reaffirmation of his original belief in the *philosophes* and the Revolution. They would say that he bravely espoused the cause of Dreyfus because he believed it the cause of justice and truth, and that he stoutly supported Combes and Jaurès because they represented his ideals of democracy and liberty. The second view is more likely to commend itself to Americans.

Such is the idea of Anatole France which one gathers from an unprejudiced perusal of his works, supplemented by the examination of the three books before us. Let us now proceed to a more minute study of these books themselves.

M. Michaut is known as an advocate of the scientific study of contemporary literature.[1] His work on Anatole France is his first attempt on a large scale at such a study of a living writer. One would expect work of this kind to be particularly profitable in regard to details of literary history which might otherwise soon be forgotten, and indeed it is precisely in this direction that the chief value of Michaut's book lies. The Parisian professor has examined with great industry files of old newspapers and reviews in which articles

[1] Cf. the address delivered at the opening session of the Faculté des Lettres in the University of Paris, November 5, 1905, and published in *Pages de critique et d'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1910), pp. 3–37.

appeared which M. France never republished, articles which may some day disappear with the wretched paper on which they are printed. These articles have been particularly fertile in suggestions as to the sources of the larger works. M. Michaut noted, for example, that Anatole France twice mentions in the *Temps* the *Compère Mathieu*, an eighteenth-century novel of the Canon Dulaurens. An examination of this book revealed the fact that it exerted an important influence upon the *Rôtisserie*, particularly in furnishing models for the Abbé Jérôme Coignard. It appears also that M. France does not restrict himself to utilizing the works of others; he sometimes finds models in his own earlier productions. M. Michaut cites (pp. 187 ff.) a number of striking cases in which the author of *La Révolte des Anges* imitates his own works. He not only reworks plots and characters, but he frequently makes literal repetitions. An extensive list of these (Michaut, pp. 194 ff.) includes one case in which the same series of phrases appears five times!

As an aesthetic critic M. Michaut does little that is new, aside from emphasizing and giving copious examples of defects already noted by others. Occasionally one notes a new remark, however. Thus, the faults of taste pointed out on p. 235, n. 2, are real though rare, and have hitherto received little attention. Moreover, Michaut now and then hits off a trait with admirable felicity. In describing, for example, a passage in *Le Mannequin d'osier*, correctly characterized as an imitation of Zola, he says: "Je ne sais quelle mollesse se mêle à la matérialité du tableau. On dirait du Teniers traduit par quelque graveur habitué à reproduire en estampes les œuvres de Greuze ou de Fragonard" (p. 254, n. 1).

We have noted some of the directions in which M. Michaut's work will be found useful. It has also a number of defects which call for comment. In the study of sources, for instance, M. Michaut is more successful when he compares passages in the works of Anatole France than when he makes independent combinations of his own. The latter sometimes seem to be due to over-eagerness. One is not convinced that the passage in *M. Bergeret à Paris* cited on p. 129 is derived from St.-Simon. M. Michaut suggests, again (p. 167, n. 4), that the oft-recurring notion that war is not an art, but a game of chance, comes from an obscure work of Paul-Louis Courier. Since

we have abundant evidence of the influence of Tolstoi upon the author of the *Vie littéraire*,[1] it seems much more probable that M. France derived this idea from the author of *War and Peace*.[2] The Englishman of *Jocaste*, furthermore, reminds one as much of Sir Ralph Brown in George Sand's *Indiana* as of the type familiar in "nos petits journaux et nos caricaturistes" (p. 133). The indications of the sources of the poems (pp. 146 ff.) would gain by being made more precise. The notion that France copied the bookshop in the *Rôtisserie* and its sequel from Voltaire (p. 167) is source-hunting pushed to absurdity. A man born in a bookshop would hardly need a literary model in order to describe one. M. Michaut might have pointed out (p. 182) that the *Comédie de celui qui épousa une femme muette*, the most successful play of M. France, was not merely based on Rabelais, but undertaken for the entertainment of a meeting of the Société des études rabelaisiennes.[3]

Although, as a rule, M. Michaut has utilized very industriously the literature bearing on the borrowings of M. France, he has overlooked in the following cases notes of some value. Thus, he fails to cite the remarks in George Brandes' *Anatole France*,[4] and those in R. Cor's *Anatole France et la poésie contemporaine*,[5] and the interesting notes of Professor C. H. C. Wright.[6] It may be noted in this connection that he inadvertently fails to state that he owes the indication of Daudet's influence upon *Jocaste* (p. 152), and the suggestion he elaborates connecting Jean Servien and Daniel Eyssette (p. 156), to the excellent article of M. Potez.[7]

Certain defects occasioned by M. Michaut's critical bias are more serious than his faults of omission. A certain lack of generosity,

[1] Cf. Michaut, pp. xxix and 86, for example.

[2] A remark of my colleague, Dr. J. Zeitlin, has led me to make this suggestion.

[3] Cf. the translation of Professor Curtis Hidden Page (New York, 1915), p. 7. It is curious to note the strange statement (Michaut, p. 277, n. 2): "il aime médiocrement Rabelais." Elsewhere (pp. 144, 145, 255, n. 1) M. Michaut notes that Rabelais has been one of France's chief models. It is particularly in his later phase that France has shown himself a most fervent Rabelaisian; the passages in the *Histoire contemporaine* will be familiar to the reader.

[4] Ed. cited, pp. 42, 88, for example.

[5] Ed. Paris, 1909, p. 32, n. 2 (Galiani and Voltaire's *Micromégas*).

[6] Cf. his useful school edition of *Sylvestre Bonnard* (New York, 1904?), pp. 266, 271 (Chamfort, Renan).

[7] *Mercure de France*, LXXXIV (1910), 11.

for example, appears in various references to details of M. France's life. Thus the difficulty with which he writes and the gradual progress by which his style attained "à la perfection ou même à la correction"(!)[1] is twice (p. 135, n. 5, p. 194) stressed, although, France himself, as Michaut notes (p. 225, n. 2), makes no secret of the fact that for him "easy reading's curst hard writing." One regrets that so much emphasis should be laid upon various more or less valid evidences that France feels he lacks social distinction (p. 73, n. 5).[2] On the various occasions on which Anatole France crossed swords with Brunetière, he treated his adversary with marked courtesy. M. Michaut endeavors to show that this suave manner cloaked rancorous hatred (pp. 293–94), but his exposition tends rather to convince an unprejudiced reader that the author of the *Vie littéraire* showed remarkable forbearance to a bitter opponent.

The hostility shown in the occasional remarks upon Anatole France's life appears even more clearly in the estimates of his works. Though some of the strictures are just, some seem to miss the mark. Thus the determined attack (pp. 137–39) upon the verisimilitude of that delightful trifle, *Crainquebille*, seems to indicate a certain lack of humor. M. France's repetitions are very numerous, it is true, but M. Michaut stresses them too much. The reader who does not read the works in close succession is not troubled by them. The critical articles are accused of being wearisome to read *seriatim;* there are few critical notices which are not! In general, M. Michaut, like other writers, seems to me to undervalue the critical work of M. France. It is true that many of the articles in the *Vie littéraire* have little or nothing to do with literary criticism; in other cases, however, the impressionist shows that he knows how to read and how to make others read. He has made possible a proper appreciation of the French classics for more readers than one. One does not see why the disconnected form of the *Jardin d'Epicure* is *cynique* (p. 142). Besides giving an accurate notion of the unsystematic tendencies

[1] There is a note of censoriousness in the criticisms (p. 112, n. 2): "Remarquer l'incorrection: 'des petits carrés,'" and (p. 136, n. 2): "Remarquer encore l'incorrection: 'des nouveaux venus.'"

[2] Curiously enough, nothing is said of the most striking passage in which France refers to the distress that may be caused by defects of manner. In *Les Sept Femmes de la Barbebleue*, Jeronimo, the talented statesman, "ne se console pas de manquer d'aristocratie et d'élégance. Il n'est pas heureux" (p. 212–3).

of M. France's intellect (p. 142), it expresses many of his most characteristic ideas and gives, of all his works, the clearest notion of the earlier phase of his philosophy of life. Much as one may dislike the unrelieved irony of the *Ile des Pingouins*, it is hardly "le plus médiocre de ses ouvrages" (p. 270); others might reserve that bad eminence for *M. Bergeret à Paris*. There is occasionally a certain condescension in the admiration expressed for this or that trait. We are told that M. France tells and retells the story of his early years "sans se lasser jamais—et, disons-le, sans nous lasser" (p. 98). The tone is a little patronizing in speaking of some of the most charming pictures of childhood in all literature.

The defects just noted suggest those of Brunetière. Michaut has also a share of the weaknesses noticeable in some of the disciples of M. Lanson, though not in their master. He has more than a touch of *fichomanie*. The heavy and inartistic accumulation of facts makes his book rather unattractive. It would have been better, for instance, to throw the long enumeration of repeated articles or portions of them (pp. 205 ff.) into an appendix, and make it complete, instead of merely *fastidieuse* (p. 209).[1]

In a number of mechanical details M. Michaut's book is faulty in execution. He usually fails to give extracts from the newspaper articles referred to, though they are not readily accessible. He gives no index, though the great amount of erudite machinery in his book would seem to require one. The references to pages are by no means impeccable, and the quotations far from exact. Not infrequently passages are cited in quotation marks which are simply paraphrases or summaries of the original text. Some references are extremely vague, as, "Cf. Débats, 1912" (p. 284, n. 4). There are a considerable number of misprints. It is much to be desired that M. Michaut should publish a complete bibliography of Anatole France, indicating the subjects of all the articles interred in newspapers, pending their republication. His extensive labors in this field have doubtless supplied him with all the materials needed for such a list.

Such a bibliography would suitably form part of the biography of Anatole France which M. Michaut has in preparation. This

[1] Michaut fails to note, for example, that pp. 213–25 of the *Jardin d'Epicure* are repeated from the *Vie littéraire*, IV, pp. ii–x.

étude biographique, he promises us, will treat from a "dynamic" point of view the personality discussed in the present *étude psychologique* from a "static" point of view. It is to be regretted that M. Michaut should have planned two works rather than one. The reader of the present volume is hampered by the lack of biographical details, and the reader of the book to come will doubtless be annoyed by frequent references to its predecessor. The arrangement according to psychological topics, moreover, is infinitely less clear and natural than a narrative in historical sequence. Thus, in order to point out how this or that psychological trait leaves its impression in the writings of Anatole France, M. Michaut is forced to pass in review all the principal works of the master no less than five times. The plan likewise precludes the adequate discussion of the principal influences which molded the young Thibault—Taine, Renan, Sainte-Beuve, Leconte de Lisle.

M. Michaut's book is valuable chiefly for the light it casts upon the sources and literary methods of Anatole France. Many of the stylistic and structural defects it illustrates are real and justly emphasized. As an explanation of the personality of the author of the *Lys rouge*, *sensualité*, though containing a certain amount of truth, is not a satisfactory formula. The work is disfigured by prejudice and over-elaboration, and its plan does not permit a clear and complete treatment of the theme.

In the latter respect, as we have seen, M. Giraud's work is superior to that of his predecessor, being arranged in chronological order. It has other advantages over it, such as being more largely devoted to aesthetic criticism. Herein lies its chief value. Though M. Giraud reaches conclusions essentially similar to those of his predecessor, he is generally less prejudiced and less dominated by a theory. His praise is less grudging. "Il n'y a peut-être pas, dans toute la littérature française depuis *Dominique*, de roman aussi 'bien écrit' que le *Lys rouge*" (p. 252). His characterizations are generally just and often admirably expressed. France "est né miniaturiste, bien plutôt qu'artiste à fresque" (p. 245). Now and then Giraud corrects the judgment of Michaut, as when he notes that M. Fellaire de Sissac, whom his predecessor (p. 109) thinks a lay figure, is *un assez vivant fantoche* (p. 220), or in his fuller appreciation of the reality and relief of

many of the characters in the *Histoire contemporaine* (p. 275). There are good remarks upon stylistic details. It is pointed out, for instance (p. 249, n. 2), that France, like Loti, is fond of inclosing a substantive between two adjectives to secure an effect like that sought after by our "imagists."

M. Giraud's book is again in contrast to that of M. Michaut in giving much less attention to sources. Nevertheless there are occasional indications of interest in this connection. It is curious to learn that the title of the *Jardin d'Epicure* comes from Sainte-Beuve (p. 260), and it is suggestive to find the funeral of Chevalier in the *Histoire comique* compared with that of Désirée Delobelle in *Fromont jeune et Risler aîné* (p. 283). One would like to have evidence in support of the idea (p. 184) that the satirical portrait of a frivolous grandmother in the *Livre de mon ami* really depicts M. France's grandmother.

The less abundant information about sources in M. Giraud's book is due to the fact that he is interested primarily in ideas and aesthetic questions, and not to any lack of thoroughness. Like M. Michaut, the editor of the *Revue des deux mondes* has examined the whole corpus of M. France's works, including the articles in newspapers and periodicals which have not been reprinted. He gives extracts from those of the latter which he cites, being here again superior to his predecessor. Moreover, he has not neglected the prefaces to editions of French classics, which usually have received less attention than they deserve.

Such are the principal merits of M. Giraud's study. I have already touched upon its chief defect: a tendency to be unduly severe. This hostility does not show itself very clearly in the earlier part of the article. The sketch of Anatole France previous to 1897 is on the whole acceptable. One wishes that the author had been able to complete the study in the same style and spirit. Such is not the case. In treating of M. France the partisan, he himself becomes a partisan. The calm tone of the first part of the discussion disappears, and questions not directly related to literature occupy an unduly important place. In discussing *Jeanne d'Arc*, for example, the question of France's attitude toward the miraculous is treated at considerable length and with more than a little feeling. Political

considerations also enter into this part of the book, sometimes with amusing results. In order to demonstrate that France is an "anarchist," we are impressively informed that a copy of *Crainquebille* was found in the "repaire" of "un des plus sinistres compagnons de la bande tragique" (p. 282)! One wonders whether *Crainquebille* had anything to do with his sinistrosity!

Though the occasional remarks upon points of literary history and biography are as a rule accurate, a few of them call for some revision. One is a little surprised that M. Giraud finds France's attachment to the eighteenth century somewhat perplexing. He suggests, among other explanations (p. 195), a reaction against the family, his father having been a legitimist. With the abundance of eighteenth-century literature surrounding the young Thibault[1] and the republican tendencies rife among the youth of the later Empire, to which M. Giraud alludes, one does not find much difficulty in understanding the attitude of the author of the *Rôtisserie*. M. Giraud is a little severe (p. 211) in his strictures upon France's erudition; whatever his deficiencies, the man who wrote *Thaïs* is assuredly more learned than most men of letters of his rank. I have heard one of the most distinguished Hellenists living refer to France as a "great scholar."

M. Giraud's suggestion (p. 286) that *Jeanne d'Arc* dates in part from a long time before the period of its publication might have been further supported by the statement made by M. du Bled in September, 1887,[2] that the author of *Sylvestre Bonnard* was preparing a *Jeanne d'Arc*. M. du Bled also states that France was writing a book to be called *Les Autels de la Peur*, which M. Michaut identifies with *Les Dieux ont soif*. It will be remembered that *Les Dieux ont soif* (1912), though preceded and followed by definitely socialistic utterances, sounds a discordant note of utter disillusionment. Is it not probable that this anomaly is to be explained by the fact that the story was in large part written many years before it was published?

[1] Cf. M. Lanson's keen remark (*Pages choisies d'Anatole France* [Paris, 1898], p. iii) that the books commonest on the Quai Malaquais are eighteenth-century works and theological literature. Consequently, Lanson thinks, France developed "une irréductible incrédulité et une sympathique intelligence des formes de la foi." M. H.-M. Casset (*Anatole France* [Angers, 1915], p. 14) attributes France's sympathy with the Revolution to the influence of his friend Etienne Charavay.

[2] *Revue illustrée*, cited by Michaut, p. 225, n. 2.

It is surprising that M. Giraud cites (p. 181, n. 1) only the bibliography of Le Brun,[1] but not the fuller one given by R. Cor.[2] There are occasional lapses in references, and a few misprints.

M. Giraud is right in stressing Anatole France's connections with the eighteenth century. He gives aesthetic estimates of the earlier works which are as a rule admirable in accuracy and style. His idea that M. France is an anarchist, however, seems unacceptable, and his appreciations of the later books are clouded by partisan feeling.

The third book before us, that of Mr. George, is of little value. It is interesting chiefly for its eccentricities. It is diverting to read that France's characters are "unusually living" (p. 103), and entertaining to hear (p. 26) that "he may share the fate of Flaubert, who is menaced; of de Maupassant, who is going; . . . . of Tolstoy, convicted as a moralist . . . . "! The discovery that the Utopia in *Sur la pierre blanche* is "very different from Mr. Wells'" (p. 97), on which it is obviously modeled, is unexpected. The style is marked by an undignified striving for effect: " . . . . Everything was done to keep him down: the Académie française went so far as to give him a prize" (p. 11).

To sum up the foregoing review, M. Michaut's book is of use especially for information as to sources; M. Giraud's study is of value particularly for aesthetic criticism; Mr. George's volume is of interest as an expression of uncritical admiration. M. Michaut terms Anatole France a sensualist; M. Giraud calls him an anarchist; Mr. George thinks him a hedonistic humanitarian. All of these formulae contain elements of truth; none of them is entirely acceptable. The best statement we have is that of Professor Babbitt: M. France is a humanistic aesthete. As we have said, we may define some others of his more important traits with fair accuracy thus: he is physically a voluptuary, intellectually a Voltairian, emotionally a Rousseauist, and morally an Epicurean.

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[1] Published in his *Anatole France*, in the series entitled "Célébrités d'aujourd'hui" (Paris, 1904).

[2] *M. Anatole France et la pensée contemporaine* (Paris, 1909), pp. 85–92.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Les Sentiments de l'Académie Française sur le Cid. Edited with an Introduction by COLBERT SEARLES. Bulletin of the University of Minnesota, March, 1916. Pp. 112.

This is the most recent, and to students of Corneille by far the most important, of four contributions[1] by Professor Searles to the question of the *Sentiments*. It makes accessible for the first time under one cover, and in parallel columns, sometimes as many as five of them, all the versions of the document, from Chapelain's first draft to the final printed form, and, by means of nine plates, conveys an adequate notion of the extensive revision which the Academy's verdict on the *Cid* underwent. Especially interesting are the reproductions of the *apostilles* in the hands of Richelieu and his physician, Citois.[2] The editor points out (p. 5) that all the versions are in Chapelain's writing, thus making all the more evident the real authorship of the *Sentiments* and the results of the cardinal's supervision at the various stages of editing.

In the first and third of the contributions referred to above, Professor Searles undertakes to correct some current errors in regard to the history of the *Sentiments*—errors of fact, and wrong interpretations of the attitude of some of the persons most concerned. Thus, by a careful re-examination of Corneille's outburst in the *Excuse à Ariste*, he would show that Mairet and Scudéry, in their subsequent attacks on the poet, were prompted by a most natural anger and not entirely by fruitless envy. This is acceptable. Here and elsewhere Professor Searles reminds us that subsequent critics have been inclined to explain too easily the anger of these poets as mere jealousy,

[1] The other three are: (1) "Commentary on vss. 36–52 of the *Excuse à Ariste*, Matzke Memorial Volume, 1911; (2) "Italian Influences as Seen in the Sentiments of the French Academy on the Cid," *Romanic Review*, 1912, pp. 362–90; (3) "L'Académie Française et le Cid," *Revue d'histoire littéraire*, 1914, pp. 331 ff.

[2] There is an evident omission of the words *les contestations sur*, on pp. 6 and 18, in the transcription of Citois's note (Plate II) in regard to the Italian disputes. The only other errata noted are a period for a comma (p. 21, l. 16, col. 2) and *net* for *ne* (p. 85, col. 4). However, I appeal to Professor Searles for aid in getting a better reading for Citois's second note than the one adopted by him (p. 7) and Marty-Laveaux (III, 34, n. 1): "Faut voir si la pièce le dit; car si cela n'est point on aurait tort de faire à(?) croire à Rodrigue qu'il voulust tuer le Conte, puisqu'on fait souvent en telles occasions ce qu' on ne veut pas faire." That *croire* is nonsense, and the word is manifestly not *croire*, but I have not made it out.

unmindful of the fact that until the *Cid* took Paris off its feet, Mairet and Scudéry were quite as important in the literary world as Corneille. But the conjectures which he offers in explanation of the offensive tone of the *Excuse à Ariste* are not so convincing. The first is that Scudéry was responsible for getting Desmarets to erase from his *Visionnaires* a passage favorable to Corneille, the second that a passage in a letter of Balzac, 1636, in praise of Mondory's power of adding charm to the lines of a play, was seized upon by the *Cid's* enemies as accounting in large part for its beauty on the stage, which roused the poet to protest that his pen was esteemed only for the beauty of the verses it produced, and that he was indebted only to himself for his renown.

The study contributed to the *Revue d'histoire littéraire* contains really two articles, one of which might be fittingly called "Richelieu and the Cid," the other, "The Academy and the Cid." The first of these takes up the cudgels against the accepted belief that Richelieu was hostile to the *Cid* on political, personal, and literary grounds. The jealous-author story rests almost entirely on Voltaire's authority, for which no support is forthcoming. No contemporary authors bear out the other items of the charge against the Cardinal, whereas his favors to the poet are on record. His wish that the Academy should judge the *Cid* may be explained by two considerations: (1) he desired to demonstrate the non-political character of the body; (2) having been indoctrinated by Chapelain with opinions on the unities and on the way such questions were handled in Italy, and believing that the *Cid* was faulty in this respect, it seemed fitting that the French Academy should take up the matter in due form. When Professor Searles comes later to study the various versions of the *Sentiments* he finds additional support for his belief that Richelieu's interest in the question was almost entirely literary in the fact that certain severe passages of the first version disappear as a result of the revisions. This does not, he observes, look like hostility on the part of the Cardinal.

There is small doubt that this study does bring some corrections in regard to Richelieu's rôle and his motives, but a consideration of the few and guarded utterances of the poet at this period (some fragments of letters in *Oeuvres* [*Gr. Ecr.*], X, 429 and 431), and of those that came after Richelieu's death in 1642 (Vers, X, 86; Sonnet, *ibid.*, p. 87; *Avertissement du Cid*, III, 84, 85), makes it clear that the Cardinal's part in the affair seemed tremendous in Corneille's eyes; the great man's motives and interests may have been purely literary, but the effect on the poet indicates that his method of procedure was suggestive rather of the strong arm than of dispassionate critical analysis.

In the second part of this article Professor Searles reviews the history of the Academy's connection with the *Cid*. He points out certain errors in the current version, proves ingeniously the truth of Corneille's contention

that he did not give his consent to the examination of his play,[1] and generally sets to rights the minutiae of this very much tangled affair.[2]

The next of these publications in logical order is the latest in point of time. The Introduction, in which are embodied the results reached in the foregoing studies, contains a concise review of the history of the *Sentiments* and a brief study of Chapelain's MS. Here, as has been remarked, Professor Searles finds new evidence for his view of Richelieu's attitude. It is negative, to be sure, but it is more convincing than that contained in the other articles; unfortunately, however, such a comparison of the various versions, if carried further, will furnish quite as good arguments to substantiate Richelieu's hostility to the *Cid*, so that no real light is thrown on that matter.

The editor considers that the *Sentiments* mark a date as determining the victory of classicism, and as being "among the earliest of those pen-scarred fields" on which Frenchmen have fought for perfection of form; but neither one of these matters is developed in this study. Perhaps they are to be examined later. Without entering into a comparison of the various texts, I may say in passing that the chief differences between the versions are to be found in the preamble—which, in the course of the revisions, has become a much more efficient machine for preparing to condemn the *Cid*—but that nearly all the changes, except a few *poignées de fleurs* demanded by the Cardinal, make for clarity of thought and language. In fact, the style of the final draft is sufficiently better than Chapelain's first version to constitute a real tribute to the Cardinal's literary sense, if the alterations are due to his influence.

The last of these studies, if considered in logical order, is Professor Searles' examination of the sources of the *Sentiments*. Realizing that Chapelain was largely responsible for the verdict, it occurred to him that a study of the Italian treatises on poetics known to have been in that worthy's library ought to throw some light on his inspiration. This expectation has been amply justified, and Professor Searles has found, almost point for point, in the Italian doctrinaires, unusually convincing precedents for the views in the *Sentiments*. Even some of the quite unimportant features—as when the Academy reproaches Scudéry for not ordering his *Observations* in the true Aristotelian manner—are shown to have had a counterpart in former contentions of a like nature, and the more significant utterances on *vraisemblance*, on utility versus profit, on the proper reward for virtue and vice, on what

[1] By clever handling of all accessible evidence Professor Searles shows that the Academy began its consideration of the play earlier than is supposed, that the oft-mentioned statute forbidding such undertakings as this did not exist at this time, and (p. 344) that a fragment of a letter quoted by Pellisson (*Gr. Ecr.*, X, 432) to support the charge against the cardinal really refers to Chapelain and d'Aubignac.

[2] Professor Searles does not smooth his readers' way through this maze by any concessions of style and arrangement, such as preliminary statements of theses, transition words and sentences, or summaries. This makes him difficult to follow.

are fit subjects for a play, are all accounted for. The few rather doubtful parallels (e.g., p. 370, Piccolimini; p. 383, L. Pinciano) do not imperil the author's argument. It is not amiss to point out, however, that Scudéry's much-despised *Observations* contained in essence the same doctrine as the *Sentiments*, which is to say that this sort of thing was sufficiently common in the literary smart sets of the day to make it dangerous to overemphasize Chapelain's rôle as an intermediary between the teachings of the Italian doctrinaires and French classicism.

In these four contributions to the study of a subject that has little intrinsic interest except in its broader relations, Professor Searles shows great diligence and untiring patience in handling the mass of details, and gives proof in several instances of real detective skill. Two of the studies, the source examination in the *Romanic Review* and the edition of all the versions of the *Sentiments*, may be said to mark real progress toward understanding the Academy's judgment in all its bearings.

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ENGLISH AND AMERICAN IMITATIONS OF GOETHE'S *WERTER*

The popularity of Goethe's *Werter* in England and America is attested not only by the various translations of the book, but also by the numerous imitations which it called forth. During the last two decades of the eighteenth century there appeared in England no less than twenty-eight poems, six novels, and one tragedy, and in America seven poems and three novels, which owe their origin to Goethe's work. The authors of these imitations concerned themselves not so much with the revolutionary character of the book as with its sentimental side, in which they saw their age reflected.[1]

I. WERTER POETRY

The first work called forth was *Werter to Charlotte, A Poem*, published by Edward Taylor in London in 1784.[2] The author tells

[1] It has been very difficult to obtain access to these imitations. With the exception of the poem by Anne Francis, which is apparently not to be had, I have been able to examine the complete list of poems. Of the novels two, *The Confidential Letters of Albert* and *The Female Werter*, are not in the British Museum. I have therefore been dependent upon the reviews for information concerning these. Many of these works appeared anonymously; but frequently when the name is attached it has been impossible to obtain much information concerning the author. It would be a grave omission not to mention the help derived from a number of studies on literary relations, especially from W. A. Colwell, *A Study of German Literature in England from 1750 to 1800* (unpublished thesis, Harvard University, 1906), where many of these imitations are listed but not discussed. However, Dr. Colwell fails to mention a number of works and reviews.

[2] Goedeke, *Grundriss*, IV, 3, p. 198; J. W. Appell, *Werther und seine Zeit*, pp. 15, 310; E. Oswald, "Goethe in England and America," *Pub. Eng. Goethe Society*, XI, 54. Very little seems to be known of Edward Taylor. According to Appell, he was "ein neunzehnjähriger Dichterling" of Noan, Tipperary, when this poem appeared. Besides this poem, the catalogue of the British Museum mentions three works of which he was the author.

us in his brief preface that he has endeavored to express in verse some of the incidents and sentiments with which he was chiefly struck in the perusal of the "affecting story." To meet his purpose he seems to have selected Werter's last letter to Charlotte, in which one sees the former "under the most violent agitations of disappointed love and frantic despair." In the poem, as in the letter, Werter addresses himself to Charlotte in the moment previous to his death. He recalls their first meeting, and reviews the story of his unrequited love, to which he attributes all his "woes" and his tragic fate. There is no evidence of any originality on the part of the young author, and nothing that might convince one that he was endowed with poetic temperament. He merely paraphrases Werter's letter in a number of masculine lines. But, unlike the original, the poem is written in a monotonous tone, is replete with redundancy of thought and expression, and is utterly void of impassioned language. It is merely the case of a young writer trying his hand at verse and giving expression to the sentimental feeling to which the story particularly appealed.

Only one review seems to have passed judgment on this poem. The *Monthly Review*,[1] after commenting on the pernicious tendency of Goethe's novel, severely criticized Taylor's efforts.

The second poem, *The Sorrows of Charlotte at the Tomb of Werter*, first appeared in the *London Morning Chronicle* of February 14, 1785, and was quoted the same year in the April numbers of both the *Gentleman's Magazine*[2] and the *European Magazine*.[3] It was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* without comment, but the *European Magazine* added some remarks by the contributor, who, in reviewing Anna Seward's novel, *Louisa*, stated that the poem furnished a striking illustration of the fashionable writing "where one of our sentimental poets or poetesses of glorious sensibility and taste thus expresses him or herself." After quoting the poem, the critic, who signs himself "T. W.," proceeds to condemn the absurdity of its contents.

Another short poem, equally valueless, *A Description of the Tomb of Werter*, was contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine*[4] in

[1] LXXII (1785), 468.
[2] LV, 307.
[3] VII, 261.
[4] LV, 385.

May, 1785, by a Mrs. Hughes. It was also published in the *Scots Magazine*[1] in September of the same year.

The fourth poem, *A Letter to a Friend with a Poem called the Ghost of Werter*, by Lady Wallace, appeared in London in 1787.[2] According to the reviews, the letter of Lady Wallace prefixed to this poem was devoted to a severe censure of Charlotte's character, in which she charges her with indecency toward Werter and infidelity toward Albert. The poem is an expostulation from the ghost of Werter to Charlotte, and would seem to be a mere paraphrase, in rhymed couplets, of the letter condemning Charlotte. The design of the entire poem is to make Werter reproach Charlotte for having criminally indulged herself while she was practising on him, with fatal effect, the art of seduction. Every line is a condemnation of Charlotte's lack of love and esteem for Albert, and an assertion of her responsibility for Werter's tragic fate. Several parts are animated and suited to the character of the hero of the novel, but the work as a whole is lacking in variety of expression and really poetic vocabulary. The author's sentiments would unquestionably be more adaptable to prose than to poetry. However, her work occupies a unique position in the long list of Werter poems, inasmuch as it is such a pronounced criticism of Charlotte's character. The impression is immediately conveyed that Lady Wallace intended her poem to serve as a moral for the age.

While the reviews devoted considerable space to Lady Wallace's letter, they concerned themselves very little with her poem. It was criticized briefly and unfavorably in the *Critical Review*,[3] the *Analytical Review*,[4] and the *Monthly Review*.[5]

Another poem, *Charlotte to Werter: A Poetical Epistle*, by Anne Francis, was published in London in 1787.[6] The *Scots Magazine*[7]

[1] XLVII. 456.

[2] Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, pp. 15, 311; Oswald, p. 54. A copy of this poem was forwarded from the British Museum. Lady Wallace, as Appell points out, was the sister of the Duchess of Gordon and the author of long-forgotten comedies. One of her best known works, apparently, was *Whim*, a three-act comedy, published in London in 1785, which the *Monthly Mirror*, I, 39, condemned as "a jumble of nonsense and vulgarity from beginning to end."

[3] LXV (1788), 403. [4] II (1788), 492. [5] LXXVIII (1788), 351.

[6] This poem is listed by Goedeke, p. 199, and by Appell and Oswald. I have been unable to find a copy of it in the British Museum or elsewhere. For Anne Francis, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XX.

[7] L (1788), 238.

listed this poem without comment, but it received notice from some of the other magazines. The *Monthly Review*[1] praised it, while the *English Review*[2] published several extracts and appended some rather scathing criticism. As a composition, however, the reviewer found that the poem had some merit.

When Anne Francis published her volume of *Miscellaneous Poems* in 1790, it contained a different poem, entitled *The Ghost of Charlotte at the Tomb of Werter*.[3] This probably gave rise to the erroneous belief that the first poem, *Charlotte to Werter*, was included in this volume.[4]

The next poem, a volume of sixty-nine pages, by Amelia Pickering, appeared in London in 1788 with the title *The Sorrows of Werter*.[5] This is the most pretentious of the poems to which the novel gave rise. It consists of thirteen letters, elegiac in tone—*Werter to Charlotte, Werter to Albert*, etc.—the setting of which leads one to believe that the author intended her work to present a general view of Werter's career. From first to last the poem is Werter's song of lament and despair, and the style is so monotonous that any letter is a fair representative of the whole. Lines are thrown in, occasionally, which directly express the antidotal character of the poem. This is seen especially in the last letter, *Charlotte to Louisa*, a letter which is not suggested by Goethe, but which serves the author as a means for moralizing as she accentuates the horrors of Werter's death. Since it is no integral part of the poem, it weakens the effect that the story, when artistically told, should have upon the reader. Its purpose is evidently to counteract any evil tendency that the story may have caused, and it clearly summarizes the entire attitude of the author toward Goethe's novel.

The story of *Werter*, as told in this poem, can lay little claim to interest. No attention is paid to the finer points of the work nor to

[1] LXXVIII (1788), 351.

[2] XII (1788), 123–24.

[3] *Miscellaneous Poems*, by Anne Francis, London, 1790, p. 213.

[4] Cf. Goedeke, p. 199, and Appell, p. 311. The volume of *Miscellaneous Poems*, which I have consulted personally in the British Museum, does not contain the first poem, *Charlotte to Werter*.

[5] Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, pp. 16, 312; Oswald, p. 54. The Harvard University Library possesses a copy of this poem. Amelia Pickering is not mentioned in any of the well-known biographical dictionaries. The Catalogue of the British Museum mentions her only as the author of the poem in question.

the spirit which animates the whole. The letters are expressed in language that well brings out their emotion and despair, yet there is no great poetry in them. Occasionally such expressions as "hope's expanded wing" and "disappointment raises her hydra head,"[1] appear; and at times the author seems to strike the same note that Gray did in the *Elegy*. This is especially true in the twelfth letter, where she paraphrases Gray's "the boast of heraldry" as "the blaze of heraldry." The use of nature in contrast and harmony is noticeable throughout. The use also of interrogation and exclamation relieves the otherwise even flow of verse. The diction is strong and forceful rather than ornate, yet the use of simile and personification is frequent. The poem is clearly the work of an ardent sentimentalist.

Several of the leading magazines reviewed this poem. The *English Review*[2] published several extracts from it, and was not very favorable in its criticism. The *Analytical Review*[3] and the *Monthly Review*[4] were altogether unfavorably impressed.

The eighth poem, *Charlotte; or a Sequel to the Sorrows of Werter*, appeared in Bath in 1792 in a collection of poems by Mrs. Farrell.[5] The author tells us in a prefatory note that the action takes place early in the spring after Werter's death, which occurred at Christmas, and that his grave, instead of being between two lime trees at the end of the churchyard, is at a crossroad, according to the English custom in cases of premeditated self-murder. The poem is a short and rather spirited narrative in which emphasis is given chiefly to the element of despair. In Charlotte's broken slumbers Werter's image pursues her and summons her to his grave. With this brief exposition, the author proceeds to describe Charlotte's journey in the early morning, accompanied by a "widowed bird," a "kindred spirit," to Werter's grave, upon which she falls dead. She is pursued by her father, who is named Sickbert. Her body is found and

[1] Letter VI, pp. 31–32. This is the most poetic letter of the poem.

[2] XIII (1789), 128–29.

[3] III (1789), 73–74.

[4] LXXX (1789), 464–65.

[5] Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, p. 312; Oswald, p. 55. A copy of this poem is now in the Harvard University Library. Very little is known of Mrs. Farrell. She was mentioned at some length in *Europ. Mag.*, XXII (1792), 355. The writer stated that she had gained the protection of the "first female personage in the Kingdom."

carried back to Albert's home. Of all the poems based on the story, this is the most complete specimen of pathos that we have. Almost the only variation in the general tone of the poem is a trite bit of moralizing near the beginning, which shows conclusively the author's attitude toward the outcome of the novel. The whole is written in comparatively simple language, but several lines are awkwardly constructed, so that the meaning is not immediately clear. The poem gives evidence, however, of vivid imagination and considerable power of description on the part of the author. It was praised by the *European Magazine*,[1] but the *Critical Review*[2] thought that the author's literary reputation would not be of long duration.

One more poem appeared before the end of the century. In 1793 the *Lady's Magazine*[3] published without comment twenty-nine lines "Supposed to Have Been Written by Werter to Charlotte just Before His Death." The poem is signed "R.S.P.," and like many of these *Wertheriaden* is quite worthless.[4]

Besides the nine poems of some length which have been listed, *Werter* inspired five elegies and fourteen sonnets. All of the elegies appeared between 1786 and 1793. The first, *Elegy on the Death of Werter*, signed "C.A.," was published in the *European Magazine*[5] in September, 1786. In November of the same year the *European Magazine*[6] published the second, *Elegy, from the Sorrows of Werter*, signed "Aubinus." The following year the *Hibernian Magazine*[7] published *An Elegy upon Charlotte and Werter*, signed "C.M." The fourth, *Elegy, Written after Having Read the Sorrows of Werter*, signed "Della Crusca," appeared in the *British Album*[8] in 1790. The real author was Robert Merry, the founder of the Della Cruscan school of poetry, which was distinguished for affectation and tasteless verse. The first edition of the *British Album*, which was a reprint of the periodical entitled *The World*, appeared in 1789; so it is very likely that this elegy appeared before 1790. The fifth

[1] XXII (1792), 355. [2] VI (1792), 114. [3] XXIV, 104.

[4] The *Month. Mag.* in May, 1812, and again in the same month of the following year, listed *Werter to Charlotte, a Poem, Founded on the Sorrows of Werter*, by a student of Lincoln's Inn. Nothing seems to be known of this poem. Cf. *Month. Rev.*, XXIII, 359; XXXV, 341. Cf. also Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, IV; Goedeke, p. 200; and Appell, p. 312.

[5] X, 214. [6] *Ibid.*, 379. [7] XVII, 157.

[8] Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, p. 312; Oswald, p. 54.

elegy appeared with the title *Stanzas*, and was published by Alexander Thomson in Edinburgh in 1793 in a collection, *Essays on Novels, A Poetical Epistle to an Ancient and Modern Bishop, with Six Sonnets from Werter*.[1] According to Brandl,[2] Thomson began as early as May, 1786, to recast parts of *Werter* in the form of elegies and sonnets, and had by 1790 completed a dozen of these. So it would seem probable that this elegy was written earlier than 1793.

All of these elegies are written in iambic quatrains with alternate rhymes. The second is tetrameter; the others are pentameter, perhaps influenced by the form of Gray's *Elegy*. None of them show any striking originality; all are gloomy, dull, and decorous. While the first, *Elegy on the Death of Werter*, contains some attempts at forceful phrasing, its general effect is amateurish. The second is a monologue by Charlotte. Like the third elegy, it is considerably marred by assonance. Della Crusca, in the fourth, produced the best verse of the series. Unlike the others, he seems to see both the lover and the revolutionary in Werter. The elegy by Thomson is simply a paraphrase of a part of Werter's letter of September 10.[3] The general tone of the original letter, in which Charlotte recalls the memory of her mother, is particularly adapted to the mood of an elegy. Thomson's reproduction, however, is rather weak. Thus, an examination of these elegies will show that they are without the passion of good poetry and that they are generally lacking in permanent or universal interest.

The first sonnet, *Charlotte to the Shade of Werter*, signed "S.C.," appeared in the November number of the *European Magazine*[4] in 1786. In the same year Charlotte Smith published the third edition of her *Elegiac Sonnets, and Other Poems*, which included, among twenty new ones, two sonnets "Supposed to Be Written by Werter."[5] The fifth edition in 1789 contained five such sonnets, including the first two. The other three were probably added then, but may have

[1] Goedeke, p. 200; Appell, p. 312; Oswald, p. 55. Thomson was the author of numerous works, among which is the *German Miscellany*, a collection of translations from Kotzebue and Meissner, published in Perth in 1796. He was apparently an ardent student of the German poets and was especially fond of Goethe's novel. Cf. *Month. Rev.*, XV (1794), 209; *Gent. Mag.*, LXXIII (1803), 1096; Baker, *Biog. Dram.*, I, 710.

[2] *Goethe-Jahrb.*, III, 34.

[3] Part I, p. 59 (Cotta ed.).

[4] X, 380.

[5] *Crit. Rev.*, LXI (1786), 467.

been in the first edition in 1784.[1] This collection passed through several editions before the end of the century. In 1795 a reprint from the sixth edition appeared at Worcester, Massachusetts. Another sonnet, *The Sorrows of Werter*, was contributed to the *Lady's Magazine*[2] in October, 1792, by one Thomas George Ingall. Then the following year Alexander Thomson published his *Six Sonnets from Werter*.[3]

The sonnet *Charlotte to the Shade of Werter*[4] is Charlotte's lament after Werter's death, and is not very elegant in style. The sonnets of Charlotte Smith[5] deal monotonously with Werter's despair and resignation. They were, however, received very favorably by the *Critical Review*[6] and the *Monthly Mirror*.[7] The seventh sonnet, *The Sorrows of Werter*, by Ingall, is simply a versification of a few lines in Werter's last letter to Charlotte,[8] in which he solicits her to remember former days when she passes his grave. The author gives no evidence of originality, but uses the language of the novel as it conforms with the particular mood. The six sonnets by Thomson are, as he tells us in his preface, incidents in the novel cast in the form of verse. He gives at the beginning of each sonnet a line from the particular passage which he has chosen. With the exception of the last, however, which is a versification of the closing paragraph of Werter's letter dated May 26,[9] all of his sonnets are based on the letter dated September 10,[10] which describes Werter's last meeting with Charlotte and Albert before he leaves to enter the diplomatic service. The *Monthly Review*[11] pronounced his sonnets "elegant," and published the last one.

[1] *Crit. Rev.*, LVII (1784), 472.

[2] XXVIII, 550.

[3] Thomson states in his preface that he had once some intention of putting into sonnets all the most brilliant passages of *Werter*. "Such a series (if tolerably executed) would exhibit a more natural and pathetic picture of the various fluctuations in the mind of a lover than any publication of amorous poetry, even than the effusions of Petrarch himself. The number of such sonnets which could be thus collected might amount to a hundred."

[4] As stated above, this sonnet was signed "S.C." This may have been Charlotte Smith.

[5] Besides her *Elegiac Sonnets*, Charlotte Smith published a novel nearly every year between 1788 and 1799. Her writings found considerable favor with the public, especially so the *Sonnets*, which in 1787 could boast of such subscribers as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Horace Walpole, Mrs. Siddons, and the two Whartons. Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, LIII.

[6] LXI (1786), 467.

[7] V (1798), 32.

[8] Part 2, p. 102 (Cotta ed.).

[9] *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 21.

[10] *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 58.

[11] XV (1794), 209.

These thirteen sonnets are all much of the same type. They are Shakespearean in form, and are filled with the gloom and melancholy sentimentality so characteristic of the elegies. The demands of form, however, are more of a restraint upon the authors in the case of the sonnets than in the case of the elegies and longer poems.

One more sonnet, of which little is known, seems to have owed its origin to the story. In July, 1789, the *Analytical Review*[1] listed *Werter's Sonnet, composed and sung by Miss Cantelo with an Accompaniment for the Piano-Forte and Harpsichord.* The review is concerned only with the music. The title suggests, however, that Miss Cantelo was the author of the words as well.

Contributions to *Werter* poetry were also made in America, where enthusiasm for the novel seems to have been considerable, but not of long duration. Thanks to the appearance of six editions of the book in this country between 1784 and 1807, and to the publication of the *Letters of Charlotte* in 1797, the story must have been well known in America.[2] It is not surprising, then, to find that between 1787 and 1809 nine poems dealing with the subject were contributed to American magazines.[3]

The first poem,[4] *Charlotte's Soliloquy to the Manes of Werter*, by Dr. Joseph Brown Ladd,[5] appeared in the *American Museum*[6] in February, 1787. In May of the same year the *American Museum*[7] published two more poems by Dr. Ladd, *Death of Werter* and *Werter's Epitaph.* The first of these three poems consists of seven quatrains written in an elegiac strain. The other two are even

[1] I, 349.

[2] F. H. Wilkens, "Early Influence of German Literature in America," *Americana-Germanica*, III, p. 136. Cf. also F. W. C. Lieder, "Goethe in England and America," *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, X, 550.

[3] S. H. Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846;* M. H. Haertel, *German Literature in American Magazines, 1846 to 1880.*

[4] In January, 1787, the *Columbian Magazine* (I, 245), published an anonymous poem, *Narcissa*, the third stanza of which contains a reference to *Werter.* This is reprinted in E. Z. Davis, *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines, 1741–1810*, p. 125.

[5] Cf. *The Literary Remains of Joseph Brown Ladd*, collected by his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Haskins, with a sketch of the author's life. New York, 1832. Cf. also the Philadelphia *Portfolio*, X (1813), 456, and Goodnight, p. 24.

[6] I, 180.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 474; also in Davis, pp. 126–28. The third poem, *Werter's Epitaph*, was also reprinted in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, III (1791), 114, and in the *Philadelphia Repository*, V (1805), 164.

shorter than the first; each consists of four iambic quatrains of no permanent interest. The *Death of Werter* is a versification of that part of the story in which Werter receives the pistols from Charlotte and reaffirms his purpose. The third, *Werter's Epitaph*, expresses in part the significance of Werter's character. All three make little claim upon one's interest, for they are very much of the same character as most of the English poems.

Another poem, *Werter. Letter 5th. Versified, by Philadelphiensis*, was published in the *Columbian Magazine*[1] in 1787. This poem, consisting of rhymed couplets, is a versification of Werter's letter dated June 21.[2] This letter, in which Werter describes the rustic life in the vicinity of Walheim, is particularly suggestive of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, or *The Traveller*, and is one of the several letters in the story that readily lend themselves to versification. The author follows the original closely and gives us a version of the letter which has a certain freshness and which may be read with interest.

The next poem,[3] *On Reading the Sorrows of Werter*, signed "Laura," appeared in the *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine*[4] in October, 1790. This is of little interest; it shows that the author judged Werter's character and tragic fate altogether in view of his relations with Charlotte. In January of the following year the same magazine[5] published *Letter LXI, of the Sorrows of Werter Versified.* This poem, dated Monmouth, December 30, 1790, consists of ten stanzas of six lines each; the third and sixth lines are trimeter; the others are tetrameter. The letter in the novel is dated October 12,[6] and is devoted to a characterization of Ossian. In 1798 the *Dessert to the True American*[7] published *Werter's Farewell to Charlotte*, a poem in ryhmed couplets based on Werter's last letter to Charlotte. This breathes the same spirit that one notes in the letter and in the several English poems derived from it.

[1] I, 668. Cf. Goodnight, p. 24. This poem is not listed by Davis.

[2] Part 1, p. 32 (Cotta ed.).

[3] Goodnight, p. 24, records a poem, *Werter's Despair*, as having appeared in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, I (1789), 470; but I have been unable to find this poem.

[4] V, 269; reprinted in Davis, p. 129.

[5] VI, 50; reprinted in Davis, p. 23.

[6] Part 2, p. 81 (Cotta ed.).

[7] I, No. 20; reprinted in Davis, p. 141.

At the close of the first decade of the nineteenth century two other Werter poems appeared in American magazines. The first, a short poem, *On Reading Werter*, was published in the *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*[1] in December, 1808. The writer, shocked by suicide, gives vent to his moral feelings by expressing little sympathy for Werter's "unhappy lot." The second, *Charlotte at the Tomb of Werter*, signed "A," appeared the following year in the September number of the *Visitor*.[2] The author of these six elegiac quatrains expresses in simple language Charlotte's lament over the death of her lover.

The last evidence of Werter poetry in America appears as late as 1826. In this year the *Atheneum; or Spirit of the English Magazines* reprinted from an English periodical *Mynheer Werter's First Interview with Charlotte*.[3] This is a burlesque much on the order of Thackeray's well-known "bread-and-butter" poem.

If it be asked what relation these poems bear to Goethe's novel, it may be said that though they are all evidently inspired by the story they are by no means representative of it. As we have seen, nearly all of them deal with its sentimental side; only in one elegy, that of Della Crusca, is the true significance of Werter's character hinted at. The authors of these poems made no pretense at a presentation of the incidents of the story. The finer varieties of style in the original, the delicate gradation in Werter's character, and the world in which he lives are unexpressed, perhaps even unrealized. We are confronted with a sickly, sentimental Werter who is driven to despair and death only by his weakling passion for an uninspiring Charlotte. With such defects and such lack of distinction, the poems are one and all without permanent interest.

II. NOVELS

The first novel based on *Werter* appeared in London in 1785, with the title *Eleanora: from the Sorrows of Werter, A Tale*.[4] It was

[1] V, 664. Cf. Goodnight, p. 25. Not listed by Davis.

[2] *Visitor*, Richmond, Virginia, I, 135; reprinted in Davis, p. 181.

[3] IV, Series 2, p. 446.

[4] Goedeke, p. 198; Appell, p. 310; Oswald, p. 53. The Harvard University Library has a reprint of this novel published in Dublin in 1786. The preface is omitted.

published anonymously in two volumes with a short preface. It consists of forty-eight letters, written chiefly by Eleanora to her friend Maria. Werter, before his acquaintance with Charlotte, is attached to Julia. But after the latter's death, a sister, Eleanora, "sips of the intoxicating draught" under the guise of friendship. In spite of several visits to Eleanora, there is little or no evidence that Werter entertains anything more than friendship for her. He leaves her without explanation, retires to a place where he sees Charlotte, and, disappointed at the latter's marriage, finally takes his own life.

This story contains little to command one's interest. The first volume presents nearly all that would seem to be an imitation of Goethe's work. The second volume is filled largely with two episodes which are not closely related to the main thread of the story. Eleanora is throughout a very weak feminine Werter. Of Werter himself we learn very little except that he is a sort of protector for Eleanora, in accordance with his promise to her sister. Like the original, he is a poet, a lover of books and nature, who, because of his unfortunate love for another's wife, finally ends his own life. This gives the author a chance to sermonize on the subject of suicide and to offer the public a weak antidote to the original story.

Since this was the first novel called forth by Goethe's work, it received considerable attention from the leading magazines, which, however, differed widely in their opinion of its value. Several of them thought that it possessed considerable attraction for readers and were quite favorable in their reviews. Among these were the *Critical Review*,[1] the *Town and Country Magazine*,[2] the *Gentleman's Magazine*,[3] and the *Monthly Review*.[4] The *European Magazine*[5] thought that the work was a new proof of "how deep the sentimental nonsense of sacrificing and trampling upon one duty that another may be exalted has taken hold of the imaginations of our sentimental, sobbing and sighing girls."

The second novel, and probably the most famous of the English *Wertheriaden*, is the *Letters of Charlotte during Her Connection with Werter*, published in London in 1786.[6] That the author of this work

[1] LX (1785), 141.
[2] XVII (1785), 483.
[3] LV (1785), 813.
[4] LXXIII (1785), 392.
[5] VIII (1785), 381.
[6] Goedeke, p. 198; Appell, p. 18; Oswald, p. 54.

considered Goethe's novel altogether from the ethical standpoint may be seen in his one-sided analysis of it. In a lengthy preface, Goethe is charged with recommending a specific crime and also with aiming a violent blow at all religion. The author is an Englishman, who, in the person of Charlotte, writes sixty-three letters to a friend, Carolina, of whom Charlotte is apparently as fond as Werter is of Wilhelm. The story, briefer than Goethe's, has its setting around Walheim. Charlotte's friend, Carolina, loving solitude, has withdrawn to the country, and here receives letters from Charlotte written in the most complimentary and affectionate terms. In the third letter she describes the ball and her meeting Werter, and from this time on her letters deal with her devotion to her friend, Theresa, with the story of the maniac, Henry, formerly secretary to her father, with the relations between Werter, Albert, and herself, and with reflections upon various subjects. The work covers very nearly the same period as *Werter*, and the main characters and events are very nearly the same, although we are introduced to some new characters of minor importance. While the book is inconceivable without *Werter*, inasmuch as entire scenes and situations are copied from the the original, much of the author's work evinces a spirit anything but German and a style quite different from that of Goethe. His religious turn of mind is frequently evident, and several portions are inserted in order to combat the idea of suicide. Such passages give the work whatever mark of individuality it is entitled to receive credit for, since in these, as in similar passages in several other translations of *Werter*, we see the frame of mind in which the author found himself upon an acquaintance with the story. The events portrayed in the book are uninteresting; and the constant changing from weak dialogues between Charlotte and her friends to trite reflections is tiresome. Indeed, the author was so impressed with his duty to counteract any pernicious influence of *Werter* that his work is far from being entitled to lengthy comparison with the German model. One cannot help feeling that his main purpose in offering the public such a poor imitation was to bring Goethe's production into ill repute.

This work was reviewed in several of the leading magazines. The *Monthly Review*[1] found it both "interesting and pathetic." The

[1] LXXV (1786), 153.

Critical Review[1] and the *English Review*[2] received it favorably, although the latter was severe in its criticism of the author's attitude toward Goethe's novel. The popularity of the work is attested by the number of translations and reprints.[3] It was translated into French in 1786 by M. Arkwright, who, as Appell points out, was an Englishman then living in Paris. In 1787 there appeared another French translation, by J. J. A. St. George. The work was translated into German in 1788 by W. Reinwald, Schiller's brother-in-law, and again in 1825 by Ludwig Gall, who claims to have used the fifth American edition.[4] The first American reprint appeared in New York in 1797. In 1798 and also in 1807 the work was printed in the same volume with the *Sorrows of Werter*.[5]

The third novel,[6] *The Confidential Letters of Albert; From His First Attachment to Charlotte to Her Death; From the Sorrows of Werter*, appeared in London in 1790.[7] According to Brandl,[8] this work was written by John Armstrong of Leith, who gained some note as a writer of verses and also as a minister at Edinburgh.[9] Very little seems to be known of this novel; no copy of it seems to have been preserved in any of the well-known libraries. The *Critical Review*[10] spoke of the *Sorrows of Werter* as a "pernicious novel," but called this imitation "interesting and palliative." The *Monthly Review*[11] thought that the work would be read with pleasure as a sequel to *Werter*.

[1] LXI (1786), 357. [2] VII (1786), 297.

[3] Goedeke, p. 198, records a new edition in 1810, another in 1813, and a fifth edition in 1815.

[4] Cf. Appell, p. 21, for a list of these French and German translations.

[5] Wilkens, *Americana-Germanica*, III, 137.

[6] In 1788 the *Critical Review* (LXVI, 165) gave a brief notice of a novel: *The Correspondence of Two Lovers, Inhabitants of Lyons. Published from the French Originals*, which appeared in London and which it condemned as "pernicious volumes copied in their style and manner from the *Sorrows of Werter*." This work is not listed by any of the leading authorities as one of the *Wertheriaden*. Although it is highly sentimental and gives considerable prominence to suicide, a personal examination of its contents does not lead me to ascribe its origin to Goethe's novel.

[7] Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, p. 311; Oswald, p. 55.

[8] *Goethe-Jahrb.*, III, 35. Cf. also Allibone, *Dict. of Eng. Lit.*, I.

[9] In 1790 he came to London, where he was associated with the staff of one of the daily newspapers. In 1791 he published some *Sonnets from Shakespeare* under the name of "Albert." Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, II.

[10] LXIX (1790), 357.

[11] III (1790), 227.

In the same year, 1790, there appeared in London a novel in two volumes entitled *The Slave of Passion; or, The Fruits of Werter.*[1] This work has never been taken into account in *Werter* discussion. Loshe,[2] in referring to the influence of Goethe's novel on the mind of impulsive youth, states that "one tale, *The Slave of Passion, or, The Fruits of Werter,* Philadelphia, 1802, is deliberately directed against this insidious evil." This would seem to be an American reprint of the earlier London edition, if the authority of the *English Review* be accepted.[3]

This book consists of seventy-two letters giving the correspondence between a certain Charles and his friend Henry. The former, after being unfortunate in business, decides to join the army and to depart for the East Indies. But his regiment fails to go. He gives up his aspirations for an army career, and hopes to become an agent for a storehouse in the East Indies. Meanwhile, he has fallen in love with Maria, who, he learns, is engaged to a certain Grovens. Charles, however, obtains her promise to marry him. Aided by his friend Henry, he gives up all thoughts of suicide, marries Maria, and lives happily in his old home, which he has been able to repurchase.

The author warns us in the preface that his work was undertaken with a conviction of the dangerous tendency of Goethe's novel, and that he has attempted to "counteract the poison in Werter's letters." This is evident on every page, especially in the description of Henry's efforts to combat Charles' reasoning on suicide. Of *Werter* he says: "It is a book which cannot be too much execrated. The poison which it pours into weak minds is of the most dreadful kind, since its effects are seldom visible till it is too late to apply a remedy—it preys upon the soul—it works in secret—it ends in copying (as the poor unhappy victims of infatuation imagine him) their amiable example and apologist."[4] Aside from the arguments on the subject of suicide, there is nothing of interest in the novel. It lacks any traits that might make it an acceptable imitation of the German model.

[1] *Eng. Rev.*, XVI (1790), 67.

[2] Lillie Deming Loshe, *The Early American Novel*, New York, 1907, p. 9.

[3] The British Museum, however, has only the Philadelphia reprint.

[4] Letter LIX, p. 127.

The *English Review*[1] is the only magazine that seems to have paid any attention to this work. It gave a brief outline of the story and was favorable in its criticism.

In 1792 there appeared in London *The Female Werter. A Novel. Translation of the French Wertherie of Pierre Perrin.*[2] This French adaptation was published in Paris in 1791. According to Appell and Suepfle, Werter's fate in this work is transferred to a young and sentimental girl named "Wertherie," who, because of her unrequited love for a certain married gentleman named Gessner, ends her life by taking poison. Perrin's novel was popular in France, but it did not appeal to the English public. The *Critical Review*[3] thought that this work was less dangerous than *Werter*, because it was less interesting, but that some parts of the book deserved applause. The *Monthly Review*[4] published some extracts and was unfavorable in its review.[5]

The last of the English novels that owe their origin to Goethe's story is *Werter and Charlotte. A German Story, Containing Many Wonderful and Pathetic Incidents.*[6] This work, without preface, was published in London in a volume of sentimental writings. No date is given, but the Catalogue of the British Museum assigns it to 1800. It consists of twenty-seven pages and serves as a mere outline of the main events in Goethe's novel. Here, however, interest is directed chiefly to Charlotte. Considerable attention is given to her early life and to her responsibilities in the home after the death of her mother. Through a friend she meets Albert, an officer in the army, whom she finally marries. During Albert's absence Werter pays her visits. Her happiness is disturbed; she discovers that she really loves Werter, but is determined to remain faithful to Albert. In spite of her pleadings, Werter commits suicide, and, after frequent visits to his grave, her death follows his.[7]

[1] XVI (1790), 69.

[2] Appell, p. 23; T. Suepfle, "Goethes literarischer Einfluss auf Frankreich," *Goethe-Jahrb.*, VII, 219. Cf. also J. L. Haney, "German Literature in England before 1790," *Americana-Germanica*, IV, No. 2, p. 149.

[3] IV (1792), 235.

[4] VII (1792), 337.

[5] I have not been able to find a copy of this novel. The British Museum does not have it.

[6] Goedeke, p. 199; Oswald, p. 55.

[7] Cf. A. Brandl, *Goethe-Jahrb.*, III, 36.

Although there are no American novels based directly on *Werter*, the influence of the book is seen in several works of the close of the eighteenth century.[1] In 1789 there appeared at Boston *The Power of Sympathy; or, The Triumph of Nature. Founded on Truth*, by Mrs. Sara Wentworth Morton.[2] This novel was one of the earliest attempts at the moral regeneration of American youth, the purpose being indicated in the preface: "to expose the dangerous Consequences of Seduction and to set forth the advantages of Female Education." It is a story of incest and seduction, told in letters. Young Tom Harrington loves Harriet Faucet, who turns out to be a natural sister. Robbed of his love by circumstances and death, the young man finally blows his brains out. On his table are found a copy of the *Sorrows of Werter* and his farewell letter. The connections with Goethe's novel lie in Harrington's love of freedom, in his belief in his right to kill himself when robbed of his love, in the fact that he paces his chamber all night, becomes calm, and finally shoots himself, and in the finding of the copy of *Werter*.

The influence of *Werter* is seen also in *The Hapless Orphan, or Innocent Victim of Revenge. A Novel founded on Incidents in Real Life. In a series of Letters from Caroline Francis to Maria B. By an American Lady*, which appeared in two volumes at Boston in 1793.[3] The plot of this novel bears little resemblance to *Werter*, though the book is cast in epistolary form. Caroline Francis, an orphan, has the misfortune to alienate the affections and cause the suicide of Clarimont, a Princeton student, whose mistress, Eliza, pursues Caroline with implacable hatred to Trenton, Philadelphia, New York, Philadelphia again, Havre-de-Grace, Bristol, and back to Philadelphia. The pursuit involves the estrangement and death of Caroline's friends and her lover, Captain Evermont, an officer in the United States army, who is fighting Indians in what is now Michigan. His place in Caroline's affections is at length taken by a Mr. Helen. Fanny Gardner, a young and innocent girl, whom

[1] Cf. Loshe, *The Early American Novel*, pp. 7, 9, 106.

[2] Born in Braintree in 1759. Before her marriage in 1777 with Perez Morton, attorney-general of Massachusetts, she had gained a reputation as a writer of verses, and was one of the contributors to the *Massachusetts Magazine*. Cf. preface to *The Power of Sympathy*, and Loshe, p. 7.

[3] Loshe, pp. 17, 107.

Caroline takes under her protection, is beloved by Mr. Ashely, a melancholy youth, who carries a copy of the *Sorrows of Werter*, and who holds a discussion with Caroline on the subject of suicide as a justifiable course for a rejected lover. In spite of all arguments, Ashely shoots both Fanny and himself. Caroline's end is perhaps without parallel in literary history. She is at last abducted, and her lover, Mr. Helen, in searching for her, comes into the company of some medical students, who invite him to a dissection. He is astonished to find that the subject is none other than his deceased Caroline.

As is evident, the author of this book presents in the melancholy and sentimental youth, Mr. Ashely, the same type of character as Werter. But the frequent references to Goethe's novel were unquestionably designed to minimize its influence on the minds of American youth.[1]

III. DRAMA

An interesting evidence of the influence of Goethe's novel in England was the dramatizing of the story as *Werter; a Tragedy, in Three Acts*,[2] by Frederick Reynolds.[3] This was the author's first attempt at play-writing. In his autobiography[4] he gives an interesting account of the circumstances which led to the composition of the tragedy and of the way in which his manuscript was received by Lord and Lady Effingham and their cousin, Miss Eliza Proctor, whose love he wished to win. The play, with recommendations from Lord Effingham, was offered at Covent Garden, at Drury Lane, and at the Haymarket, but was each time refused. It was finally accepted by the Bath Theater and produced for the first time on November

[1] Another American novel, which Loshe (p. 74) points out as "a seduction-suicide-*Sorrows of Werter* concoction," is entitled *The Original Letters of Ferdinand and Elizabeth* (by John Davis, New York, 1798). I have not had access to this book.

[2] Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, pp. 22, 311; Baker, *Biog. Dram.*, III, 396.

[3] Frederick Reynolds (1764–1841) was a well-known playwright in his time. He was admitted to the Westminster School in 1776, and to the Middle Temple, in 1782, for the study of law. But he soon abandoned law for play-writing. During his career he composed nearly one hundred tragedies and comedies, many of which were published and obtained popularity. His plays are described as having been aimed at the modes and follies of the moment.

[4] *Life and Times of Frederick Reynolds* (2 vols., London, 1826), I, 283. Cf. also 2d ed., 1827.

25, 1785.[1] Reynolds gives an interesting account of the performance.[2] As the play proved a great success and enjoyed a long run, it was afterward performed at Bristol on November 27 of the same year. On the occasion of Miss Brunton's benefit, March 4, 1786, it was produced for the first time at Covent Garden,[3] and, according to its author, "Werter's metropolitan was equal, if not superior, to his rural success."[4]

According to Baker, this play was first published in Dublin in 1786. In 1796 it was published in London, reduced from five acts to three, with the title, *Werter, a Tragedy, in Three Acts, as Performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, Bath, Bristol and Dublin.*[5] Genest[6] states, however: "*Werter*, in the title-page of 1796, is said to have been performed at Bath, Bristol and Dublin in three acts—but when Miss Wallis acted Charlotte at Bristol, August 3, 1792, the play was certainly in five acts—it seems not to have been reduced to three acts till Miss Wallis acted Charlotte at Covent Garden, December 3, 1795."[7] In 1802 a new edition of the play was published in London. It also appeared in London in 1811 in *The Modern Stage*, a collection of plays by Mrs. Inchbald.[8]

Reynolds' *Werter* was performed in America during the last decade of the eighteenth century. According to Seilhamer,[9] it was first performed in New York, May 9, 1796. On May 29, 1797, it was performed in Boston, and on March 22 of that year again in New York. There seems to be no record of the reception accorded it.

The characters in Reynolds' play[10] are, of course, Werter, Charlotte, and Albert, and to these are added Sebastian, Werter's friend, Leuthrop, his confidential servant, and Laura, Charlotte's confidante. It is worthy of note that the confidential relation of these

[1] *Europ. Mag.*, VIII (1785), 465; Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, VI, 418, gives the date as December 3, 1785.

[2] *Autobiog.*, I, 305.

[3] Genest, VI, 307; *Europ. Mag.*, IX (1786), 209; H. W. Singer, *Das bürgerliche Trauerspiel in England*, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 119–20.

[4] *Autobiog.*, I, 315. Baker, *Biog. Dram.*, III, 396, says that the play had "little success on the London boards."

[5] *Biog. Dram., ibid.* [6] Genest, VI, p. 307.

[7] Goedeke and Appell record a 1786 London edition of three acts: this must be incorrect. The New York Public Library contains *Werter, a tragedy, in three acts*, etc., London, 1796.

[8] Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, p. 22.

[9] *History of the Amer. Stage*, pp. 317, 324, 358, 369, 383, 395.

[10] I have had access to the 1802 London edition, in the Columbia University Library.

three subordinates to their principals is the only thing which makes the subjective nature of the story sufficiently objective for dramatic form. The scene throughout is Walheim, and the time falls within the classic unity of a night and a day. The more prominent of the two motives in Goethe's novel, Werter's passionate love for Charlotte, serves as the basis of the tragedy. Without any use of the numerous incidents of the story, or of the gradations in Werter's character, Reynolds represents Werter at the beginning of the play as madly in love with Charlotte, while the latter is disturbed by the thought of reproaches from Albert. In the second act, with the exception of Albert's unexpected return from a business trip, showing his suspicion of the relations between Werter and Charlotte, the author's work is suggested by Werter's visit to Charlotte, as described by Goethe.[1] In the last act Albert charges Charlotte with infidelity and she pronounces him a tyrant. Meanwhile, Werter, instead of borrowing pistols to accomplish his purpose, has apparently taken poison. While in the original story "man fürchtete für Lottens Leben," in the play she loses her mind, and Albert laments his own actions.

The characters here are far less interesting than in the novel. More attention is, however, given to Albert than in the original. But when one considers this as an acting play, one is forced to acknowledge that it seems ridiculously weak. Though Reynolds took particular pains to label it with the subtitle, *A Tragedy*, its lack of motivation and its paucity of true dramatic form leave it only a melodrama and a closet melodrama at that. In the process of composition the author seems to have relied on the audience's being acquainted with the leading characters, and forgets much that is needed in exposition. His method of adapting material was simply to throw certain plot-elements of the novel into florid, overseasoned dialogue, and to express in stage direction what could not be put into speech. The dialogue has one even, unrelieved tone throughout the play; it lacks contrast of any kind, in situation or in substance. The work is wholly unworthy of Goethe's novel, and deserves the unfavorable reviews which it received in the magazines.[2]

[1] Part 2, p. 100 (Cotta ed.).

[2] *Europ. Mag.*, IX (1786), 209; *Month. Rev.*, XIX (1796), 468; *Month. Mirror*, II (1796), 296.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Besides the poems, the novels, and the one tragedy, there appeared in England and America between 1790 and 1846 several miscellaneous prose compositions which show in various ways the influence of *Werter*. In 1790 the *Lady's Magazine*[1] published several pages of prose entitled *To Fancy. From the Manuscripts of the celebrated Werter*. This is a kind of rhapsody in which Werter appeals to Fancy as his companion in solitude. He calls to memory the scenes of his childhood, describing his native town, the death of his mother, and the days spent at school. One readily discovers the Werter of the original story and the author's particular interest in Goethe's novel. It is clear that he wished to give emphasis to the social side of Werter's character by showing his critical attitude toward the world and his desire for fame. It is significant, however, that no tragic end is given to Werter's career, and that he becomes entirely resigned to the more humble sphere which fate has allotted him.

A work of great interest in connection with the history of *Werter* in England is the *Letters from Wetzlar*, written in 1817 by Major James Bell,[2] published at London in 1821.[3] The author tells us that his work was written with the intention of giving all the particulars on which Goethe's novel was founded and that, for this purpose, he spent the greater part of the year 1816 in the vicinity of Wetzlar, collecting information concerning the facts.[4] His work consists of eleven letters. After giving some information concerning the town of Wetzlar and the imperial Chamber of Justice, he proceeds to give a history of the personages of the novel and to point out incidents in particular letters that have their historical value. Considerable attention is given to the Buff family. The author claims to have known three of Charlotte's brothers during his stay at Wetzlar, one of whom, he tells us, succeeded to the stewardship held by

[1] XXI, 638–43.

[2] James Bell (1769–1833) is mentioned briefly in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* as the "geographical author." He devoted the greater part of his life to the study and publication of geographical and historical material. Cf. also Allibone, I.

[3] Appell, pp. 24, 312.

[4] The author mentions his indebtedness to Goethe's *Memoirs* and to Baron Breidenbach's *History of Werter Explained*.

his father, while another was living in 1817 on a farm in the neighborhood.[1] He also states that while writing these letters he had the pleasure of visiting Charlotte (Mrs. Kestner) at Hanover and found her the mother of eight sons and two daughters.[2] With the exception of these few facts, the details of the book are practically those recorded by later authorities, such as Herbst and Wolff.[3] The book is written in a thoroughly convincing manner and is interesting as being one of the first efforts in England to present the facts upon which the story is based. It is valuable to the student of *Werter* today.

No other English work dealing with *Werter* appeared until the year 1846, when *Fraser's Magazine* published anonymously a short story, *The New Werter*.[4] This consists of seven chapters, with a prologue and epilogue, and tells how young Friedrich, a student at the University of Bonn, being ridiculed by his fellow-students because he was not in love, endeavors to find an object for his affections. Attracted to Colombe von Ilmenau, the daughter of a distinguished lover of aesthetics, he tries to win her hand. Her father, however, refuses to give his consent, and Friedrich makes two unsuccessful attempts at suicide.

The story is related to Goethe's novel only in the external characteristics of the hero, Friedrich, a sentimental and disappointed lover, who eventually determines to commit suicide. While the author intends that his story should convey a moral, he also means to satirize the end of the novel by having Friedrich attempt suicide twice unsuccessfully. The methods employed bear evidence of an attempt at wit. Judged, however, as a literary product, this work contains little of permanent interest.

In America, besides the contribution of a short and meaningless anecdote, *Charlotte and Werter*, to the *New York Mirror and Ladies Literary Gazette* in 1823,[5] interest in *Werter* was manifested in two publications of unusual character. The first, *The Sorrows of Skwerter*,

[1] Letter X, p. 59. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[3] Wilhelm Herbst, *Goethe in Wetzlar*, Gotha, 1881; Eugen Wolff, *Blätter aus dem Werther-Kreis*, Breslau, 1894.

[4] XXXIV, 536–50. [5] I, 14.

by L. A. Wilmer,[1] appeared in the *Casket* in 1838.[2] This is a coarse satire, in seven chapters. Skwerter is the son of a "respectable widow-lady" and innkeeper of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. After unsatisfactory service in his mother's inn he is transferred to his uncle's business in Philadelphia, in which city he meets Charlotte Gruff, the daughter of the town bailiff. On learning of her engage- to Albert Sharp, a bank clerk, Skwerter becomes despondent and resolves to commit suicide. The attempt is unsuccessful, however, and he returns to Lancaster to take charge of the inn of his mother, now deceased. The author closes by stating that Charlotte and Albert lived to a good old age and that from one of their children, Miss Annabelle Sharp, a spinster of thirty-five, he had received the material for his story.

This is by no means the work of a finished satirist. The author's main purpose is to parody in the most absurd way certain incidents in the novel and to present Goethe's hero in the most ridiculous light. Although the story is coarse and scarcely readable, it has its interest in the history of the *Wertheriaden*, inasmuch as it is the only attempt either in England or America to satirize Goethe's novel.

The second composition, *Werter's Warning*, appeared at Boston in 1841 in a volume of *Miniature Romances from the German.*[3] The author gives us an antidote in the form of a dialogue between Werter and Genius, in which Werter is warned against yielding to passion and against his relations with Charlotte. A brief criticism of Goethe's novel, which recognizes its "pathos and intellectual power," but warns against its "want of principle and its insidious example," is added.

As has been shown, most of these works inspired by *Werter* appeared between 1784 and the end of the eighteenth century. Although the enthusiasm for the book seems to have decreased by 1800, the fact that several poems and works of miscellaneous character appeared later shows that its influence was still felt during the

[1] Lambert A. Wilmer (1805–63) was a prominent journalist, known chiefly as the editor of the *Baltimore Saturday Visitor*, and later the Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian*. He was also the author of *Our Pressgang*, and was a frequent contributor to Atkinson's *Casket*, published in Philadelphia. Cf. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of Amer. Biog.*, VI.

[2] XIII, 449–55.

[3] *Miniature Romances from the German*, pp. 249–56.

first half of the nineteenth century. None of these works are of permanent literary value; all of them breathe that extreme sentimentalism so generally prevalent in both England and America during the latter part of the eighteenth century. But they illustrate well the wonderful impression that Goethe's *Werter* made upon a certain class of readers.

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LAURENCE STERNE AND CHARLES NODIER

That Charles Nodier was a great admirer of Sterne[1] is quite evident from even a casual reading of his works. His first literary composition[2] shows unmistakable traces of Shandyism, and his subsequent writings—like the early novels of Balzac—are sprinkled with frequent allusions to incidents and characters in *Tristram*. Nor is direct praise of Sterne wanting. "Avez-vous lu Montaigne, Charron, Rabelais, et Sterne?" asks Nodier. "Si vous ne les avez pas lus, lisez-les. Si vous les avez lus, il faut les relire."[3] In *les Proscrits* Sterne is listed among the favorite books of Frantz along with the Bible, Klopstock's *Messiah*, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Richardson, Rousseau, and *Werther*.[4] Elsewhere Sterne is cited as a model for thoroughgoing, exhaustive satire:

> Ce qui nous manque en France, ce n'est pas cette fine gaieté de l'esprit qui effleure en passant, avec l'adresse de l'à-propos, un ridicule superficiel, nous en avons à revendre. C'est cette ironie pénétrante et profonde qui fouille et creuse autour de lui, et qui ne se lasse de l'ébranler sur ses racines que lorsqu'elle l'a extirpé. Voyez Cervantes, voyez Butler, voyez Swift, voyez Sterne: ces gens-là ne se contentent pas d'émonder *luxuriam foliorum;* ils sapent l'arbre et le jettent mort sur la terre, sans semences et sans rejetons.[5]

Such frequent reference to Sterne and to his writings indicates that the English humorist had strongly impressed Nodier, but it does not necessarily point to a direct influence. Nodier was likewise a great admirer of Rabelais and is said to have copied three times by hand *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua* in order to discover if possible the secret of Rabelais' style. Now, it will be remembered that the

For the influence of Sterne in France during the eighteenth century, see the author's *Etude sur l'influence de Laurence Sterne en France au dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, Hachette, 1911.

[2] *Moi-Même*, written when Nodier was nineteen. The manuscript is at the Library of Besançon. M. Georges Gazier, *conservateur* of that library, has published an extract of eleven pages, entitled: *Un Manuscrit autobiographique de Charles Nodier*, Besançon, Dodivers, 1905.

[3] *Moi-Même*. Cited by M. Salomon in his *Charles Nodier et le Groupe romantique*, Paris, Perrin, 1908, pp. 22–24.

[4] *Nouvelles*, Paris, Charpentier, 1898, p. 21. *Les Proscrits* first appeared in 1802.

[5] *Voyage pittoresque et industriel dans le Paraguay-Roux et la Palingénésie australe*, in *Nouvelles*, p. 381.

boisterous fun of Sterne is not only markedly similar to that of Rabelais, but is in many cases actually an adaptation of it. Hence it becomes hazardous for the critic to assert that such and such a passage which smacks seemingly of Yorick's style is inspired—if inspired at all—by Sterne rather than by the Curé of Meudon. It is interesting, in this connection, to note Nodier's opinion of the two humorists, as indicative of those characteristics of their writings which most strongly impressed him:

> La gaieté de Rabelais est celle d'un enfant turbulent qui brise ses jouets les plus précieux pour en mettre les ressorts à nu. La gaieté de Sterne est celle d'un barbon un peu morose qui s'amuse à faire jouer des pantins. Ce qui domine dans Rabelais, c'est une hilarité effrénée. . . . Ce qui domine dans Sterne, c'est un sentiment amer des déceptions de l'âme, qui se manifeste tour à tour par des rires ou par des larmes, et sous l'expansion duquel on devine toujours les tortures poignantes de quelque angoisse déguisée. . . . Rabelais a voulu se mettre tout à fait en dehors du monde connu pour se donner le droit d'en juger avec une liberté sans bornes. . . . Sterne a cherché à s'en éloigner dans le sens opposé, en se réfugiant dans le centre le plus obscur de la vie intérieure. . . . On croirait que Rabelais a entrepris de se faire pardonner la vérité mordante de ses satires par l'attrait de ses mensonges. On croirait que Sterne a entrepris de se faire pardonner le mensonge innocent de sa fiction par l'attrait de ses vérités.[1]

Not only did Nodier admire Sterne and Rabelais, but he also resembled them not a little, both in mind and in temperament. He possessed a rare genius for conversation, as Ste.-Beuve, Musset, Hugo, and other privileged guests at the *soirées* at the Arsenal Library could all attest. He was the life of every gathering, telling stories, discussing various phases of the literary movement, never happier than when interrupted by a question, and never wittier "than between two parentheses."[2] As he talked, so often did he write. Wonder not then at the charming digressions of the *Souvenirs de Jeunesse:* he has so many, many things to tell you that his pen runs away with him.

Nodier is also a dreamer of dreams, sometimes kindly, sentimental rhapsodies, more often amazing excursions into the realm of the fantastic, as the wonderful adventures of Michel in the *Fée*

[1] *Miscellanées*, in *Œuvres de Nodier*, Paris, Renduel, 1832–41, Vol. V, pp. 16–21.

[2] Jules Janin, Preface to Nodier's *Franciscus Columna*, Paris, Techener, 1844.

aux miettes, or the unnamable visions in *Smarra*. His fertile imagination is capable of inventing the wildest extravagances without seeking outside inspiration or example.

A keen satirist, Nodier has yet too kind a heart to hurl poisoned darts. As in the case of Sterne, his unkindest remarks are softened by the brightness of a smile or the glistening of a tear. Nodier's tears, though, are always sincere:

> Je voudrais que ceux qui ont fait souffrir les autres souffrissent une fois tout ce qu'ils ont fait souffrir. . . . Je voudrais que cette impression fût déchirante, et profonde, et atroce, et irrésistible. . . . Je voudrais cependant qu'elle durât peu, et qu'elle finît avec un rêve.[1]

One feels throughout all of Nodier's writings something like a regret that all may not be happy, a bitterness born of discontent with society and of the recognition of one's inability to effect any change therein that is absent from Sterne's pages. No one has yet ventured to accuse Yorick of being altruistic.

Bearing in mind the foregoing observations, namely, that Nodier was an admirer of both Sterne and Rabelais and that he possessed at least some traits of mind and temperament in common with them both, let us now consider certain portions of his work that may reveal a Shandyan influence.

L'Histoire du Roi de Bohême et de ses sept châteaux[2] is, in the author's own words, "another poor imitation of the innumerable imitations of Sterne and Rabelais." An imitation the work certainly is, at times almost a copy, but scattered throughout the chaos of its digressions and extravagances emerge several episodes charmingly told, and an abundance of delightful humor.

To analyze the book is impossible. The title is that of the story that Corporal Trim thrice essays to relate to Uncle Toby, without ever getting beyond the first sentence.[3] Nodier fares little better. He conceives himself as being composed of three separate persons,[4] Théodore, the kindly dreamer; Breloque, all verve and enthusiasm; and Don Pic de Fanferluchio, who represents science, or rather a

[1] *Les Aveugles de Chamouny*, in *Contes de la veillée*, Paris, Charpentier, p. 125.

[2] Paris, Delangle, 1830.

[3] *Tristram Shandy*, Vol. VIII, chap. xix.

[4] This idea had already been used by Gorgy in his *Nouveau Voyage sentimental*, Paris, Bastien, 1784.

rubbing of Greek, Latin, etymologies, dates, and paradoxes, labeled erudition. Of course, these gentlemen differ in importance, their proportionate value being: "Théodore, my imagination, no parts; Don Pic, my memory, one part; Breloque, my judgment, nine hundred and ninety-nine parts."

These worthies, each mounted upon his favorite hobbyhorse, set out for the domains of the king of Bohemia, but are straightway carried away by their ungovernable steeds, who bolt so often and to such good effect that, after having covered many leagues, the sturdy travelers find themselves exactly where they were at the beginning. It is useless to follow them into this intricate maze of hurry-scurryings and crisscrossings through realms that even Sterne and even Rabelais never visited. Every whim, every pet aversion, every opinion concerning men, language, or affairs that happened to be flitting through the writer's fecund imagination is here set down in or out of place. Every trick of style, every typographical absurdity that Rabelais or Sterne had invented or borrowed is here to be found, together with many another for which Nodier alone is responsible. The carrying of the tale into the domain of the fantastic and some elements of fun resemble Rabelais, but a goodly portion of the by-play is in Shandyan vein. There are nine pages devoted to lists of birds and insects. There are interrupted sentences, sentences without beginning or ending, sentences composed of words having similar final syllables. There is an imitation of the arrival of a cab that recalls Sterne's imitation of a violin.[1] There is a eulogy on a slipper, together with a list of the various kinds of slippers, that bespeaks a knowledge of Tristram's digression on the same subject.[2] There are discussions between learned doctors on trivial subjects in which the phraseology is pedantic or technical to an absurd degree. There is a newspaper notice inserted in the midst of the reading-matter. The title-page is well along toward the center of the book. There is an excessive use of blank pages, of lines printed upside down or in small capitals. There are remarks exchanged with the reader concerning the progress of the story and the author's skill in handling it. There are frequent apostrophes to Nodier's sweethearts, past and present. There are passages that begin with a tear and end with a laugh.

[1] *Tristram Shandy*, Vol. V, chap. xv. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, chap. xix.

Scattered throughout this mass of divagations and more or less amusing eccentricities of composition is the story of the *Aveugles de Chamouny*,[1] served piecemeal to the reader, as are the love affairs of Uncle Toby and the Widow Wadman in *Tristram Shandy*. This tale concerns a blind boy whose misery is augmented by the fact that a blind girl whom he was to marry unexpectedly recovers her sight and deserts him. When Gervais learns that Eulalie has strayed far from the narrow path of virtue, he plunges over a precipice into a roaring torrent. The story, well told, as are all of Nodier's *contes*, resembles somewhat in the presentation the incident of *Maria of Moulines*. Nodier comes across the blind Gervais sitting alone beside a country path, as Mr. Shandy and later Yorick saw Maria. His sympathy is at once aroused. He seats himself beside the unfortunate boy, learns the history of his unhappy love, and how even his dog has left him—just as Maria's goat had abandoned her before Yorick happened by. Hands seek each other, tears of sympathy fall, and with a parting exhortation to be of good cheer this new sentimental traveler goes on his way. Here the resemblance ends. Nodier's ending is romantic, whereas the sentiment is rather akin to that all-too-serious moping over the sufferings of humanity brought into vogue by Rousseau and exaggerated *ad absurdum* by the Marmontels, Lespinasses, and Vernes of the late eighteenth century.

Moreover, it seems fairly probable that Nodier wrote this sentimental tale, not from any admiration for the genre, but rather as a criticism of it, for he sets over against this story another about a dog who loses his life saving a child from a wolf, a tale as simple, as perfect, as devoid of unnecessary ornamentation as any of the *contes* of Perrault. To bring out the contrast between the two styles, Nodier introduces a discussion between Don Pic and Breloque on this subject, in which Breloque (Nodier's judgment) champions the second story. In the *Aveugles de Chamouny*, he concludes, we have "de l'affection pour de la grace, du sentiment pour du tendre, de la déclamation pour de l'éloquence, du commun pour du naïf," whereas the style of the *Chien de Brisquet* is "ni pittoresque, ni

[1] This theme was popular at the time. It had been treated by Pierre Blanchard in *le Rêveur sentimental*, Paris, Le Prieur, 1796, and by F. Vernes in *les deux Aveugles de Franconville*, a one-act comedy in prose, 1807.

romantique, ni poétique, ni oratoire; mais ce qu'il doit être, clair, simple, expressif, approprié aux personnes et aux choses, intelligible à tous les esprits, et par conséquent essentiellement convenable." This seems to establish rather definitely Nodier's attitude toward eighteenth-century sentimentality.[1]

The story of Gervais and Eulalie is not the only episode of this kind in Nodier. His first tale, *les Proscrits*,[2] a somber imitation of *Werther*, contains an account of the writer's meeting with a poor deranged boy, Frantz,[3] which recalls still more distinctly the encounter of Sterne and Maria. The philosophy of the passage is that of Rousseau (and be it said in passing that the great vogue of the *Sentimental Journey* in France was due in no small measure to the popularity of Rousseau's theories), but the setting was certainly inspired by Sterne's little masterpiece. Nodier's sentimental wanderer has encountered, in a secluded nook near a streamlet, a young man of some twenty-five years, whose fine, noble face bears the blight of long years of sorrow. The two men are instinctively drawn to each other:

> Nous faisions tous les deux un mouvement involontaire l'un vers l'autre, pour nous embrasser. Une réflexion rapide repoussa ce mouvement en nous-mêmes. Chez moi cette réflexion tenait aux bienséances du monde; chez Frantz, elle était produite, peut-être, par la défiance du malheur.
>
> Je m'assis à ses côtés. Je le regardai avec intérêt et je répétai ses paroles avec effusion.
>
> Plus de repos, plus de bonheur.
>
> Jamais, répondit Frantz. . . .
>
> J'ai beaucoup souffert, reprit-il, en croisant ses mains sur sa poitrine gonflée et en soulevant lentement ses paupières: j'ai vécu dans les villes, et les plaisirs qu'on y achète à si haut prix ne sont que de hideux squelettes sous des habits somptueux. J'en ai cherché d'autres dans mon cœur, mais mon cœur était simple et confiant, et mon cœur a été trahi. . . .
>
> L'amour! . . . Il prononça ce mot avec un soupir; sa figure s'anima, ses yeux s'égaraient, ses muscles étaient crispés, et sa voix s'éteignit dans les sanglots.
>
> Et l'amitié? dis-je, en posant ma main sur mon cœur, qui battait avec précipitation. . . .

[1] The author may also have had in mind his earlier novels of the Werther type Nodier frequently belittled his own achievements.

[2] Paris, Lepetit jeune, 1802.

[3] Named "Lovely" in the first edition.

Reste-t-il des amis à ceux qui souffrent? dit Frantz.
Oh! si j'avais été son ami![1]
Je l'étais déjà! Frantz laissa tomber sur ma main une larme brûlante.
Nous nous étions entendus, et nous n'avions plus rien à nous apprendre.[2]

Whether there is any real influence of Sterne in Nodier's portrait of Sir Robert Grove in *Amélie*[3] I am not quite sure. Ste.-Beuve remarks in this connection that it would be impossible to touch such a portrait *à la* Sterne "with a more pleasing, or, one might say, more affectionate irony."[4] Yet Grove is not a creation of Nodier, but, according to Francis Wey[5] and others, a portrait, only slightly softened, of Herbert Croft,[6] an English baronet, whom Nodier served as secretary. Several traits in the picture, however, are decidedly reminiscent of Uncle Toby, so much so, indeed, that Nodier himself alludes to this resemblance in the course of the description. In view of these facts I am inclined to think that Sterne may at least have suggested to the French author how to make his portrayal of Sir Robert most effective.

Grove is a kindly old savant whose hobby is the study of the classics and in particular the preparation of an edition of *Pindar*. His constant attendant and servant is a Welsh giant named Jonathas, heartily devoted to the old gentleman and quick to anticipate his every whim. When not absorbed by his researches, in which he takes an amusingly naïve interest, Sir Robert is railing against the Catholics or dreaming of some new invention to add to the numerous articles of his devising that adorn his study. A mingling of pedantry and erudition, of simplicity and eccentricity, he interests us above all by his lovable nature:

Plus boudeur au moindre nuage qu'une petite fille dont on a brisé la poupée; revenu à la moindre marque de déférence ou de tendresse et faisant toujours les frais du raccommodement, en accordant plus qu'on ne lui demandait. . . . Je le vois, dis-je, frappant des mains à mon entrée et

[1] Cf. *Sentimental Journey*, chapter entitled "Maria": "And wast thou in my land where I have a cottage?" etc. Other passages of this incident parallel closely Sterne's narrative.

[2] *Nouvelles*, pp. 12–15.

[3] In the *Souvenirs de Jeunesse*, Paris, Charpentier, 1893.

[4] *Portraits littéraires*, Paris, Garnier, Vol. I, p. 446.

[5] *Vie de Charles Nodier*, Paris, Techener, 1844.

[6] Croft was something of a savant. Among his works are: *Dictionnaire critique des difficultés de la langue française* and *Horace éclairci par la ponctuation*.

m'accueillant d'un regard aussi bienveillant que celui de mon père. Je vois sa noble figure, plus que sexagénaire, mais fraîche, épanouie, vermeille, adolescente d'imagination et de pensées, et son vaste front chauve, blanc et poli comme l'ivoire, autour duquel se roulaient en boucles des cheveux d'un blond doré, qui auraient fait honneur à un bachelier; car la nature avait pris plaisir à laisser à son vieil âge des vestiges de jeunesse, comme elle en avait laissé à son âme.

It required no great perspicacity to tell when he was worried:

Cette disposition de l'esprit se révélait en lui par trois symptômes invariables, un regard triste et vertical qui s'attachait pensivement au plafond, un soupir à peine entendu qui s'élevait lentement en suivant la même ligne ascensionnelle, et un léger sifflement, ou plutôt une modulation presque insaisissable du souffle qu'aurait cent fois couvert le lila burello de mon oncle Tobie. . . . Hélas, ce serait bien malgré moi qu'une légère ombre de ridicule obscurcirait ces détails d'intérieur philosophique! . . . Ce qui faisait sourire l'esprit dans les innocentes manies du chevalier faisait en même temps pleurer l'âme.[1]

Further touches are given to the portrait here and there during the story. Of these the following incident contains perhaps the best, showing, as it does, the sympathetic way in which Nodier handles an episode that Sterne would doubtless have concluded by some extravagant jest. Sir Robert has discovered the unfortunate love of Maxime for Amélie, a young girl who has aided them in the preparation of the edition of *Pindar*. Sir Robert is speaking:

Suis-je assez fort maintenant pour te retenir sur le bord de l'abîme où je vous ai poussés tous les deux, moi, le plus coupable de nous trois? Oh, que la foudre anéantisse tout ce qui reste de Pindare, sans en excepter mon bel exemplaire de l'édition de Calliergi! Malédiction sur Pindare, sur Calliergi et sur moi!

Le *Pindare* de Calliergi? dit Jonathas, en se penchant à l'oreille de son maître.

Je n'en ai pas besoin, tendre et obéissant Goliath, répliqua le chevalier, qui tournait en même temps un regard affectueux sur le Gallois attentif. Je n'en ai pas besoin du *Pindare* de Calliergi. Je ne veux jamais le revoir. Et cependant, il ferait encore le bonheur de mes yeux, si j'avais trouvé dans l'âme d'un fils de mon choix (Maxime) . . . la soumission résignée de ton âme de sauvage.

Alors Jonathas avait compris qu'il ne s'agissait plus du *Pindare* de Calliergi et il n'avait compris que cela.

Le chevalier nous regarda tous les deux, et il se mit à pleurer.[2]

[1] *Souvenirs de Jeunesse*, pp. 107–11. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 150–51.

Here are the same elements that make up Toby's character: smiles, tears, foibles. Yet how the personality of the two writers differentiates the pictures! I can imagine Sterne, lavish alike of humor and sentiment, conscious of his own importance, exclaiming to Toby: "Brother Shandy, I can't help loving you for your sincerity and for your goodness of heart, but what a fool you are!" Whereas the kindly, genial man that was Charles Nodier exclaims: "Sir Robert, I may smile at your eccentricities, but you are the most excellent man that divine goodness has ever created."

These passages contain all that I have found in Nodier that may be termed sentimental, in the eighteenth-century acceptation of the word. Elsewhere—barring the fantastic tales and satirical pamphlets—a much more tragic note vibrates. Love of the most passionate kind, love that is stronger than death, that fears not horrid disease nor even suicide—such is the stuff of which most of his stories are made. The fact, then, that each one of these digressions from the author's habitual Wertherism or romanticism not only recalls the manner of Yorick, but is accompanied also by a direct reference or by a direct tribute to Sterne, becomes, to say the least, significant.

But it was the haphazard style, the effervescent gaiety, and the keen raillery of *Tristram*, rather than the effusions of the *Sentimental Journey*, that appealed particularly to Nodier and made the most noticeable impression upon his style. All of his articles in lighter vein—*les Marionnettes*, *le Voyage dans le Paraguay-Roux*, *Leviathan le Long*, *Hurlubleu*, *le Bibliomane*, *Polichinelle*,[1] and parts of the *Fée aux miettes*[2]—are sprinkled with whimsical sallies and by-play of the sort that we have already noted in speaking of the *Roi de Bohême*, with here and there passages of a more subtle humor. The settings—usually in some imaginary country or planet—and, on the whole, the style, recall Rabelais rather more than Sterne, but there are frequent witty *gambades*, fanciful musings, and many a keen thrust that only Tristram could have suggested. The following citation speaks for itself:

Moi qui écris péniblement ceci d'après les manuscrits de Berniquet, trois heures du matin sonnant d'horloge en horloge, et à la mourante lueur

[1] The first four of these articles will be found in *Nouvelles*. *Le Bibliomane* and *Polichinelle* are in the *Contes de la veillée*.

[2] First published, Paris, Renduel, 1832; in the *Contes fantastiques*, Paris, Charpentier, 1904.

d'une huile dont mon épicier réclame le prix avec des instances malhonnêtes, je sens la plume échapper de mes doigts. Je m'endors.

—Et vous madame?[1]

Frequently Nodier takes the reader into his confidence, telling him how many chapters are still due him or how little merit the author possesses. For instance, in the *Marionnettes*, he advises him to read Peignot's article on *Jacquemard:*

Il y gagnera deux choses: la première, c'est le plaisir de lire un des charmants petits écrits de M. Peignot; la seconde, c'est de pouvoir se dispenser très-parfaitement de lire le mien. Je ne vois même aucun inconvénient à ce qu'il ne lise ni l'un ni l'autre.[2]

Elsewhere:

Nous sommes, *Polichinelle* et moi, les deux membres d'une équation. On écrirait volontiers: POLICHINELLE×*son compère*=NÉOPHOBUS (Nodier) et réciproquement. Je ne me suis jamais informé de ce qu'en pense *Polichinelle*, mais cette solidarité m'épouvante.[3]

But by far the cleverest passages of all are to be found in the opening and closing chapters of the *Fée aux miettes*. Nowhere has Nodier written with a vivacity, a wittiness, and a verve more like Sterne's, and nowhere is his imitation freer from the taint of borrowing. The use of gestures is especially noteworthy.[4] Take, for instance, the following passage:

—Non! sur l'honneur, m'écriai-je en lançant à vingt pas le malencontreux volume. . . .

C'était cependant un *Tite-Live* d'Elzevir relié par Padeloup.

—Non! je n'userai plus mon intelligence et ma mémoire à ces détestables sornettes! Non! continuai-je en appuyant solidement mes pantoufles contre mes chenets, comme pour prendre acte de ma volonté, il ne sera pas dit qu'un homme de sens ait vieilli sur les sottes gazettes de ce Padouan crédule, bavard et menteur, tant que les domaines de l'imagination et du sentiment lui étaient encore ouverts!

O fantaisie! continuai-je avec élan. . . . Mère des fables riantes, des génies et des fées! enchanteresse aux brillants mensonges, toi qui te balances

[1] *Nouvelles*, p. 345. Cf. also the Preface to the *Fée aux miettes*, in *Contes fantastiques*, p. 72.

[2] *Nouvelles*, p. 408. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 429.

[4] Other examples will be found in *l'Amour et le Grimoire* (in the *Nouvelles*) and scattered throughout most of the writings mentioned above. In fact, in all of his *contes* Nodier notes with considerable skill the gesture and the trivial detail that characterize a personage as nothing else can. It would be rash, however, to state that Nodier learned this art from Sterne, as both Richardson and Diderot—to mention but two names—were also past masters in it.

d'un pied léger sur les créneaux des vieilles tours, et qui t'égares au clair de la lune avec ton cortège d'illusions dans les domaines immenses de l'inconnu. . . .

Là-dessus, je m'arrêtai, parce que cette invocation menaçait de devenir longue. . . .

Je voudrais bien savoir, ajoutai-je en rejetant une de mes jambes sur l'autre, car il ne manquait plus rien dès lors à la forme de cette protestation sacramentelle. . . .

Je voudrais bien savoir . . . puisque la grande moitié du monde connu croit fermement aux allocutions de l'âne de Balaam et du pigeon de Mahomet . . . messieurs, quelles objections vous avez contre les succès oratoires du *Chat botté*. . . .

L'histoire et les historiens! Malédiction sur elle et sur eux! je prends Urgande à témoin que je trouve mille fois plus de crédibilité aux illusions des lunatiques! . . .

—Les lunatiques! interrompit Daniel Cameron, que j'avais oublié derrière mon fauteuil, où il attendait debout, dans une attitude patiente et respectueuse, le moment de me passer ma redingote. Les lunatiques, monsieur! Il y en a une superbe maison à Glasgow.[1]

Let us mention finally two instances of direct borrowing. The story of *M. de la Mettrie*[2] contains an almost literal translation of the musings of Widow Wadman concerning the wound of Uncle Toby, and the *Dernier Chapitre de mon roman*[3] a licentious adaptation of the final episode of the *Sentimental Journey*.

To sum up: how much real influence of Sterne do we find in Nodier? In his short stories and novels, barring the two or three passages cited, practically none. In almost all of his works in lighter vein, a decidedly appreciable influence. This influence is not confined to any one period of the author's life, for he wrote *Moi-Même* when a mere youth, and he excuses himself in a sort of humorous way for having perpetrated the *Roi de Bohême* when he was almost old. Whenever he wrote for his own amusement, or when he wished to let fly a dart at *Messieurs les savants*, he donned his fool's cap, bethought himself of Sterne or of Rabelais, and endeavored to outdo them both. Nodier himself did not esteem highly his efforts as a buffoon, and in truth they do not count seriously in our final judgment

[1] *Contes fantastiques*, pp. 79–81.

[2] *Contes de la veillée*, p. 300.

[3] Paris, Cavanagh, 1803. One will also find in this story many of Tristram's tricks of style.

of him. Yet these productions are not without merit. The *Roi de Bohême*, it is true, is hardly more than a *tour de force*, and aside from the two short stories contained in it, which are often reprinted separately, is no longer read; but several of the amusing satires are still found in collections of children's stories—the fate of *Gulliver*—and the *Fée aux miettes* is one of the most charming productions of Nodier's fancy.

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SOME EVIDENCE FOR EARLY ROMANTIC PLAYS IN ENGLAND[1]

I

In a review of Chambers' *Mediaeval Stage* in the *Scottish Historical Review*,[2] Miss Bateson has noted that the London chronicle found in manuscript E. 5. 9 of Trinity College, Dublin, records the performance of plays of "Eglemour and Degrebelle" and of "a knight cleped fflorence" near London in 1444. Miss Bateson's is, I believe, the first notice of these plays, and, so far as I know, the significance of the discovery has not yet been discussed. A record, however, of two English plays before 1450 apparently dealing with secular romantic themes seems to me a matter of more than passing interest to students of the early drama.

The chronicle referred to has recently been published by Ralph Flenley in *Six Town Chronicles of England*. Flenley points out[3] that the manuscript, which gives no hint as to authorship, is clearly identical with one described in some detail by John Bale in the 1557 edition of his *Catalogus* and there ascribed to Robert Bale. John Bale mentions this manuscript as one of many works left by him when he fled from Ireland after the accession of Mary. The chronicle as printed covers the years 16–38 of Henry VI's reign, or 1437–60, and, as Flenley shows, from 1439 on gives every indication of being a contemporary and independent account of the events recorded.

Bale's only notice of plays is in two successive entries under 22 Henry VI (1443–44):[4]

Item this yer was at seint albons the last of Juyn a play of Eglemour and Degrebelle.

Item the moneth of August was a play at Bermonsey of a knight cleped fflorence.

[1] In this paper the term "romantic" is used in a rather broad sense to include forms of plays that might better be called romanesque, and the terms "folk" and "popular" are often applied to what had a vogue among classes of people not controlled by the critical standards of their age.

I am indebted to Professors Manly and Nitze for some valuable references and suggestions.

[2] I, 405, n. 1.

[3] Pp. 67 ff.

[4] Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles*, p. 117.

It seems clear, as Flenley points out in a footnote, that the first play is a version of the romance of *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, Eglamour having a son named Degrabell. In regard to *A knight cleped ffloreńce*, Miss Bateson queries, "Was this that Florent or Flormond of Albanye whose romance is named in the Complaynte of Scotland?" For two reasons the identification seems questionable. The name in the old French romances is "Florimont,"[1] and in *The Complaynt of Scotland*, about 1548, "Floremond of Albanye." Evidence for the form "Florent" is apparently lacking except in the phrase "great Florent of Albanie" in *Roswall and Lillian*, 1663, which comes more than two centuries after Bale's record of the play and may represent a corruption of the name, as other names in this late romance appear to have been corrupted. In the second place, if the play was drawn from the romance suggested by Miss Bateson, we should expect, I think, the descriptive "of Albanye" in Bale's record. On the ground that from Florice or Florian to Florence "is not a far cry for a fifteenth century writer," Flenley conjectures that the second play is a version of "Florice et Blanchfleur." As a matter of fact, the form "Florence" does occur in this very romance. The Trentham MS[2] about 1440 has *Florence and Blanchefloure* as a title in the headlines, though the name used in the story is usually Floris and only occasionally Florence. This is the only romance known to me in which Florence rather than Florent is employed as the masculine form of the name, but the point is probably without value since both Florent and Florence would be natural forms of the French word. Moreover, the story of Floris and Blauncheflur seems to have been one of the romantic themes dramatized early in Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany.[3] On the other hand, the hero and heroine are so commonly associated in the titles of the various versions of this romance that the presumption seems to me against Bale's omitting Blauncheflur's name if the play at Bermondsey had been founded on the story of Floris and Blauncheflur.

Another possible source of the play is the romance of *Octavian*. Octavian's wife is named Florence and one of his twin sons Florent.

[1] Ward, *Cat. Romances*, I, 156–60.

[2] *EETS*, XIV (1901).

[3] Cf. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, 330, for an Italian play; I, 373, for a play in the Netherlands in 1483; and III, 424, for Hans Sachs's play.

A play founded on this tale, especially if the part of the son Florent were emphasized, might well be called simply the play of "a knight cleped fflorence." A version of the romance is found in the same fifteenth-century manuscript[1] with one of the early versions of *Sir Eglamour of Artois*. The Octavian story is like *Eglamour* in the main conventions—of a lady cast away, of sons carried off as babes by monsters or beasts, of the sons' glorious career in knighthood, and of the final reunion of the family. With different names for the characters, the story was dramatized in the fourteenth-century French Miracle de Notre Dame (XXXII of the Cangé MS) called *Le Roi Thierry et Osanne*, and the popularity of such motives in English plays is amply attested. The "Play of Placidas,"[2] acted at Braintree in 1534, and the later *Fair Constance of Rome*, in two parts, written for Henslowe in 1600–1601, must have followed the same romance conventions,[3] while the immensely popular *Pericles* of the late sixteenth century is similar to these legends, with a daughter substituted for a son. Separate motives of the story occur repeatedly, of course, in the Elizabethan drama.

But if Bale was giving the exact title of the play rather than his own statement of its theme, the most probable source, to my mind, is the "Tale of Florent" in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.[4] According to Gower's description, the hero is simply a "worthi knyht," nephew of an unnamed emperor, and "Florent he hihte." The title used by Bale may have been drawn from Gower's phrase. There is at least no other character in the tale who would naturally be associated with Florent in a title. Not only was Gower's work well known in the fifteenth century, but this particular story—most familiar to us through Chaucer's *Tale of the Wyf of Bathe* and *The Marriage of Sir Gawaine*—was one of the most popular mediaeval

[1] Caligula A ii. Cf. Ward, *Cat. Romances*, I, 762, and Weber, *Metrical Romances*, III, 157–239.

[2] Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, II, 342.

[3] Cf. Gerould, "The Eustace Legend," *Mod. Lang. Publ.*, XII (1904), 436 ff. The Constance saga was dramatized in No. XXIX of the Cangé MS, *La Fille du Roi de Hongrie*. Gerould makes the adventures of the wives in *Sir Eglamour of Artois* and *Octavian* versions of the "Calumniated Wife" motive (most widely known to English students through the Constance saga), and the adventures of the son or sons in both direct derivatives from the Eustace, or Placidas, legend. He considers the Apollonius story unrelated to these (p. 340).

[4] Book I, ll. 1407 ff.

stories in England. Shakspere in the line from *The Taming of the Shrew* (I, 2, 69),

Be she as foul as was Florentius' love,

must be glancing at a version of Gower's form of the story. That the tale could readily be dramatized is shown by the fact that Fletcher in *Women Pleased* successfully used it as given by Chaucer.[1]

In regard to the nature of the plays mentioned by Bale, Flenley says that they "would seem to be mediaeval romances" and "strictly speaking were not plays at all." His discussion shows that he takes them to be minstrel recitals. It is possible that these performances were dramatic recitals of the romances, such as I conceive the performance before the Scottish king in 1497 to have been, when "twa fithelaris . . . . Sang Gray Steil to the king";[2] but this does not seem probable. There is also a possibility that they were processions, or pageants, and represented some type of midsummer show such as is recorded at Chester, perhaps with speeches of presenters to give a semblance of the dramatic to the performance, as was often the case in pageants. But I see no reason why "play" as used by Bale at this period should not be taken to refer to an actual dramatic performance. *Eglemour and Degrebelle* and *A knight cleped ffloreńce* were probably regular plays for midsummer festivals, taking the place that the mysteries had held in so many of these festivals.

Before evidence is presented which seems to me to support this view, the possibility that the plays were not secular but were Miracles of the Virgin is to be considered. *A knight cleped ffloreńce* presented at Bermondsey in the "moneth of August" may have celebrated the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, August 15. The *Eglemour and Degrebelle* at St. Albans "the last of Juyn" was probably presented at the midsummer festival of St. John and St. Peter and perhaps under the auspices of some church. I have already referred to the dramatization of the Octavian theme in the Miracles de Notre Dame. Gower's tale could doubtless have been changed into a miracle as readily as a story of the Eglamour or Octavian type. But, to my mind, the significant thing is the dramatization of romances so early in the history of English drama, whatever moral tone may have been given to the ending. The material was secular and

[1] Fletcher's play, indeed, may have been based on an older one.

[2] Hales-Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, I, 342.

romantic, and, if a miracle of the Virgin was added, it probably affected the type of play no more than Dekker's moralization of *Old Fortunatus*.

II

Evidence supporting the possibility of such romantic plays in England, both secular and miracle, as early as the fifteenth century may be drawn from continental literature. Dutch romantic and chivalric plays must have been fairly frequent in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Those of which we have record are especially worth mention because they are apparently independent of religious performance or motivation for their production. Three from the early part of the fifteenth century are extant—*Esmoreit*, *Gloriant*, and *Lanseloet*;[1] and records exist showing the performance of plays dealing with Arnoute, Ronchevale, Florys and Blanchefloor, and Gryselle.[2] For France, the plays of Adam de la Halle in the thirteenth century and the supposed play of *Robin et Marion* performed as part of an annual celebration at Angers in the fourteenth century[3] are noteworthy instances of early secular drama. The *Estoire de Griseldis*, belonging to the last decade of the fourteenth century, is another romantic drama that does not conform to the miracle type. The Miracles de Notre Dame, however, in the same century contain a number of romantic plays, and it is possible that in some of these we have merely the usual Christian turn given by the church to whatever had a hold on the people.[4] There was at

[1] Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, 367 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 373.

[3] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 324, 325.

[4] A few early records may indicate a romantic drama. Such are the "ludus de quodam homine salvatico" at Padua in 1208, the play of the wild man in Aaran in 1339, the "ludus cum gigantibus" at Padua in 1224 (Creizenach, I, 378), and "la fieste des enfans Aymery de Narbonne" in Lille in 1351 (*ibid.*, p. 376). Whether there was anything more dramatic indicated by these records than the elaborate disguisings and processions of festival occasions, it would be impossible to say. It must be remembered in connection with such records and many others of festival celebrations to be noted later (1) that by the thirteenth century a very decided growth of a feeling for genuine drama which might readily extend to any popular motive is indicated by the expansion of biblical plays and the development of farce, and (2) that our knowledge of mediaeval pageantry and our lack of information about mediaeval plays may be due to a general attitude in the Middle Ages, surviving in the Renaissance, which even as late as the seventeenth century made English masques and pageants preferable to plays of the period as a subject of literary gossip and of chroniclers' records. Nichols' elaborate volumes, *The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* and *The Progresses of King James*, will bear me out, I believe. All that we can say with any assurance, however, is that the records referred to above indicate a very great age for some of the conventions met later in festival forms of disguising and play.

least small chance for the preservation of romantic plays not so adapted. But, whether miracles of this type imply an antecedent secular drama or not, they furnish important evidence that by the end of the fourteenth century a taste for romantic and chivalric tales in dramatic form had developed in portions of the Continent contiguous to England.

Further, the contact between the English people and the neighboring peoples of continental Europe must at least have been close enough to account for a common type of romantic drama as well as for common ballad and story types. From the time of the Crusades until the Reformation, the Catholic church made of Western Europe, in a certain sense, one community. Members of the clerical classes passed freely from one country to another, often residing for long periods in other countries than their own; and traveling scholars and priests were not always unmindful of the joys of song, dance, and drama. For the upper and middle classes pilgrimages to foreign shrines afforded means of contact with other peoples. Minstrels, too, were more or less cosmopolitan. And even at that time undoubtedly one of the most powerful agents for broadening provincial horizons was commerce. The numerous great fairs of England and continental Europe probably drew tradesmen from foreign parts at every period; and the merchant adventurers of England had communities in every busy foreign mart from early times. Long before the Reformation the jealousy of London tradesmen was aroused by the number of foreign workers in London. Caxton's supposed descent from Flemish settlers in England and his long residence in the Low Countries are well known to us merely because of Caxton's later fame. The vast number of English soldiers, gentlemen, and servants who had occasion to reside in France for long periods, and the lingering dominance of French culture in England until the end of the fifteenth century, need only to be mentioned. For some centuries before the Renaissance, contact of Englishmen of all classes with the customs and culture of the neighboring nations must have been intimate.

It would be strange, then, if such a drama-loving people as the English did not know every form of dramatic amusement popular on the Continent, and imitate all to some extent at least. Consequently, I see not the slightest need of explaining away Bale's use

of the word play. The existence of the fragment *Dux Moraud* may be taken as some indication that England had an early share in the continental movement. I have no doubt that other romantic plays besides those mentioned by Bale—perhaps earlier ones—existed in England, both secular plays and miracles.

Certainly there is evidence for an amount of dramatic activity in England before the Renaissance which, in comparison with the meager remains of the drama, makes it clear that much romantic drama could have existed without any specimen's surviving. Even the records of the religious drama have been poorly preserved, and no known manuscript fragment remains of the great passion plays of London, of the St. George plays acted all over England for a long period, or—except in *Dux Moraud*, probably a fragment of a Miracle of the Virgin—of the English miracles that must have existed in numbers for centuries. There is no indication that in the Middle Ages plays were regarded anywhere in Europe as literature for reading. Apparently the copies of plays preserved were, with few exceptions, manuscripts used by companies, gilds, etc., in connection with the actual performance of plays. Many such manuscripts preserved in church archives and many records of performances were probably destroyed by the Puritans, who would have been inclined to show little mercy to the romantic drama. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that conditions in the early Renaissance were more favorable to the preservation of romantic plays. Erasmus, Vives, Ascham, and other humanists have left expressions of their contempt for popular literature and for romances in particular.

How small a proportion of mediaeval drama has survived may be gathered from the records, meager as the records are themselves. Thus, rivalry in dramatic performance had developed fully enough in 1378 for the scholars of St. Paul's to petition Richard II "to prohibit some unexpert people from representing the History of the Old Testament, to the great prejudice of the said Clergy, who have been at great expence in order to represent it publickly at Christmas."[1]

[1] Chambers, II, 380. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 190, for secular performances at Exeter in 1348, which were to be given "in Theatro nostrae Civitatis." Chambers considers this an allusion to a "regular theatre." Parish houses for entertainments were perhaps not unusual in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; cf. Hobhouse, *Church-Wardens' Accounts*, Somerset Record Soc., pp. xxi f. At Durham Priory in 1465 there was a room called "le Playerchambre" (Chambers, II, 244).

The records of Lydd and New Romney in Kent and the account book of Sir John Howard of Essex show that during the last three-quarters of the fifteenth century there were at least twenty different towns or villages in Kent and Essex with companies of players who traveled to some extent.[1] For the region of Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, the Maxstoke Priory accounts show payments sometime during the reign of Henry VI to "lusores" and "mimi" from the companies of six different noblemen and from a number of villages, including Coventry, for which there are six entries mentioning three different types of performers.[2] Between 1457 and 1467 the wardens of Harling, Norfolk, made payments for the "Lopham game," the "Garblesham game," and the "Kenningale game," and again to the "Kenyngale players."[3] If these regions were typical of the rest of England, it is fairly evident that in addition to gilds performing mysteries and moralities regularly in most large towns, there were companies of players in a great number of the smaller villages.

In the matter of positive evidence for the existence of romantic drama before the Renaissance, the records are very scattering, and are often confusing because of a looseness in the use of terms at the period when pageantry either was predominant or, on account of its occasional character, was noticed by chroniclers almost to the exclusion of drama. Early secular drama of which there is record seems to be have belonged to conventions and traditions in many cases centuries old and common to the various countries of Europe—traditions very largely those of pageantry, a subject which has been so ably studied by Chambers. It seems worth while, however, to present the case for the development of festival celebrations into the definite form of romantic drama with dialogue and plot before the rise of the romantic drama of Elizabeth's reign. My survey, then, will take the form of indicating the evidence for the persistence of certain conventional types in romantic drama, especially the types common to the traditions of England and France. The exact period

[1] Chambers, II, 255–56, 383, and 385–86.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 244–45.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 368. Game seems to be a favorite term for drama in this region. At Bungay, Suffolk, where biblical plays were established, we hear of the "game-book" in 1526, and of the "game gear" and "interlude and game booke" in 1558. At Yarmouth there was "a game played on Christmas day," 1493, and in 1538 a "game-house" for "interludes or plays" was erected (Chambers, II, 343, 399, 190, 191).

at which these various types arose cannot be determined, for the period at which they are found flourishing may be a late one in the actual history of the species, inasmuch as the evidence is often drawn from folk customs and traditions. So far as I can determine the order of their origin, there seems to have been some definite advance from (1) the simple song and wooing drama of May games and folk-festivals, in which pastourelle motives are frequent, to (2) the clerkly or literary eclogue drama as a supplement to the first type, and to (3) drama developed from other festival traditions of the people, till finally (4) love allegory and mythological motives took on dramatic form among the upper classes. Perhaps the metrical romance plays of the Low Countries in the fifteenth century and of England in the year 1444 are to be taken as indicating the extension of festival pageantry to include formal drama.

The first form of this mediaeval drama is found in the wooing song and May game. Probably long before we get definite evidence for romantic drama, popular dance songs for spring festivals had clear dramatic form both among the common people and among the upper classes.[1] From a fairly early time the pastourelle motives in wooing drama can be traced. Jeanroy[2] has given the evidence for the derivation of the pastourelles from folk dialogue songs, and has discussed the courtly dialogues of the type. In the *Tournois de Chauvenci* of the thirteenth century, there is a description of a courtly garland or wooing dance that was pure song drama.[3] The plays of Adam de la Halle are probably adaptations of this type of drama for

[1] Jeanroy and Gaston Paris cite the wooing pastorals of Theocritus in connection with the pastourelle dialogues. Vitruvius describes for his third kind of drama besides tragedy and comedy the type of setting that meets us all the way through mediaeval ason festivals: "Satyricae vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus reliquisque agrestibus rebus in topiorum speciem deformatis" (Marsan, *La Pastorale Dramatique en France à la fin du XVI^e^ et au commencement du XVII^e^ siècle*, p. 2, n. 1). References to amatory songs in the church prohibitions of festival dance through the Dark Ages may be directed against wooing drama in the spring arbors. Cf., for instance, the quotations in Warren's "Romance Lyric," etc., *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXVI (1911), 280–314; and Chambers, *Med. Stage*, I, 161 ff. and 169 ff. The first records after the Dark Ages show the same customs, whether a continuation or a revival. The account of song and wooing dance given in *Ruodlieb*, VIII, 43–55, *ca.* 1000, furnishes a description very similar to those of later festival wooing songs that are song drama, though dialogue is not indicated in *Ruodlieb*. Jacobsen, *La Comédie en France au Moyen-Age*, 102 f., cites Papias' definition in the eleventh century of *Scaena* as "Umbraculum ubi poetae recitabant," and presents a case for arbor drama in Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de la Feuillée*, etc.

[2] *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au Moyen Age.* Cf. also Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1892, 155 ff. and 407 ff.

[3] Bédier, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 15, 1906, 402–6.

somewhat formal court presentation, but in the later *Robin et Marion* mentioned at Angers in 1392 as a yearly game or play of the people similar material in all likelihood reappeared in folk-form. The *Interludium de Clerico et Puella* seems to be an early English adaptation of the wooing drama to an intrigue plot. The similarity to popular song drama seen in the wooing element is emphasized by the use of the name Malkyn for the girl. Another early English specimen in pure dialogue but without names of the characters is preserved in the song, "My deþ y loue, my lyf ich hate," found in Harleian MS 2253, dating from about 1300.[1] In 1447 a payment was made at York to "ij ludentibus Joly Wat and Malkyn."[2] This play was probably a song drama or short interlude dealing with pastoral lovers. Malkin is an English variant of Marion, and Wat may be either a survival of the shepherd Guatier met in *Robin et Marion* or an English substitute for Robin.[3] A milkmaid taking the place of the shepherdess of the pastourelles appears in a pure dialogue song probably as old as the fifteenth century at least, "Hey, troly, loly, lo; made, whether go you?"[4] Not only was this same song popular in the Elizabethan period,[5] but scores of versions have been collected in modern folk-songs, usually with echoes of the wording of the old dialogue. I have, indeed, two accounts of the performance of a version of the song as a dramatic dialogue in America in recent years.[6] Another song, probably of the fifteenth century, beginning,

A robyn gentyl robyn
tel me how thy leman doth,

[1] Böddeker, *Altenglische Dichtungen*, pp. 172, 173.

[2] Toulmin Smith, *York Plays*, p. xxxviii.

[3] Joly Wat and Mall appear in a shepherd group in a Christmas carol, probably of the fifteenth century (Flügel, *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, pp. 117, 118, and 431). I doubt whether the detached entry to only two players at York would have been for a *Pastores*, as Flügel assumes.

[4] Add. MS 31922; *Anglia*, XII, 255, 256; Padelford, *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, 84–86.

[5] Gaytoun, *Festivous Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 271, refers to a dramatic piece called *The Merry Milkmaids*, which was possibly a jig. There are many other indications of the vogue of the milkmaid in popular literature.

[6] Here and in a number of other cases I mention instances of folk-survivals to modern times because I believe that they are usually due to an extensive vogue in mediaeval times. Particularly do I believe that the survivals of forms of folk-drama indicate an exceedingly strong hold among the people, usually before the origin of the Puritan attacks on drama.

is a pure dialogue in its several versions.[1] Henryson's "Robene and Makyne," a pastourelle, was clearly based on folk-songs of the type, and the large amount of dialogue may indicate derivation from song drama. *The Black Man*, an old jig, translated into Dutch before 1633[2] and preserved in Kirkman's *The Wits* of 1672, has a plot much like Adam de la Halle's *Robin et Marion*, though it is not a pastoral. It was probably derived from traditional versions of the Robin and Marian material. Chambers' theory that the Robin Hood and Marian of the May games and morris are due to a fusion of the pastoral Robin with Robin Hood seems to me sound. Wooing scenes in the Robin Hood plays probably survived from old Robin and Marian plays of spring festivals. Such an inference seems to me justified by the presence of a wooing scene in the Robin Hood sections of *Edward I*, and by a reference in *Pasquill and Marforius* to the fool's dancing around Maid Marian to court her.[3]

I have dealt chiefly with the tradition of pastoral lovers because of its continuity. Among other types, one notable theme is furnished by "The Nut Brown Maid"—probably also of the fifteenth century—in which the first stanzas declare the purpose of the singers to act parts. Another dramatic version of the same theme is the poem called "A Iigge" in the Percy Folio MS.[4] A more elaborate form of wooing drama is found in the mummers' plays, as in the second part of the *Revesby Play* and in the Lincolnshire Plough Monday plays, whose wooing scenes almost certainly go back to the mediaeval spring festival. This wooing drama is very probably reflected in the numerous burlesques of peasants' wooing preserved in mediaeval

[1] *Anglia*, XII, 241, 242, and XVIII, 487, 488. It is sung by Feste in *Twelfth Night*, IV, 2.

Earlier references to such songs are found in *Romaunt of the Rose*, l.7455 (a translation from the French), "of the daunce Joly Robin"; and in *Troylus and Creseyde*, Book V, stanza 168, "From hasel-wode, ther Joly Robin pleyde." A line of a song of the type is preserved in a MS of the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh (quoted in Ritson, *Robin Hood*, 1832, I, cxxiii), "Jolly Robin goe to the green wood to thy lemman." The tune, "My Robin is to the Greenwood Gone; or Bonny Sweet Robin," is mentioned frequently in the Elizabethan period, and many copies of the music are preserved. Cf. Chappell, *Old English Popular Music*, pp. 233, 234.

[2] Bolte, *Die Singspiele der engl. Komödianten*, pp. 28–30.

[3] McKerrow, *Works of Nashe*, I, 83.

[4] Hales-Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio MS*, II, 334 ff. Similar treatments of woman's loyalty to love are frequent in the broadside ballads, often in pure dialogue form.

farce.[1] The earliest bit of such farce found in Great Britain occurs in the Induction to Lindsay's *Satire of the Three Estates*, where the characters are virtually the same as in the wooing part of the *Revesby Play*, and the spirit of treatment is very similar, though an intrigue plot is used.

As a whole, the song drama, developing probably from the sacred marriage and love ritual of the spring fertilization festivals in pagan times, while it has left numerous dialogue songs even in early periods, seldom developed into a formal type of drama. Perhaps somewhat more formal and less purely of the people than the wooing drama were the French bergerie and the English folk-pastoral, which may represent a literary development of the pastourelle motives, perhaps at times under the influence of the classical eclogue. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, at any rate, eclogue drama seems to have existed in England along with the older spring wooing songs, and there are evidences of such drama on the Continent much earlier than in England. In *Griseldis*, the unique secular play of France left to us from the fourteenth century, two shepherds appear in three scenes.[2] One of the shepherds is fired to ambition by the rise of Griseldis, while the other is content with the shepherd's estate and the shepherd's love-making. The last dialogue of the two closes the play. A farce from the latter half of the fifteenth century, *Bergerie nouvelle fort joyeuse et morale de Mieux-que-devant*, also has shepherd scenes.[3] There are early records of a number of performances in France which are interesting in this connection. In April, 1485, a bourgeois produced before Charles VIII at Rouen a play that "estoit une matiere faicte sur pastoureries et estoit une function traictée sur bucoliques."[4] Before Queen Anne there was given at Nantes in 1498 "une pastorale dans un bocage artificiel dressé exprès," and at Dinan in 1505 "vint au devant d'elle environ demie lieu une bergere fort joyeuse à la collaudation de ladicte dame,

[1] Cf. Creizenach, *Geschichte d. n. Dramas*, I, 412, 418, 420, 421, 424; II, 188 ff., etc.

[2] Mr. D. D. Griffith called my attention to this fact.

[3] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 179–81.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 346. In 1468, a dwarf representing a *bergère* rode a great lion of gold and sung a rondeau in honor of "la belle bergère" in a pageant before Margaret of England at Bruges. Cf. F. Faber, *Histoire du théâtre français en Belgique*, p. 5.

faicte de hault stille et jouée a ladvenant pars gens de sorte."[1] At Le Mans, May 2, 1507, was performed a "farce moralisée de pastoureaux"; and a number of bergeries were produced in the next twenty-five years in various parts of France.[2] One of these was played at the French court. In June, 1527, before the King at Paris, according to an account by an Englishman, Viscount Lisle, there "was a play of shepherds which brought in the Ruin of Rome."[3] Jean Bouchet at the end of the fifteenth century describes such pastimes:

> Nous prenions vestemens de pastours
> Et jouyons en très joyeulx atours
> Pour passe temps, satyres, bergeries,
> Et faisions tout plain de mommeries;
> J'entends es jours que l'escolle cessoit
> Et que chacun ses ébats pourchassoit.[4]

After the middle of the sixteenth century a number of French pastorals, bergeries, or eclogues, chiefly for courtly presentation, appeared in print.[5] Much material of the type had also appeared in Italy and Spain.[6] Indeed, before the end of the century the records of eclogue drama become fairly numerous in Italy.[7]

[1] Le Braz, *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre celtique*, pp. 262–63. Savage men, woodwoses, etc., in similar rôles were very common in the masques and pageants of the Tudors, especially in those devised for the flattery of Queen Elizabeth, where shepherds also appear.

[2] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 359, 374, 375; Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 1; Creizenach, III, 38, 39.

[3] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, IV, 1444.

[4] Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 1, and Hamon, *Jean Bouchet*, p. 6.

[5] A long list of these is given by Marsan, pp. 174–75.

[6] For summaries of eclogue drama in Italy and Spain, cf. Creizenach, II, 188 ff., and III, 97 ff., and Marsan, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff. and 70 ff. On these discussions and that of Greg noted below I have had to rely largely for my data.

[7] Cf. Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 5, n. 2 for Bellincioni's testimony to the vogue of eclogues in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century:

> Altri fa Silve e son cannucce in brago,
> Altre egloghe vulgari, altri latine,
> Sì che Elicona s'è già fatta un lago.

This testimony is similar to that of Bouchet for France, and the two passages suggest that only a smal proportion of the work in the field, dramatic or non-dramatic, is recorded or preserved.

The most widely accepted theory is that this drama represents a new dramatic vogue in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century.[1] But the vogue was possibly due to a new impetus which the Renaissance gave to older dramatic conventions. Scattering records indicate that shepherds were not new in drama at the end of the fifteenth century; the almost simultaneous spread of eclogue drama in Spain and in various parts of Italy and France could hardly have resulted from a species invented about the time of the first records in Italy and France; and almost from the beginning the eclogue drama shows as much of the conventionality of old pastourelles and festival games as of the simpler classical pastorals. To illustrate this last point, popular origin is suggested in a dramatic eclogue described as a "festa in atti rusticali" included in Cassio da Narni's romance, *La morte del Danese*,[2] while "rustic pastoral" is frequently a component part of the eclogue drama.[3] In a lost pastoral play performed at Bologna in 1496 the romantic giant of popular pageantry appears.[4] "Fauns, nymphs, bears, pelicans, and wild men of the woods" are found in a play of Cavassico in 1513.[5] Eclogue plays show other romantic features also. Particularly do they seem to echo frequently both folk wooing drama and the mediaeval love debate.[6]

No such definite evidence for the existence of an early pastoral drama of this type is obtainable for England as for France, Italy, and Spain. Still, the presence of pastoral conventions in England

[1] Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 423–43, gives an excellent summary of the discussions of the subject, and makes a strong argument for the accepted view.

[2] Greg, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 171–72, 426, 431–34, 436–39. The fact stressed by Greg, that eclogue dramas with classic form were preserved before those with popular elements are recorded, seems to me what we should expect in Italy during the early Renaissance, while the new interest of the Renaissance in secular literature and particularly in classical types like the pastoral may account for the beginning of fuller records for festival eclogue drama in both classic and popular form.

[4] *Ibid.*, 432; D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, II, 370–72.

[5] Greg, pp. 433, 434.

[6] Cf. Greg, p. 431, for two plays of Caperano which are described as "medleys of pastoral amours . . . . showing traces of the influence of the not yet fully developed 'rustic' eclogue"; p. 434, for the "May-day shows" with their wooings, a combination of "the courtly and the popular pastoral;" etc.

Disputations on love are described by Greg, pp. 430, 431, 435. Tansillo's *I due pellegrini*, about 1528, with its debate on the relative suffering of lovers, is suggestive in parts of Heywood's *Play of Love*. Cf. *Giornale Storica della Lett. Ital.*, XIII, 382 and Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, p. 255, for "dramatic eclogues about love" presented before a Queen of a Court of Love at Milan in 1523.

before the reign of Elizabeth, inconclusive as it is by way of evidence, seems worth noting, because pastoral conventions developing out of the simpler pastourelle song drama would most naturally be exploited in festival pastimes, where our records are scantiest. The development from the pastourelle motives that certainly existed in England in song drama to the shepherd scenes that appear in the first mythological plays as an integral part of what seems to be a traditional formula must have included dramatic pastorals—that is, if the development in England paralleled that in France. In one very early ballad, *King Edward and the Shepherd*, the name "Joly Robyn," assumed by the King in disguise, suggests the pastourelle convention. In a long poem of the fifteenth century, *Colkelbie Sow*, shepherds, neatherds, and swineherds are satirized for their passion for disguised dances of all kinds, but in the names of several scores of their disguisings no title can be identified as that of a pastoral.[1] Perhaps the comic scenes of the Towneley *Second Shepherds' Play* reflect the interest in the pastoral type, though connected with the regular representation of shepherds in the mysteries. The bergeret sung in *The Flower and the Leaf* (l. 348) may be significant only as showing the survival of a name among the makers of pastimes at festivals, but it testifies to the conventionality of pastoral conceptions. Early in the sixteenth century, Skelton mentions in his *Garland of Laurel* a device that he "made in disporte" of "howe iollas louyd goodly phillis." This supposed adaptation of an eclogue of Virgil may not have been dramatic, but "device" is a term commonly used in the sixteenth century for pageants, disguisings, etc., and "disport" has the same association. Shepherds appear in a disguising of 1527 described below. A pure dialogue between two shepherds—which may have been a Protestant interlude—is found in "A tale of Robin hoode, dialouge wise beetweene Watt and

[1] In *The Complaynt of Scotland, ca.* 1548, the shepherds are described as telling romantic stories, singing songs, and dancing. The tales include the chief classical stories that developed as mythological plays; some of the titles of songs suggest dialogue; and some of the names of dances may be derived from disguisings. These pieces show in the burlesque of shepherds and other hinds the satirical and farcical vein stressed by Marsan for the French bergerie (*op. cit.*, 132); but they also emphasize the romance of such characters while satirizing it. A more romantic use of popular festival conceptions was made, I think, by the early courtly writers who composed valentine poems and described spring festivals. The rise of farce and grotesque satire caused the same material to be developed with gross realism except in the court of love poems of the upper classes.

Ieffry."[1] Dramatic use of pastoral conventions is clearer from the time of Elizabeth. *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, a play probably belonging to the early part of her reign, contains pastoral scenes with realistic shepherds.[2] In 1565–66, *Lusus Pastorales* was entered on the Stationers' Register.[3] A better bit of evidence is given in *A Second and Third Blast of Retreat from Stages and Theatres*,[4] 1580, where "wanton wiues fables, and pastorical songes of loue" are mentioned as common elements in the popular plays of the period. In masques and mythological plays during the seventies and eighties of the sixteenth century, there is a considerable development of pastoral and sylvan scenes showing the traditional conventions of festival pageantry rather than the conventions of formal Renaissance pastoral.[5]

Pastoral drama also entered into the folk-repertoire at festivals, but the evidence for this development in England is late. Perdita, distributing her flowers at the sheep-shearing feast, declares:

> Methinks I play as I have seen them do
> In Whitsun pastorals: sure this robe of mine
> Does change my disposition.[6]

Probably Perdita's distribution of flowers, and possibly Ophelia's, belong to garland customs in the spring wooing games, customs that were as old as the spring ritual.

The strongest evidence for the annual presentation at any one place of such pastorals as Perdita alludes to belongs to the Cotswold

[1] Furnivall, *Ballads from Manuscripts*, I, 295–98. The seemingly non-dramatic dialogue *Rede me and be nott Wrothe*, in which the interlocutors are the same characters, Wat and Jeffery, is called in its dedication an interlude. Jeffery was, in all probability, like Wat and Robin, a traditional figure. Cf. *Buggbears*, I, 1, 70, etc.

[2] This play, including the pastoral scenes, was drawn from the fifteenth-century French romance *Perceforest*, as pointed out by L. M. Ellison in his dissertation on *The Early Romantic Drama at the English Court*.

[3] Arber's *Transcript*, I, 313.

[4] Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, p. 143.

[5] Cf. Brotanek, *Die englischen Maskenspiele*, pp. 46 ff. for the masques, and Brown, *Poems by Salusbury and Chester*, pp. 19 f., for "A poore Sheapheards introduction made in A merrimt of christmas."

[6] Cf. *infra* for Sidney's reference to picking flowers in a garden as a detail of the typical romantic drama. In Spenser's *Tears of the Muses*, ll. 279 f., there may be a reference to folk performances in the mention of shepherds' pastorals in arbors:

> And arbors sweet, in which the Shepheards swaines
> Were wont so oft their Pastoralls to sing.

Dialogue songs of shepherd characters were known early in the drama as in the one left from Peele's *Hunting of Cupid*.

Hills, where, in the seventeenth century at least, celebrated games were held. Complimentary poems to Dover after he had promoted the games for about forty years give the most extensive information on the subject,[1] and seem to indicate that features of the sports were dramatic. Wallington refers to "games, sports, plays, and Chivalrie."[2] Another passage may imply that Robin Hood games were performed.[3] But apparently pastoral plays and games in varied forms, including mythological and romantic pastorals, were most popular. One of the poems in the volume is a pastoral dialogue in which Collen and Thenot praise Dover for reviving folk-festival games. Many references to shepherds' performances occur. In one poem Syrinx, the "pastorall Pipe," is made to dedicate herself to Dover, her "best dearest lover." Sanford, addressing Cotswold, declares:

> You hereby doe possesse the honour'd names
> Of sweet *Arcadia*, and th' Olimpick Games,
> . . . . . .
> But why strive I to amplifie your pride
> With these Applauds, when't cannot be deny'd,
> But yee are made the Theater of *Iove*
> On which the *Muses* act a Scene of Love.[4]

According to Stratford,

> *Nymphes*, *Fawnes*, and *Satyres*, *Thesally* have fled,
> And pleasant *Tempe* have abandoned;
> Keeping their Revells now on *Cotswold* downes,
> In thy great honour, dauncing Maskes, and Rownes:
> Which tunes the silvan Queristers doe sing,
> By *Pan* instructed for their Revelling:
> Since *Nimphes* and *Fayres* strive to grace thy playes,
> I cannot but applaud them in my Layes.[5]

The romantic pastorals suggested here are also suggested by Cole, who speaks of "the swarthy Shepheard" as singing "Of loves, and

[1] These poems were published in 1638 in a volume called *Annalia Dubrensia. Vpon the yeerely celebration of Mr. Robert Dovers Olimpick Games vpon Cotswold-Hills*, which is reprinted by Grosart in his *Occasional Issues*, and in part by Lentzner in *Anglia*, XII, 401–36. The description of the games is chiefly incidental, and most of the poets emphasize features that could be compared with the Olympic games, especially racing and coursing. It is clear, however, that the folk had a large share in the games.

[2] P. 31.

[3] P. 66.

[4] Pp. 50–51.

[5] P. 49.

fairy Knights."[1] Another writer, referring to the attitude of the Puritan, clearly alludes to mythological plays or disguisings:

> Nor can his tender Conscience, but be grieved,
> To see the old Gods, and Goddesses revived
> In thy disports; And things there done in fact;
> Which Poets did but fayne, and Players act.[2]

The poems, indeed, give sufficient indication that varied forms of pastoral drama and pageantry prevailed—dances, games, etc., as well as mythological plays or disguisings.

Clearer evidence that simple pastoral dialogues were current at Cotswold is found later in a poem, "The Cotsal Sheapheards,"[3] 1667, which claims to describe "How they make love on Cotsall plain," and which has a wooing dialogue imbedded in it. "Our pastoralls in May" are mentioned in this poem. The May pastorals may represent a tradition continued from the sixteenth century, for it seems probable that the celebration of a regular festival in the region was much older than the seventeenth century.[4] When Queen Elizabeth visited Sudeley in the same region about 1592, a masque[5] was devised for her in which "shepheards pastimes" were to be presented, if not "too meane." This masque probably utilized shepherd figures, not alone because Sudeley was in a region of shepherds, but because such figures appeared in pastimes of the people symbolizing their calling, as Vulcan was a symbol of the gild of smiths. At any rate, after a scene presenting Apollo, Daphne, and a shepherd, it was planned that the "great Constable and commandadore of Cotsholde" "clothed all in sheepes-skins, face & all," and speaking "no language, but the Rammish tongue"—he utters only the one sound, *bea*—should introduce through an interpreter a dialogue of shepherds. The chief characters in the dialogue are Melibaeus and Nisa, to whom the lot falls to act as king and queen for the occasion, and who with the clown Cutter of Cootsholde engage in *demandes d'amour* in the form of riddles.[6] A love song is sung at the command of the

[1] P. 46. [2] P. 64.

[3] Included in *Folly in Print*. Cf. Brydges, *Brit. Bibliographer*, II, 323–26.

[4] Cf. Drake, *Shakespeare and his Times*, I, 252, 253, for various bits of evidence that the games were known before the seventeenth century. Cf., also, *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 17.

[5] Printed in 1592. Cf. *Works of Lyly*, ed. Bond, I, 477–84.

[6] Cf. the accounts of early eclogue drama above and of the riddles in marriage drama below.

shepherd queen. Perhaps it was due to the association of pastorals with Cotswold that Drayton introduced into his ninth eclogue a gathering of shepherds on the Cotswold, where several pastoral dialogues are sung at the command of the festival King of Shepherds. In the seventeenth century, however, pastoral dialogues, rather widely distributed in the form of eclogues, madrigals, and broadsides, enjoyed a vogue among the people and also at the court, where they were often sung before the Stuart kings. One dramatic piece, Cox's pastoral droll *Diphilo and Granida*, published in the seventeenth century but probably using older material, is worth special mention because it survives in part in a traditional Somersetshire mummers' play collected by Hunter in 1822.[1] Enough has been said to indicate that folk pastoral drama may have been of considerably greater age and extent than dramatic records show.

There are indications, also, that festival plays took other forms than that of the pastoral. The Robin Hood plays so widespread in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in May games—the only Robin Hood plays published in the sixteenth century are described on the title-page as for "Maye games"—represent an extension of the material for the spring festival and a somewhat more formal type of drama. These two plays printed as one by Copland suggest the use of several short plays in succession to lengthen and elaborate the dramatic performance. Jackson, who seems to have witnessed performances of Robin Hood plays about the middle of the eighteenth century, testifies to the use of a series of plays.[2]

Several rather generalized early references to festival pageantry raise the question whether formal drama other than mystery and miracle plays may not have been known in England from the thirteenth century in folk festivals. Thus Grosseteste in an order of

[1] Brit. Museum Add. MS 24546. Somersetshire, of course, borders on the Cotswold Hills, and this mummers' play may be a traditional relic of the Cotswold pastorals. The only other possible folk-pastoral known to me is the folk-song "Oh! Shepherd, Oh! Shepherd, will you come home," which is a pure dialogue and has the structure of old dance carols. Miss Gilchrist, *Journal of Folk Song Soc.*, III, 122–25, conjectures that it may have been a singing game. A Scotch version is given in Herd, *Scottish Songs*, II, 182–83.

[2] *History of the Scottish Stage*, p. 412. Jackson mentions plays on the Sheriff of Nottingham, the robbery of the Bishop of Hereford, the contest with the Pindar of Wakefield, and "many other exploits." A version of the first is preserved from the fifteenth century. Copland printed *Robin Hood and Friar Tuck* and *Robin Hood and the Potter*. In *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington* (IV, 2) Munday speaks of "How Greenleaf robb'd the Shrieve of Nottingham."

about 1244 declares: "Faciunt etiam, ut audivimus, clerici ludos quos vocant miracula: et alios ludos quos vocant Inductionem Maii sive Autumni."[1] The fact that *ludos* in the first phrase refers to a known type of formal drama contributes to the assumption that it does in the second also. Besides the May games we have here a record of autumn games. Perhaps even the "Ludi de Rege et Regina"[2] forbidden in an order of 1240 were formal drama. References to "somour games" occur about 1303 in the *Handlyng Synne* (ll. 4681 and 8987). In the following passage from a fifteenth-century manuscript, if the word "pleyis" refers to regular drama, the connection suggests secular festival plays:

> In[g]lond goith to noughte, *plus fecit homo viciosus;*
> To lust man is broughth, *nimis est homo deliciosus.*
> Goddis halydays *non observantur honeste,*
> For unthryfty pleyis *in eis regnant manifeste.*[3]

The order of 1418 against "eny manere mommying, pleyes, enterludes, or eny oþer disgisynges" at night by any "persone, of what astate, degre, or condicioun" during the Christmas period indicates both varied types of festival drama and extensive popularity among the people.[4]

So far as I have found, the first clear account of the disguisings of the people on festival occasions is furnished by a deposition defending the town of Norwich against the charge of having raised an insurrection at Shrovetide in 1443:

And wher that it was so that on John Gladman of Norwich which was ever and at this oure is a man of sad disposicion and true and fethful to God and to the King, of disporte as is and ever hath ben accustomed in ony Cite or Burgh thrugh al this reame on fastyngong tuesday made a disporte w^t^ his neighburghs having his hors trapped with tyneseyle and otherwyse dysgysyn things crowned as King of Kristmesse in token that all merthe shuld end with ye twelve monthes of ye yer, afore hym eche moneth disgysd

[1] Chambers, I, 91.

[2] Chambers, I, 91. The king and queen of seasonal festivals may, I think, be presumed to have had a part in the drama represented. Considerable evidence for this I shall give in another study. Here I may refer to the integral part played by the king in the wooing drama as shown in the Ambleforth mummers' play published by C. J. Sharp in *Sword Dances of Northern England*, Part III.

[3] Harl. MS 536 (another copy in 941). Quoted by Fairholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, Percy Soc., p. 45; and by Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poetry*, I, 33. The passage suggests Stubbes' famous attack on May games.

[4] Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 669.

after ye seson yerof, and Lenten cladde in white with redde herrings skinnes[1] and his hors trapped with oyster shelles after him in token y^t^ sadnesse and abstinence of merth shulde followe and an holy tyme; and so rode in diuerse stretes of ye Cite w^t^ other peple w^t^ hym disgysed making merthe and disporte and pleyes.[2]

It is to be noted, first, that in this passage the use of the words "merthe," "disporte," and "pleyes" for types of pastimes implies that the word plays was used with some regard to its distinction from the less dramatic mirth and disport; and, secondly, that the antiquity and universality of such pastimes in England are specifically declared here. It was simply the incursion of this celebration into politics which caused a record of it to be preserved. Indeed, it appears that a performance either among the people or at court was likely to be noted by chroniclers and literary men only in the vaguest way if at all, except for its political bearing or serious import. Thus, in May games of Suffolk in 1537, there was a play "of a king how he should rule his realm," in which Husbandry attacked gentlemen.[3] It is noticeable that of the many plays given at the court of Henry VIII, except in the case of elaborate disguisings, the only plays mentioned by Hall or others with any hint of their nature are two of Plautus and a number of political allegories.

The symbolic figures in the disguising at Norwich suggest a long line of dramatic affiliations. Such figures as Lent and the Months, not unlike those of the allegory of the time but used for quaintness or beauty, occur frequently in the various countries of Europe.[4] In

[1] The later names for clowns, Pickleherring, Stockfish, etc.—symbolizing the spirit of Shrovetide farces rather than seasonal romances, however—may be presumed, I think, to have been derived from figures in such disguisings as this. Dunbar's *Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins* gives evidence of the existence of Shrovetide disguised dances in Scotland around 1500. Possibly farces like those of the German Fastnachtspiele were used for introducing these dances.

[2] *The Records of the City of Norwich*, ed. Hudson and Tingey, I, 345, 346. Blomefield, *Hist. of Norwich*, I, 155, has a number of variations. Cf. Hudson, pp. lxxxix and xc, for a discussion of date. Some details of the other disguises and the number of participants on this occasion are given by Blomefield on pp. 149, 150.

[3] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, XII, 557, 585; *Library*, 1913, p. 407. Cf. *Hist. MSS Com.*, III, 57, for an attack on the Earl of Lincoln in a play in 1610 "upon a Maypole green."

[4] Cf. Creizenach, I, 461 ff. for various debates of this type as drama in Europe at an early period; and Hanford, "Classical Eclogue and Mediaeval Debate," *Romanic Review*, II, 16 ff. and 129 ff. for such debates as the ninth-century *Rosae Liliique Certamen* and Latin, Italian, and French forms of the debate of the Rose and Violet. What was the exact nature of the *Vinchenet et Rosette, Peu de grains et largement eau*, etc., presented at Amiens in 1481 (Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 1) I have not been able to learn.

England the development of drama from such disguisings as that of 1443 is indicated in the fifteenth century by debates between Summer and Winter, and Holly and Ivy.[1] Debates on Summer and Winter were numerous on the Continent from early in the Middle Ages, and have descended in England and other countries of Europe in mummers' plays.[2] Holly and Ivy seem to have been used frequently in the period before the Renaissance as symbols of rival groups of celebrants,[3] and probably had some correspondence to such symbols as the Flower and the Leaf. Records of pageantry show the prevalence of similar motives. *A balade by Lydgate sente . . . . to þe Shirreves of London . . . . vponne Mayes daye at Busshopes wode at an honurable dyner* was probably an explanation of a pageant in which the figures referred to appeared.[4] In the "balade" Flora sends her daughter Veere, who breaks the might of Winter. Lady May is found in a number of pageants and tourneys in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. In a long speech preserved from such a rôle, she refers to Dame Summer and her sister June.[5] Cornish's pastime on September 3, 1519, called for "two children who played Summer and Lust," "a child that played the Moon," and others who played the Sun, Winter, Wind, and Rain.[6] Heywood's *Play of the Weather* is related to the type.[7] A notable later instance of formal drama of this kind is found in Nashe's *Summer's Last*

[1] Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry of England*, III, 31 ff.; Ritson, *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, pp. 113 ff.

[2] Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, "The Dying God," pp. 254 ff., and Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, pp. 234 ff. Cf. for mediaeval dialogues, Hanford, *loc. cit.;* Creizenach, I, 463 f.; and Jacobsen, *La Comédie en France au Moyen-Age*, 37 ff. The oldest of these dialogues, *Conflictus veris et hiemis*, dates from about 800. Several are formal dramas.

[3] Chambers, I, 251; *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 431. A modern survival on Valentine Day is recorded in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XLIX (1779), 137. It is not improbable that extensive spring festivals had many a dramatic debate of flowers and plants as well as of symbols of the seasons. The folk-belief in the virtues of various herbs and flowers, and the extensive use of garlands, May branches, and foliage in costumes for the spring ritual would naturally lead to the use of contrasted plant symbols in drama or pageantry drawn from folk-customs and representing the contest as the great symbol of the change of seasons.

[4] Brotanek, *op. cit.*, p. 14, note, and Fairholt, *Lord Mayor's Pageants*, Percy Soc., II, 240 ff.

[5] Brotanek, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–34. Further examples of such symbolism in pageants are to be found in Brotanek; Feuillerat, *Documents of the Revels;* Machyn's *Diary;* etc.

[6] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, III, 1550. Cf. Creizenach, III, 492, 493, for Everaert's play of 1525 in which Wind and Rain appeared.

[7] Cf. Bolte, *Die Singspiele der engl. Kom.*, p. 12, for Ayrer's *Von dreyen bösen Weibern*, where two women debate about Rain and Sunshine.

Will and Testament, 1592. Here symbols of seasons, mythological figures, and sundry festival groups appear—Ver in green moss, Summer in a wheaten crown, Autumn in tawny leaves, Vertumnus, Winter, Backwinter, Christmas, Solstitium like a hermit, Sol richly attired, Harvest with a scythe, Orion like a hunter, Bacchus in ivy on an ass, satyrs, wood nymphs, morris dancers, shepherds, reapers, hunters, clowns, and maids. Festival songs for morris dances in May, harvest homes, etc., relieve the numerous debates of the seasons in Nashe's quaint and picturesque satire.

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[*To be concluded*]

THE LOVER'S MASS IN ENGLAND AND IN SPAIN

The fifteenth-century poem which is here termed *The Lover's Mass* has been twice printed, once by me in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* for January, 1908, and previously by the late Rev. T. F. Simmons in his *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, EETS, 1879, under the title of *Venus' Mass*. It exists, so far as I know, in but one manuscript, the post-Chaucerian codex Fairfax 16, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. In that manuscript it consists of Introibo, Confiteor, Misereatur, Officium, Kyrie, Gloria, Orison, and Epistle in Prose; no more. Its metrical variations are striking and beautiful; the Officium is a rondeau, the Gloria is in ten-line stanzas, having the fifth and tenth lines short, the Orison is an eight-line stanza, and the rest of the work is in couplets, excepting the Kyrie. This, the most elaborate portion of the poem, has an internally rhymed ringing arrangement similar to Chaucer's *Anelida* 272–80, 333–41 and to Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, ed. Jamieson, II, 290. The text bears in the manuscript no author's name; Simmons ascribed it to Lydgate, following probably Warton-Hazlitt, IV, 60, and he is in turn followed by Neilson in his monograph on the *Court of Love*, p. 223. Brandl in *Grundr. d. Germ. Philologie*, II, 692, considers this authorship impossible, a view in which I concur.

Being now engaged upon a re-editing of this and other texts for my volume of fifteenth-century English verse, I went over again the various features of this *Mass*, and in the course of a rambling investigation followed clues which led to Spain. In the *Missa de Amor* of Suero de Ribera, a Castilian poet of John II's reign, 1406–54, I find the same structural idea as in the *Lover's Mass*, with much less variety in stanza. Ribera writes in the four-beat line throughout, his stanzas varying in length from six to twelve lines; the sections are headed as Confession, Gloria, Epistola, Evangelium, Credo, Prefacio, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. According to Novati, in his "La parodia sacra nelle letterature moderne" (*Studi critici*, 1889), there is a poem by Juan de Dueñas, entitled *La Missa de Amores*, which los Rios says was imitated by Ribera in this brief poem. This earlier work is apparently still unprinted, as is a poem by Diego de

Valera, termed the *Litany of Love* by Post in his *Mediaeval Spanish Allegory*, 1915.

The question of the relation between the Spanish and the English treatment now arises. If we assume a common source, French, Italian, or what not, as inspiration for both, we have that source to discover; if we believe that the Spanish gave the unknown English writer the incentive to his far more elaborate though incomplete work, we must seek for proof of closer literary connection between Spain and England in the earlier fifteenth century than has been regarded probable. The union of John of Gaunt with Constance of Castile in 1371, and his subsequent placing of his two daughters upon the thrones of Castile and of Portugal, opened a smooth channel for the exchange of court-poetry, most quickly evidenced perhaps in the rendition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* into Spanish prose; and the similarity in taste and in method between the Castilian fifteenth century and some of the English transitional versifiers is curious. Thus, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, who died in 1407, is said to have made Boccaccio's *De Casibus* known in Castile; and the number of mediocre Castilian poems of the next generation which show the influence of that literary blight is closely parallel to the sequence of imitations in English headed by that of Lydgate about 1420. The group of Spanish versifiers, Ribera and others, represented in the appendix to Ochoa's *Rimas Ineditas* of the Marquess de Santillana, etc., displays such agreements with contemporary England in choice of subject and mode of treatment as could well follow from an equal literary poverty seeking sustenance at an identical source.

The topic requires much investigation; for the present my query of a possible Spanish influence on the *Lover's Mass* must remain a query. That its author was a man of wide reading, as of sensitive metrical ear, is however obvious. The Kyrie adds to the devices already used by Chaucer the characteristically Provençal *coblas capfinidas;* the Epistle enumerates with feeling a list of romances evidently known to the writer, and develops an image taken from Boccaccio's *De Casibus;* and if we are to add to this list the borrowing of the structural idea from Castilian, we have indeed a cosmopolitan student.

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A NOTE ON THE *LAMENTATION OF MARY*

The Middle-English *Lamentation of Mary*[1]—based on a Latin sermon popularly ascribed to St. Bernard—begins in most copies with thirty-two lines preceding the invocation. The following parallel quotations will show that this introduction was suggested by a similar one introducing an Anglo-Norman version of the same work, written in England during the thirteenth century, which, for the rest, bears no special relation to the Middle-English poem.[2]

Her is a gret lamentacion betwene vr ladi & seint Bernard, Of cristes passion, hire dere sone, þat was so pyneful & so hard.

Lewed men be not lered in lore,
As Clerkes ben in holi writ;
þauȝ men prechen hem bi-fore,
Hit wol not wonen in heore wit:
þerfore is þat I syke sore,
ffor broþurhede, as God hit bit,
And, ȝif cristes wille wore,
Wel fayn I wolde amenden hit.

ȝif Crist haue send mon wit at wille,
Craft of Clergye, for to preche,
Alle hise hestes scholde we fulfille
As ferforþ as we mihten areche.
ȝonge and olde, holdeþ ow stille:
ffor broþerhed I wol ow teche—
Þe Mon þat con, and teche nille,
He mai haue drede of godes wreche.

Ici cummence li livre de les lamentaciuns Nostre Dame seinte Marie.

Pur ceus e pur cels ki n'entendunt
quant oient lire latin
Ai comencé iceste livre;
Deus i met bon fin!
Jeo vei qe la gente lettré
unt lur joie de seint escrist,
Car quant entendunt ceo qu'il oient
l'alme en ad mult grant delit.
Les lais ne sevent qe ceo est a dire,
dunt sovent ai grant pité.
Car ausi bien les dei amer
cum les clercs en charité,
Madles, femmes, tute gent
del siecle e de religion,
A tuz sumes nous docturs
en tant cum fere le poüm.
Par tant, del petit ke jeo sai
vous ai iceste romaunce escrit.

[1] Ed. in *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, E.E.T.S., No. 98, pp. 297 ff. A text without the lines here quoted is printed by Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers* (London, 1894), II, 274.

[2] Described by M. Paul Meyer in *Romania*, XV, 309 ff. Two manuscripts are known, from each of which Meyer quotes the opening lines. The French poem is a far closer version of its original than the English.

Þerfore ichaue on Englisch wrouȝt,
Seint Bernard witnesseþ in Latyn—
Mon may be glad in al his þouȝt
Þat his wit haþ leid Þer-In.
Þe gospel nul I forsake nouȝt,
Þauȝ hit be writen in parchemyn;
Seynt Iones word, and hit be souȝt,
Þer-of hit wole be witnes myn.

While Ihesu crist on eorÞe eode,
Mony of his Miracles writen Þei were:
Þer nis no mon Þat mihte rede
Þe goodnesse Þat he dude here.
Men and wymmen, ȝe schulen haue mede,
Lusteneþ alle now me I-feere;
ȝif I sigge mis, takeÞ good hede,
And wisseÞ me, Þat hit betere were.

ffader and sone and holy gost . . .
[pp. 297–99].

Ore licez (*sic*), ne puet estre
qi ne ad acune delit;
Si rien oiez qe vous semble
qe en evangeile ne seit escrit
Sachez bien qe en sun livre
seint Johan apert le dit:
Car si tut fu mis en livre
kancke Jhesu fist et dist,
Tut le munde n'en entendreit,
tant fu[st] grant icel escrit.
Pur ceo vous pri comunement
qe cest romance lir orretz;
Si ren oiez qe vous despleise,
jeo prie nel descreez.
Rien n'i ad pur verité,
si vous die hardiement;
Le perteus(?) ne provereie
si fuisse meïsmes en present.
Seint Bernard fist iceste livre,
mès poi i ai mis del men;
Ore prium duz Jhesu
ke chevir le puisse bien.

Ki me durra tant de lermes
ke plurer puisse nuit et jour
Jeske atant qe sun serjant
conforte le duz Seignur? . . .
[*Romania*, XV, 310–11].

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CHAUCER AND WYCLIF

As we look back at England of the later fourteenth century two men stand out beyond others in the realm of mind. Chaucer's distinction in literature is no greater than John Wyclif's in destructive thought and practical reform. His learning had earned him in the schools the prophetic title of Evangelical Doctor. His itinerant preachers carried his name and his teachings far and wide over the kingdom; he poured out homily, exhortation, argument, invective in English and Latin. He had set the church at odds with the state, bishops with princes, metropolitans with universities; he had divided the reigning house against itself; and though he had defied popes, such was his influence that he suffered persecution chiefly in his followers, died unmolested, and laid his bones, for a short rest only, in the churchyard at Lutterworth.

There was that in his teachings to commend them especially to broad men of the world. At bottom his work was a protest against professionalism in religion, a plea that religion should be mindful once more rather of the end than the means, of the human soul rather than of an intricate apparatus. Ambition and convenience drive every system toward elaboration, before which the layman has helplessly to resort to the man of special training. Every system may have to be brought back to simplicity, lest its main purpose be impeded or forgotten. So much we may have to admit, however much we may revere an imposing historic system. The church was thus brought back at the Reformation, but Wyclif showed the

way a century and a half earlier. To this end[1] he assailed the papal court and the hierarchy, whose interest it was to maintain a complex professionalism; to this end he assailed the regular orders—partly a manifestation and partly a tool of professionalism—who he held laid more stress on their own cramping and minute rules than on the teachings of the Gospels; to this end he assailed those dogmas especially on which professional power rested, the doctrine of the Eucharist and the power of the keys.[2] It was the power to bring God visibly to their altars, and to influence the eternal destiny of man, which left the mediaeval world almost helpless in the hands of the clergy, and which gave them a sphere whence they could control but where they could not be reached. At the voice without reply which came from thence the flesh might repine, but as yet reason did not chafe. Anyone with a historical imagination must regard with veneration the stately words, "Et ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam, et porte inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam. Et tibi dabo claves regni celorum. Et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in celis: et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in celis." For on them is based the greatest institution that ever existed. But Wyclif, for all his intellectual training, was a practical man. He was the champion of the state against the church, of the people against those who preyed on them, of the secular clergy who were doing (well or ill) the essential work of the church against those who interfered with them. The remarkable thing is that, being a highly professional man himself, he set his face like a flint against professionalism; in him Protestantism grew out of scholasticism.

[1] The unity and far-reaching design in Wyclif's work was doubtless a growth, and less plain to him than to us. The purposefulness may have been as it were rather emotional than intellectual. He attacked what he disliked, and what he disliked was apparatus. But as we look back at his battles we see they resemble a well-planned campaign. Even Luther felt that Wyclif's teachings were practical rather than theoretical ("Wicklef und Huss haben nur das Leben des Pabstes angefochten": *Tischreden*, in *Sämmtliche Schriften* [St. Louis, 1887], XXII, 892). Much of his teaching has long been seen to follow from his theory of dominion—that the right to rule depends on a relation to God, not to an institution, an idea thoroughly moral and practical in its results.

[2] In the earliest known accusation against Wyclif, in the bulls of Gregory XI (1377), eight of the eighteen or nineteen charges relate to his views on the power of the keys (Lechler, *John Wiclif*, English tr., London, 1881, p. 191; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*). Similarly in 1382 (Lechler, p. 420). There is a good study of the spirit of Wyclif's work in H. W. Clark's *History of English Nonconformity*, I, 23–68.

Wyclif's views and activities are likely to have appealed to Chaucer, no uncritical mystic or devotee, yet a man interested in the essence of religion, a servant of the state, and deeply sympathetic with humanity, with a keen eye for inconsistency and sham. Further, it is hardly credible that he was not very familiar with Wyclif's views and even with the man himself, through his own friends. Wyclif was supported by the royal family, especially by John of Gaunt and the mother and wife of Richard II, with some of whom Chaucer seems to have enjoyed a certain intimacy. Numerous adherents and supporters of Wyclif were among his friends and associates; I shall not undertake to collect all their names, but the fact is clear.[1] The question is not of Chaucer having been a Lollard, or of having drawn an admiring portrait of Wyclif in the Parson of the *Prolog*,[2] he was not such stuff as martyrs are made of, but something of a Laodicean. But it is certain that he would know and likely enough that he would sympathize with some of Wyclif's views. If we find passages in the *Canterbury Tales* agreeing strikingly with certain of Wyclif's most emphatic opinions not often found elsewhere, it is an acceptable conjecture that Chaucer here shows his influence.

[1] On some friends or associates of Chaucer's who were more or less supporters or adherents of Wyclif, cf. Kittredge in *Mod. Phil.*, I, 9, 13, 17; Tait in *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, XLVIII, 151 (cf. *Life Records of Chaucer*, Chaucer Soc., 154, 163, 203 f., 210, 283 f.), XLIV, 400 (cf. *L. Rec.*, 163, 173). The men are Clifford, Latimer, Clanvowe, Sir Richard Stury, Henry Percy. Chaucer's friend Strode had been a colleague and friend, but a theological opponent, of Wyclif (Jones in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXVII, 114; Kuhl, *ibid.*, XXIX, 272–73; Gollancz in *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*).

[2] This notion has been disposed of, especially by Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 459–84. Simon's *Chaucer a Wiclifite* (Chaucer Soc., *Essays*, III, 227–92) has found little favor. The Shipman (if it is he) calling the puritanical Parson a "loller" means no more than a modern fellow calling someone of dark complexion a "Dago." A thorough Wyclifite would hardly be found on a pilgrimage. But though many of the traits of the Parson are found elsewhere, or might spontaneously embody the Christian ideal of any age, there is no reason to deny Simon's belief that the portrait reflects Chaucer's esteem for some of the virtues of the Wyclifites, as their emphasis on the teachings of the Gospels, their fearless preaching (cf. Matthew, *Engl. Wks. of Wiclif*, E.E.T.S., p. 264), their pastoral zeal and simple manners. The more human limitations which the Parson shows later might even show Chaucer's consciousness of a certain tendency to puritanism in Wyclif's teachings. The Parson shows a narrow tactlessness in rebuking the Host in the *Shipm. Prol.* (1171) for swearing, and in reprobating tales and rimes in the *Pars. Prol.* (31–34) after three days of rimed tales (cf. *De officio pastorali*, Matthew, p. 438). Chaucer himself grew as the *Tales* grew, and his liking for the ideal gave way before his love of truth. I should add that there is no evidence of Chaucer's having used the Wyclifite Bible; J. H. Ramsay's evidence is wholly unconvincing (*Academy*, XXII, 435–36). Wyclifite or not, he would have stuck to the Vulgate. Cf. B. F. Westcott, *Hist. of the Engl. Bible* (London, 1905), p. 19, note.

The passages involved are few, but there is no mistaking their significance. The most important are two in the *Prolog*. Of the Parson it is said,

> Ful looth were him to cursen for his tythes. [l. 486.]

For non-payment or "subtraction" of tithes a man might be excommunicated with the major sentence, though not by the parson himself;[1] the parson was to delare that the defaulter might be or *ipso*

[1] This is referred to in the *Friar's Tale*, where the functions of the archdeacon's court are described (ll. 1312–18); the last two lines mean that the bishop enforced by excommunication the archidiaconal court's sentence:

> And smale tytheres weren foule y-shent,
> If any persone wolde up-on hem pleyne.
> [I emend Skeat's punctuation.]
> Ther mighte asterte him no pecunial peyne.
> For smale tythes and for smal offringe
> He made the peple pitously to singe.
> For er the bisshop caughte hem with his hook,
> They weren in the erchedeknes book.

The bringing of suits for tithes in lay courts became discountenanced in the twelfth century owing to ecclesiastical opposition (Selden, *Historie of Tithes*, London, 1618, pp. 421–22), though they were sometimes sued for in the court of the exchecquer and other lay courts (Phillimore, *Eccl. Law of the Ch. of Engl.*, London, 1873, p. 1502). The jurisdiction of the church courts in these cases was confirmed in the reigns of Edward I and II and Henry VIII (*ibid.*). Non-payers after three warnings were to be punished with the greater excommunication ("anathema"), according to a decree of the Council of Rouen, held in the seventh century (Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*, tr. Clark, V, 211–12); see Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici* (Leipzig, 1881), II, xvi, vii, 5; and his *Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts* (*ibid.*, 1909), p. 574. There are archiepiscopal constitutions to much the same effect (1328–48) in Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, pp. 187, 189. Archbishop Islip of Canterbury decreed in 1352 that failure to pay the greater tithes should be punished with the greater excommunication (Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 26); so did William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester (*ibid.*, p. 390). Cf. also a decree of Archbishop Courtenay, 1393 (*ibid.*, p. 220); also Friedberg, *Corp. iur. can.*, lib. III, xxx, 5 (a decretal of Pope Alexander III, 1159–81); Schmalzgrueber, *Jus eccl. univ.* (Rome, 1843–44), III, ii, 685; Stubbs, *Const. Hist. of Engl.*, III, 345; Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Engl. Law*, I, 106, 554–58. Among the fifteen excommunicable sins *Cursor mundi* (29322 ff.) puts withholding or falsification of tithes. Wyclif reprobates curates for cursing for tithes (see below). That it was the greater excommunication which was inflicted is indicated in one of the Wyclifite works quoted below, *The Grete Sentence of Curs*. So difficult was the collection of tithes, and so set was the church on getting them, that at one time it had stigmatized as heretics those who did not pay up (H. C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, I, 26). One of the most impudent bits of priestcraft I have found is in Robert Manning of Bourne's *Handlyng Synne* (9315 ff.): "to withhold tithes is sacrilege, and to pay ensures long life, good health, grace in the soul and forgiveness of sins." That is all! I have said that the tithes were to be recovered by suit in the church courts, the decree of which was enforced by excommunication, which in turn was followed up by the secular authorities (cf. p. 262 below, and Matthew, *Engl. Works*, p. 510; also the beginning of this note). Though Chaucer and the *Cursor mundi* (e.g., 29500 ff.) speak of priests cursing, the parish priest has and had no power to inflict the greater excommunication (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, Pars III, Supplementum, Quaestio XXII, art. i.; Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, 196). But among the Provincial Constitutions at the end of Lyndwood, pp. 34 (and cf. earlier, pp. 196, 201), is one by Archbishop Winchelsey, 1305, according to which a parishioner who did not pay his tithes was to be warned thrice, and then if recalcitrant to be excluded from the church-building (which would perhaps be equivalent to the lesser excommunication), and then compelled to pay by ecclesiastical censure (presumably through the courts). The Wyclifite *Office of Curates* (Matthew, p. 152) complains that

facto was excommunicated (*excommunicatio a jure, ferendae* or *latae sententiae*). Chaucer clearly felt the sordidness of using so solemn a spiritual weapon for such mundane reasons. The other passage is in the description of the Sumner (ll. 653–62):

> And if he fond o-wher a good felawe,
> He wolde techen him to have noon awe,
> In swich cas,[1] of the erchedeknes curs,
> But-if a mannes soule were in his purs;
> For in his purs he sholde y-punisshed be.[2]
> 'Purs is the erchedeknes helle,' seyde he.
> But wel I woot he lyed right in dede;
> Of cursing oghte ech gilty man him drede—
> For curs wol slee, right as assoiling saveth—
> And also war him of a *significavit.*

This sounds quite innocent. Chaucer seems to rebuke the archdeacon's official for speaking lightly of excommunication. But our suspicions are aroused, both by the ambiguity of this warning (the curse and the absolution stand or fall together, but do they stand or do they fall?) and also by the very strength of the language. Who but a narrow and ill-informed ecclesiastic would say that an archdeacon's ban for concubinage would slay a soul? Our suspicion

curates will not give communion to those who are behind on tithes. An early printed copy of the *Sarum Manual* directs curates four times a year to denounce the greater excommunication against various offenders, including non-payers of tithes: "Isti sunt generales articuli majoris excommunicationis" . . . . "Also men of holy chirche have leve by Goddis lawe, for to acurse al tho by name that wyl noght paye ther tythes, as it is writen in many places in the lawe of holy Chirche" (Arnold, *Select Engl. Works of Wyclif*, Oxford, 1871, III, 267, 269); on this see also Arthur Ogle, *The Canon Law in Mediaeval England*, p. 172. Obviously this does not mean that the parson excommunicated; he merely declared that certain persons by church law might be or already were excommunicated (like the modern *excommunicatio a jure, ferendae sententiae*, or *latae sententiae*). It may be partly this commination that both Chaucer and Wyclif refer to. It is doubtful if the lesser excommunication (exclusion from the sacraments) would be called by the severe word "cursen" (defined in the *Promptorium parvulorum*, about 1440, as "excommunico, anatematizo," which well fits the terrifying language of the greater. What a parson could do was to exclude from the church building, declare that a person had made himself liable to excommunication, and bring suit against him; this latter would result in the greater excommunication by the ordinary (in default of payment), and this in turn in imprisonment by the secular authorities. Doubtless procedure was not always uniform, or always in fact what it was by law. This note will supplement and correct Skeat's quotation (V, 45) from Bell that "refusal to pay tithes was punishable with the lesser excommunication." See also Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests* (E.E.T.S., 1868), pp. 21, 24, 80. The best account of excommunication in general is in H. C. Lea's *Studies in Church History* (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 235–521; see especially pp. 382, 458, 479.

[1] I.e., if he were caught in incontinence.

[2] Strikingly paralleled in *Piers Plowman*, A-text, III,137–39.

is confirmed by the last line. *Significavit* is the first word of the writ *De excommunicato capiendo*, issued from chancery at the request of the ordinary in the king's name, directing the sheriff to enforce justice against the culprit; which meant imprisoning, till he had been absolved, anyone who had been excommunicated for forty days with the major excommunication.[1] The anticlimax, in a writer of Chaucer's sly subtlety, makes the meaning clear; however it may be with the eternal consequences of excommunication, we should look out for the temporal ones anyway. This throws us back once more to l. 661. Chaucer seems to speak lightly and skeptically of both excommunication and absolution.[2] Both passages show an attitude of doubt toward the power of the keys as commonly understood in Chaucer's day.

On no subject does Wyclif express himself with more frequency and more intensity than on the abuses which had grown up about the practice of excommunication. He denies its spiritual efficacy and denounces its use, especially as a weapon against purely worldly or financial offenses toward the clergy, such as non-payment of tithes. "Alle þo þat mystiþen ony goodis ben cruely cursed foure times in þe ȝeer"; great is the author's indignation; "whi cursen oure weiward curettis so many mennus soulis to helle, and bodies to prison . . . . for a litel muk?"[3] "Cursing is a fendis fynding

[1] This procedure seems to date back at least to the twelfth century; but later the clergy sometimes complained that it was not enforced. The writ as given by Bracton begins, "Significavit nobis venerabilis pater N. . . . . quod talis . . . . excommunicatus est." See Bracton, *De legibus Angliae* (Rolls Ser:), VI, 370; Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Engl. Law* (2d ed.), I, 478; Makower, *Const. Hist. Ch. of Engl.*, p. 452; Maitland, *Const. Hist. of Engl.*, p. 524; *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal Hist.* (Boston, 1908), II, 310–11; Blackstone, *Commentaries*, III, vii (Philadelphia, 1875, II, 101); Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 749–50; Cowell's and Blount's Law Dictionaries (London, 1708 and 1670); *Les Termes de la Ley* (*ibid.*, 1721), p. 320; Holdsworth, *Hist. Engl. Law*, I, 433; Stubbs, *Const. Hist. of Engl.* (Oxford, 1878), III, 357; J. F. Stephen, *Hist. Crim. Law in Engl.* (London, 1883), II, 412; Phillimore, *Eccl. Law*, 1263, 1404, 1419. The law was still in force in the nineteenth century. In the thirteenth century one who remained excommunicate for forty days, the council of Béziers decreed, was to be punished as a heretic (Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, I, 404).

[2] This is commonly understood as referring to sacramental absolution, as part of the sacrament of penance. The context favors canonical absolution, i.e., the removal of the sentence of excommunication. Either is possible.

[3] *Grete Sentence of Curs* (Thomas Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, Oxford, 1871, III, 309–12). This may be by a follower, and not by Wyclif himself, but it reflects his views. Here and elsewhere I have not attempted the impossible and unnecessary task of distinguishing Wyclif's works from those of contemporary adherents; I simply follow Arnold and Matthew. He frequently declares also that tithes should be withheld from unworthy parsons, and over and over again even denounces tithes alto-

to curse men þus for worldly godis."[1] He constantly makes light of the general efficacy of excommunication, and condemns its free use; God blesses him who is cursed wrongfully.[2] He denounces the procedure of the writ *Significavit*.[3]

Chaucer's implied doubt of the value of assoiling is fully paralleled in Wyclif, whether Chaucer means canonical or sacramental absolution. Doubt of the saving power of the church's lifting of her ban is entirely involved in Wyclif's doubt of the efficacy of the ban. Sacramental absolution he constantly belittles. He discourages auricular confession, implying small regard for absolution; it does much good and much harm and should not be compulsory; he

gether (cf. such of the Latin works as *De blasphemia*, pp. 183 ff., *De civili dominio*, pp. 310 ff., and *Sermones*, II, 307; the Latin works are always quoted here from the Wyclif Society's edition). But sometimes he allows them (*De civili dominio*, I, 317 ff.).

[1] *De officio pastorali*, Matthew, p. 453. See also *How Men Ought to Obey Prelates, Of Clerks Possessioners, The Office of Curates, How Satan and His Children, Why Poor Priests* (Matthew, pp. 36, 132, 144–46, 150, 156, 160–61, 214, 250); also the Wyclifite *Apology for the Lollards*, pp. 13–25 (Camden Soc., 1842). Likewise, in the Latin works, he condemns cursing "pro temporalibus," or "principaliter propter peccuniam"; one who excommunicates for tithes excommunicates himself. See *De blasphemia*, pp. 70–71, 103, 106, 175; *De ecclesia*, p. 154; *Sermones*, II, 238–39, 314; III, 159; *De officio regis*, pp. 167, 171, 175, 227; *De civili dominio*, I, 277, 335 ff. (but it is allowable if the motive of the excommunicator is not lucre but the good of the delinquent, pp. 353 ff. Faith, here's an equivocator!). St. Thomas Aquinas declares that excommunication may be inflicted "pro temporali damno" (including presumably the withholding of tithes); *Summa* (Rome, 1906, Vol. XII, Suppl., p. 43), III, Supplementum, Q. XXI, art. iii.

[2] One of the views attributed to Wyclif by Benedict XI is "Non est possible hominem excommunicari ad sui dampnum, nisi excommunicetur primo et principaliter a se ipso"; another attacks the exaction of temporalities by means of ecclesiastical censures. See Arnold, III, 218; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, LXIII, 208–9, 214; *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (Rolls Ser., 1858), pp. 250, 251, 279, 321, etc.; G. M. Trevelyan, *Engl. in the Age of Wyclif*, p. 48. All this appears repeatedly in the English works: *How Men Ought to Obey Prelates, Of Prelates, Office of Curates, Of Poor Preaching Priests, Of Dominion* (Matthew, 35–36, 75, 153, 277, 287–88); *Sermons on the Gospels, Church Temporalities, Grete Sentence of Curs, Church and Her Members, Octo in quibus* (Arnold, II, 159; III, 217, 328–29, 354, 450). Still oftener the view appears in the Latin works: *De blasphemia*, pp. 58, 70, 97, 98 (he reprobates the formal excommunication with bell and candle), 145, 173; *De officio regis*, pp. 22, 111, 166–76, 192, 227–37; *Sermones*, II, 183, 201, 302, 305, 313 f.; III, 147–48, 264, 491; *De ecclesia*, p. 153; *De civili dominio*, pp. 274 ff., 374 f.; *Dialogus*, p. 56. He does admit that excommunication may sometimes be allowable (*De blasph.* pp. 97, 103; cf. also the Wyclifite *Apology for the Lollards*, Camden Soc., 1842, pp. 13–25). Thomas Aquinas says that even an unjust excommunication has its effect, since exclusion from the means of grace deprives of grace (*Summa*, III, Suppl., Q. XXI, art. iv). This is not inconsistent with the saying of Pope Innocent III that a man might be bound in the sight of the church but free in the sight of God. As one of its reforms the Council of Trent recommended more moderation in the use of the greater excommunication; the lesser was abolished in the nineteenth century. What Wyclif objected to was of course the practice rather than the theory.

[3] *Of Prelates, Office of Curates* (Matthew, pp. 74, 95, 146); *De blasph.*, pp. 108, 271; *De ecclesia*, p. 156; *Sermones*, III, 209–10, 264; *De officio regis*, pp. 169, 175.

declares that if the penitent is not contrite, absolution is useless, and if he is, it is needless; God alone absolves, the priest merely announces.[1]

Doubtless Chaucer and Wyclif were not the only men in the fourteenth century who held liberal views as to the power of the keys.[2] But the writer has been through a great many literary works of Chaucer's day and somewhat earlier without finding any parallels. The height of Wyclif's attack on the power of the keys came only some half-dozen years before the date when Chaucer probably wrote the *Prolog*. It is hard to doubt that the *obiter dicta* of the poet reflect the loud denunciations of his contemporary. That he does not also reflect Wyclif's attacks on the doctrine of the Eucharist may be due to the latent streak of mysticism in his own nature. In any case this doctrine is more attractive to a practical and warm-hearted man than the other.

I say little of other, less tangible, ties between Chaucer and Wyclif, which show that they were interested in some of the same things, and that as to opinions which they held in common with others they shaded strongly toward each other. Everybody assailed the clergy, but the reformer's club and the poet's rapier made for the same points; there is a striking resemblance in what they say, and

[1] Cf. the fifth of the articles condemned by bull in 1382 (Lechler, p. 420; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, LXIII, 213). See also *Of Prelates, Office of Curates, Of Confession* (Matthew, pp. 106–7, 160, 328 ff.); *Sermons on the Gospels* (over and over again), *De Pontificum Romanorum Schismate, The Church and Her Members, On the Twenty-five Articles* (Arnold I, 18, 35, 47; II, 87, 100, 206; III, 252–56, 358, 461; also *Fasc. Ziz.*, 278, 321, etc.; Trevelyan, *Engl. in the Age of Wyclif*, pp. 140–42. The Latin works are full of such views: *De civili dominio*, pp. 259–60; *Polemical Works*, II, 622, 625; *Sermones*, I, 283, 307–10, 341; II, 62–63, 133, 138–39; III, 27, 67, 182, 261; IV, 102–3, 118, 122–23, 135, 146; *De ecclesia*, pp. 577, 585; *De apostasia*, p. 35; *De blasph.*, pp. 58, 136, 140; *De eucharistia et poenitentia*, pp. 333 (here he is more orthodox; auricular confession is necessary, but not absolutely necessary), and 335. Here and elsewhere a certain amount of inconsistency does not prove difference of authorship; what an innovator says, and even what he believes, may vary from time to time, with his audience, the development of his principles, and the like.

[2] The thirteenth-century Middle High German writer suggestively nicknamed Freidank (possibly Walther von der Vogelweide), belittles sacramental absolution (Hildebrand's *Didaktik aus der Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, in *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, IX, 336). The Waldenses had attacked the Catholic doctrine of the power of the keys; so had the Cathari, the Amaurians, and other strange heretics (Lea, *Hist. of the Inquis. of the Middle Ages*, I, 79, 93; II, 150, 320). The large use of excommunication in the later Middle Ages to further the political and financial interests of the church became a burning scandal; so much so that she had to legislate against those who settled down to a comfortable life under her ban and made no effort to remove it. But the loyalty of her children is well shown by the almost universal acceptance of her principles. For other

they clearly thought much the same, with different intensity.[1] One other tie between the two may be mentioned. Chaucer was interested in certain of the theologico-philosophical issues with which Wyclif had concerned himself, especially in the question of foreordination, which with Chaucer took the form of the question why things happen—the relation between fortune, free-will and divine foreknowledge.[2] That he was somewhat acquainted with the later "literature of the subject" is shown by his reference to Archbishop Bradwardine (*N.P.T.*, 4432 ff.), the "Profound Doctor," who had died as early as 1349 but influenced Wyclif's views on predestination and antipelagianism (though Wyclif's views were less extreme). It is not unlikely that Chaucer's deep interest and learning in astrology may have had a relation to his interest in foreordination; the connection between the matters is clearly recognized by St. Thomas Aquinas, John of Salisbury, Dante, and other thinkers.[3] When we find the concretely minded and unphilosophical Chaucer ever recurring to the subject of foreordination, we cannot but see a connection with the fact that the subject was a very lively one in his day. That Chaucer was not fertile in original thinking leads us to believe that here he reflects contemporary views, and that as to excommunication he reflects Wyclif's.

condemnation of the excessive use of excommunication see Matthew, *Engl. Works of Wyclif*, p. 509. Robert Manning of Bourne berates the priest who "for little curseth his parishioners" (*Handlyng Synne*, pp. 10881 ff.); but he bids the "lewed man, þou shalt cursyng doute" (p. 10921). Both passages are in the French original. Dante agrees pretty well with St. Thomas, as we should expect. He sometimes seems liberal:

> Per lor maledizion sì non si perde,
> Che non possa tornar l'eterno amore,
> Mentre che la speranza ha fior del verde.—[*Purg.* III, 133–35.]

But the contumacious toward holy church, even though repentant at the last, must wait in Antepurgatory thirty times as long as they resisted the church, unless prayers shorten their suspense.

[1] Many of the similar passages are cited by Skeat, but far from all. To collect them would take too much space, but here are a few which I might add: *Prol.*, 649–51, *Fri. T.*, 1362, Matthew, p. 249, Arnold, III, 288 (on blackmail for concubinage); *Prol.*, 259–63, Arnold, II, 216 (on the voluminous garb of the friars); *Prol.*, 235–37, Matthew, p. 9 (on their singing, playing and dancing "to get the stinking love of damsels"); *Sumn. T.*, 1832, 1840, Latin *Sermones*, III, 222 (on the affected use of French by the friars).

[2] Cf. the present writer in *Mod. Phil.*, III, 370–72. On the prominence in the fourteenth century of the controversy as to predestination and free-will, and as to Bradwardine's prominence in it, and his influence on Wyclif, see Carleton Brown in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 128–30, 144. There was a great deal of popular fatalism in the fourteenth century; Chaucer's admiring contemporary Thomas Usk says, "Wherfore the comune sentence of the people in opinion, that everything after destenee is ruled, false and wicked is to beleve" (*Testament of Love*, III, ix, 5–7, in Oxford *Chaucer*, VII).

[3] See the writer's *Scene of the Franklin's Tale Visited* (Chaucer Soc., 1914), chap. iii.

It would be a pity to stop here without saying a little about Chaucer's religious position in general, especially since one or two of the passages discussed above have been used for proof of a far greater heterodoxy than they really show. Chaucer students will greatly miss the late Professor T. R. Lounsbury's learning and charm, but he mistook both Chaucer and his age when he represented him as a kind of agnostic.[1] One of the passages he mainly relied on was the Sumner's scoff at excommunication and absolution, in which, however, most people will be readier to see the spirit of Wyclif than the spirit of Huxley. Another is the opening lines of the *Legend of Good Women*, where Chaucer avers that we know of the joy of heaven and the pain of hell only through books, and thereby bespeaks credence for the old stories which he is about to extract from books; we marvel at Mr. Lounsbury's argument when we realize that the passage makes directly against his position. Finally, in the *Knight's Tale* (ll. 2805–15), Chaucer does not know where Arcite's departing soul went, except that it was to a place where he had never been himself.[2] In this undoubtedly flippant refusal of the eternal blazon to ears of flesh and blood, there may well be nothing but flippancy; Chaucer certainly did not know and undeniably had never been there. A somewhat light tone is characteristic of the poem. But more than this, he may be rejecting impatiently Boccaccio's lengthy and frigid description of Arcite's aviation through the celestial spheres;[3] or (Dryden's interpretation in his *Palamon and Arcite*) he may be doubtful as to the eternal destiny of such a virtuous pagan as Arcite. No one of these three acceptable explanations implies religious skepticism.

Certain other matters bear on Chaucer's religious position. The apparent irreverence which Mr. Lounsbury detected in Chaucer's

[1] *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 458–536. See the review by Kittredge in *The Nation*, LIV, 231–32.

[2] His spirit chaunged hous, and wente ther
As I cam never, I can nat tellen wher, etc.,

a passage easily misunderstood. It does not mean "Since I was never there I cannot tell where" (*as* not being causal in Chaucer); it means "went to a place where I never was, I cannot tell where."

[3] *Teseide*, XI, 1 ff., a passage which Chaucer had used already in the *Troilus*, V, 1807–27. Elsewhere too in the *Troilus* he had adopted pagan eschatology (IV, 789–91, 1187–88). Neither the pagan nor the Christian other-world would have fitted the tone of the *Knight's Tale*. The fact that so unobvious a thing is said at all seems to indicate a certain levity; but levity is a totally different thing from skepticism.

works is not only amply paralleled in other mediaeval writers, not always worldly ones, either; it is largely an optical illusion. At a time when all old women dressed as nuns do now, when people drank their wine at dinner out of cups like chalices and lighted their tables with high-altar candlesticks, there was not the distinction between sacred and secular which we observe (to the uncertain advantage of the sacred). Irreverence is usually more of a shock to the taste than to the conscience, and no one who has lifted the choir seats in mediaeval churches and peered at the *misereres* will deny that mediaeval taste differed from modern in these matters. God was so sturdy a reality to our forefathers that his name and his personality had no need to be protected from the rude world by a hedge of taboos; the conception made up in solidity what it lacked in vastness, in comprehensibility what it lacked in adequacy. Since any idea of the infinite is merely symbolic at best, the mediaeval attitude may have had its advantages. As to Chaucer's view of the clergy, that would prove little, as Mr. Lounsbury recognized; the most earnest believers are frequently, though not always, their severest critics. It suffices to say that Chaucer on the whole is much more charitable toward the clergy than most of his contemporaries are.[1] Mr. Lounsbury's belief in Chaucer's unusually skeptical habit of mind about secular things, though an important observation, and in general well founded, is much exaggerated.[2] He also greatly overestimated the danger which the poet would have incurred had he expressed religious skepticism, especially in the veiled and subtle way characteristic of him. This inclines us the less to read far-reaching meanings into the few skeptical passages we find.

[1] The chief difference is his gentleness toward the seculars compared with the regulars, which certainly harmonizes with Wyclif's attitude. This is mainly in the *Prolog*, for they do not fare very well in the *Reeve's* and the *Canon's Yeoman's Tales*. I have spoken already of the striking resemblances in detail between Chaucer's and Wyclif's strictures on the clergy, especially the regulars; Chaucer's fleers may be paralleled again and again in Wyclif's censures. But some of the same charges may be found elsewhere, and of course were based on facts known to both. There is a thesis called *Der Klerus im mittelenglischen Versroman*, by Richard Kahle (Strassburg, 1906), which throws less light on the historical side of the subject than might be anticipated.

[2] For example, I have shown elsewhere that Chaucer held much the same view as to the validity of astrology and magic that was held by his contemporaries; and that such doubt and distaste as he expresses is sometimes based on religious grounds. Therefore such passages (as those in the *Franklin's Tale*) are no better an argument for skepticism than they are for orthodoxy. See *The Scene of the Franklin's Tale Visited*, pp. 22–37, especially pp. 34–35. The natural background of skepticism for an intellectually independent Englishman of the late fourteenth century is Wyclifism.

Chaucer was neither a denier nor a devotee. He mused often on questions, such as the origin of evil and the control of the universe over the individual's destiny, for which the usual answer in his day was a religious one; his musings were without result, but show what in our day would be felt as a not irreligious nature. Toward the church he was critical, though not unusually so, and he was probably not unsympathetic to the concrete criticism directed at her by other vigorous and earnest souls of his day. We have no reason to doubt that he went to mass at least on Sundays and holy days, and to confession and communion at least once a year; and that at the hour of death he would have been disturbed if he had missed absolution, unction, and the viaticum.[1] We cannot affirm that all this is so; but it is what is to be supposed of the sort of man he appears to have been.[2]

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[1] There is evidence in the Retractions at the end of the *Parson's Tale* (ll. 1081–92) that late in life he was at least conventionally submissive to even the narrower religious spirit of his time. In writing them he was following what might almost be called a literary-religious custom of earlier periods, and the impulse which produced them has often been paralleled among later literary men. See *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXVIII, 521–29.

[2] Chaucer is not greatly given to ecclesiastical language. Occasionally the terms of theology and of the liturgies appear, especially in the *Troilus* (the cases cited not being in its original). Pandarus taunts Troilus with having "caught attrition" (the minimum degree of repentance in a good confession, opposed to contrition; *T.C.*, I, 557); twice Chaucer contrasts substance and accidents (*T.C.*, IV, 1505; *Pard. T.*, 539). He refers to the form of confession (the *Confiteor*), when Pandarus bids Troilus (I, 932) beat his breast and beg pardon for speaking against love, and when Pandarus says he overheard Troilus say, " '*Mea culpa*, lord! I me repente' " (II, 525). A line in the proem of the *Troilus*, "For I, that god of Loves servaunts serve" (I, 15, *servus servorum dei amoris*, as it were), may be playing on the papal style used at the beginning of bulls and other especially formal missives ("Benedictus episcopus, servus servorum Dei"; Dante thus alludes to the pope, "il servo de' servi," *Inf.*, XV, 112). Skeat refers *A B C*, 81, to the *Stabat mater dolorosa;* a little farther on there may be a reminiscence of the *Dies irae* if it was sufficiently familiar in Chaucer's day. It was not sung then in masses for the dead as the sequence (between the epistle and the gospel), as in the modern Roman rite, where it first appeared in the fifteenth century (Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, 2d ed., IV, 204–5; *Missale Romanum, 1474*, Bradshaw Soc., II, 293).

But, for your bothes peynes, I you preye,
Lat not our alder foo make his bobaunce, Quaerens me sedisti lassus,
That he hath in his listes of mischaunce Redimisti crucem passus,
Convict that ye bothe have bought so dere Tantus labor non sit cassus.

The Wife of Bath at the beginning of her tale (ll. 869 ff.) ridicules friars' services of benediction (Wyclif also speaks of such things with contempt). King Alla's submitting himself to the pope for penance and his going to Rome (*M.L.T.*, pp. 988 ff.) doubtless refers to the practice of "reserving" certain sins to the pope. But this is the same in the French original of the poem. For more on this matter see Brown in *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 1 ff., and *Miracle of our Lady* (Chaucer Soc., 1910), 120 ff.; Tupper in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXX, 9–11; Young, *ibid.*, 97–99. The title and some of the language (especially in the rubrics) of the *Legend* are ecclesiastical. The *Ave Maria* is mentioned in *ABC*, 104 (not too respectfully, one would almost fancy). The writer will shortly discuss elsewhere the marriage service in *Merch. T.*, 1701–8, 1819. The use of the opening of St. John's Gospel as a charm, etc. (*Prol.*, 254), was discussed in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX, 140; other cases are mentioned in Luther's *Tischreden* (Foerstemann's ed.), II, 442; *Lay Folk's Mass Book* (E.E.T.S., 1879), 146, 383–84; Arderne, *Fistula* (*ibid.*, 1910), 104, 135; J. M. Stone, *History of Mary I.* (London, 1901), I, 427.

THE *CARDENIO-DOUBLE FALSEHOOD* PROBLEM

I

Among the plays attributed to Shakspere on unsubstantial grounds, *Double Falsehood*, published by Lewis Theobald in 1728, has a peculiar claim to interest because of attempts to identify it with a non-extant drama called "*The History of Cardenio* by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare." The latter was entered on the *Stationers' Register* for Humphrey Moseley in 1653, but was probably acted about 1613.[1] Theobald declared that the former was "revised and adapted" from an original written by Shakspere. Since the plot of *Double Falsehood* is taken from the story of Cardenio in *Don Quixote* through Shelton's translation, and it is naturally supposed that the lost *History of Cardenio* was derived from the same source, there seems a reasonable probability that Theobald had old manuscripts in his possession as he claimed, and that one of these was recorded for Moseley in 1653.

The great difficulty in the way of anyone who would prove or disprove Theobald's assertion arises from his confessed revising and adapting to the needs of the eighteenth-century stage. We do not know to what extent he altered the original, but if he really had an old play to begin with, there is probably so much of his own work in it as it now stands that internal evidences of authorship must be partial and unsatisfactory at best. On the other hand, because of the sale of Theobald's library after his death, it is likely that such manuscripts—if he really had them—were lost. So external evidence, also, seems to be of little value. Many of the scholars who have investigated the problem, however, are of the opinion that *Double Falsehood* is not entirely Theobald's work, even if it is not, as he claimed, by Shakspere.

[1] "Probably identical with a *Cardenno* acted at court by the King's men in May, 1613, and a *Cardenna* in June, 1613."—Neilson and Thorndike, *The Facts about Shakespeare*, New York, 1913, p. 160. For the full text of Lord Stanhope's item, see W. E. Henley's introduction to the Tudor edition of *Don Quixote*, xlvii (Shelton's tr.), London, 1896.

Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, Jr., in *Modern Language Notes*, 1909,[1] added an interesting article to the literature of the subject, in which he shows that in spite of the changes and obvious revamping of the play, *Double Falsehood* still retains palpable indications of Fletcher's hand and possible traces of another Elizabethan's.

Mr. Bradford's article was answered in *Modern Philology*,[1] by Professor Rudolph Schevill, who tried to show conclusively that *Double Falsehood* was not taken from Shelton's translation at all, but from a novel entitled *The Adventures on the Black Mountains*, in a collection edited by Samuel Croxall in 1729.[2] Schevill shows that the novel and play parallel each other in the order of events much more closely than either does the original story in Shelton, that the novel contains details of the story common to itself and *Don Quixote* which are not found in the play, and that there seem to be no details common to the original and *Double Falsehood* which are not in *The Adventures* also. From these evidences he concludes that the novel and not Shelton's translation is the source of the play. The apparent chronological difficulty he overcomes by reasoning that since both play and novel were printed by John Watts, Theobald probably saw the manuscript of the latter early enough to base the play upon it. In summary, Professor Schevill says:

> Either the play is neither by Fletcher nor Shakespeare, or the play is not taken from *The Adventures on the Black Mountains*. But I have shown that there is a definite relation between the novel and the play, namely that the latter is based upon the former, and thus belongs to the eighteenth century. . . . . If it can be asserted that *Double Falsehood* is a slavish dramatization of the novel, it has become unnecessary to insist that there is not the remotest possibility that Theobald had a lost *History of Cardenio* either by Shakespeare or Fletcher as a basis for his play, *Double Falsehood*.

Before making any further attempts to connect *Double Falsehood* with the lost *Cardenio*, it becomes necessary to show that the former does *not* depend on *The Adventures on the Black Mountains*, for

[1] Gamaliel Bradford, Jr., "The History of Cardenio by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare," *MLN*, XXV, 51 ff.; Rudolph Schevill, *Theobald's* Double Falsehood? *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 285 ff.

[2] "Select Collection of Novels and Histories in Six Volumes. . . . . All New Translated from the Originals, by several eminent Hands, Second edition. London, 1729," I, 313–38. This possible source is also noted by William Jaggard, *Shakespeare Bibliography*, Stratford-on-Avon, 1911, p. 3.

Schevill's case, if sound, seems to preclude any possibility of Elizabethan authorship. As he pointed out, there are some passages common to the novel and *Don Quixote* which are not found in the play. This is evidence beyond doubt that the "translator" of Croxall's version went to Shelton for his main story. But he has overlooked some verbal and phrasal parallels between Shelton and *Double Falsehood* which indicate that the author or authors of the play also went directly to this early translation of Cervantes. For the excerpts given below, notice that the novel has either no parallel passage or one which does not follow Shelton as closely as that from the play.

1. Shelton, IV, i, 2:

How much more grateful companions will these cragges and thickets prove to my designs, by afoording me leisure to communicate my mishaps to heaven with plaints; then that if any mortall man living, since there is none upon earth from whom I may expect counsell in doubts, ease in complaints or in harmes remedie.

Double Falsehood, p. 48:

> How much more grateful are these craggy Mountains,
> And these wild Trees, than things of nobler Natures,
> For these receive my plaints and mourn again
> In many Echoes to me. All good People
> Are faln asleep forever. None are left,
> That have the sense, and Touch of Tenderness
> For Virtues sake: No, scarce their Memory:
> From whom I may expect Counsel in Fears,
> Ease to Complainings, or Redress of Wrongs.

Adventures contains nothing at all.

2. Shelton, IV, i, 3:

This bodie, since it is not Lucinda, can be no human creature, but a divine.

Double Falsehood, p. 49:

Since she is not Leonora, she is heavenly.

Adventures contains nothing of this.

3. Shelton, IV, i, 5 and 11:

Lady, whatsoever you be, stay and fear nothing . . . .
. . . . is it possible that you are named Dorothea?

Double Falsehood, p. 50:

Stay, Lady, stay: can it be possible
That you are Violante?

Adventures, p. 334:

The story teller whom he now recollected to be Dorothea. . . . .

4. Shelton, III, xi, 267:

(*Messenger to Cardenio*) . . . . For Sir, I know you very well.

Double Falsehood, 23–24:

Leon. Know you Julio, Sir?
Mess. Yes, very well; and love him, too, as well.

Nothing in *Adventures*.

5. Shelton, III, xi, 269:

I carry about with me a poniard secretly, which may hinder more resolute forces by giving an end to my life.

Double Falsehood, p. 29:

Stage direction, *She shows him dagger*. Leonora then threatens to kill herself if Julio does not hide while the wedding takes place.

Adventures contains no mention of dagger until the episode of Leonora's fainting later, details of which are common to all three.

6. The song of Cardenio (Shelton, III, 250) may have suggested a similar lament sung by Violante in *Double Falsehood* (47). There is no song in the novel.

7. Shelton, IV, i, 1:

I esteemed it better to find Don Fernando unmarried than married, presuming that yet the gates of my remedy were not wholly shut . . . . heaven had preadventure set that impediment on the second marriage, to make him understand what hee ought to the first:

Double Falsehood, p. 37:

> Yet there remains a little Spark of Hope
> That lights me to some Comfort. The Match is crossed;
> The Parties separate: and I again
> May come to see this Man that has betrayed me;
> And wound his Conscience for it;

This motive for her following him is not given in *Adventures*. She leaves home "to be lost to her friends."

It must be clear from a comparison of these passages that the original author or authors of *Double Falsehood* not only followed Shelton's translation, but followed it closely in some details of the story. Some of the excerpts of the play, notably the first three listed, are little more than paraphrases of the original. We must conclude, then, that both the translator of *The Adventures* and the authors of *Double Falsehood* went to Shelton for the story of Cardenio.

But how are we going to account for the obvious parity of the two in details not found in Shelton?

The first edition of Croxall's novels and histories (1720–22) was so well received by the public that a second was brought out in 1729 with ten additional selections, one of which was *The Adventures* (see full list in preface to second edition). Of the new tales, this was the only one from Cervantes or a Spanish source, although the first edition probably contained a good number. The three volumes I have seen of the six-volume set contain four, all derived from the *Novelas Exemplares*.[1] These stories from the *novelas* actually are what Croxall professes the entire collection to be—mere translations. The story of Cardenio in *The Adventures*, on the contrary, is considerably changed from the original in Shelton. It is shortened to two-thirds, the order of events is changed, and some details are added, as Schevill himself shows. This is hardly "New Translated from the Original." Such a change in the original Cardenio story would be made rather for a dramatic purpose than for any other.

In view of the similarity in general outlines of *The Adventures* and the play, it seems plausible that while Croxall was planning his second edition he perceived the popularity of *Double Falsehood* as

[1] *The Jealous Estremaduran*, I, 243 ff.; *The Little Gypsy*, V, 1; *The Spanish Lady of England*, VI, 189; *The Lady Cornelia*, VI, 239.

an acted play,[1] recognized its source in Cervantes, and determined to take advantage of the public interest in the story by including it in his new work. Consequently, he (or the "translator," whoever he was) furbished up Shelton, as Shevill says, but did so under the conscious or unconscious influence of the play with which he was familiar. The result of this process Croxall calls on the title-page of the story, "A Tale upon which the Plan of a Posthumous Play, called *Double Falsehood*, was written originally by W. Shakespeare."[2] Schevill quotes the statement in the preface, which is "This is the novel from which the Plan of a Posthumous Play, written originally by Shakespear, called Double Falsehood, was taken," and assumes that the novel referred to is *The Adventures*. Is it not more likely that by "novel" or "tale" Croxall merely referred to the story of Cardenio in *Don Quixote* of which his version purported to be a translation? I find no allusion to any intimacy between Theobald and Croxall such as we should expect if the former was in the habit of looking over the other's manuscripts more than a year before their publication.

There can be little doubt, then, about the immediate source of *Double Falsehood*. But whether it was written, in its original form, soon after the publication of Shelton's translation (1612) as must have been the case with the *History of Cardenio*, or was composed at a much later period, is harder to determine.

II

How does *Double Falsehood* compare with Theobald's acknowledged work?

Owing to the wholesale leveling which Theobald may have effected in revising the play, internal evidence obtained by verse tests must be relative and approximate indeed. Nevertheless, I have applied the tests for feminine endings, run-on lines, and weak and light endings—all of which proved of value in determining Elizabethan authorship—and a few additional tests, with results which appear at least

[1] For the success of *Double Falsehood* on the stage, see *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1824, p. 223; and Genest's *Some Account of the English Stage*, Bath, 1832, III, pp. 203–4.

[2] "Selection Collection," etc., I, 311.

significant. For this purpose, *The Persian Princess*, *Electra* (a translation), and *Orestes* were most available, works perhaps as representative as any of Theobald's style in blank verse. The first two were written some time before the publication of *Double Falsehood*, the last, two or three years after. Yet note that the three conform to one another more closely in the peculiarities of style I have tabulated than any one of them does to *Double Falsehood*.

	Lines	F. E.	R. O. L.	W. and L. Ends	Fem. Caes. Line Pause
P. Princess (1711).....	1278	20.5	15	.08 (10)	12
Electra (1714).....	1376	16	9	.06 (8)	11
Double Falsehood (1728)....	1447	38.1	18.3	.15 (22)	19.6
Orestes (1731).....	1606	22.6	10	.025 (4)	8*

* I adopted the definitions of the run-on line and the weak and light endings which are found in the report of the St. Petersburg Shakespeare Circle (*Englische Studien*, III, 473 ff.). Only the blank verse was considered, and full lines were counted in every case.

The Perfidious Brother (1715) was not examined because of the uncertainty as to its authorship. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, LVI, 119.

Mr. Bradford noted in his paper on *Double Falsehood* the frequency of the feminine ending composed of two monosyllabic words—a very remarkable characteristic of Fletcher's style. There are in all 137 such endings in *Double Falsehood*, whereas *Electra* and *Orestes* have 20 and 27 respectively. In the first, 30 different words are given the final unemphatic position, while in *Electra* only 6 and in *Orestes* 7 are thus used. Theobald's range is apparently limited to "it," "me," "them," "him," "you," and "us," only three other words being found in the two plays. In *Double Falsehood*, not only is there a suggestive variety, but "Sir" and "not" are found 11 and 10 times used in this way. Now Fletcher was noticeably fond of these words as endings, and his use of them is exemplified in *The Chances*, written about 1615, where "Sir" is found 22 times and "not" 11 times. In this play, Fletcher uses 39 different final words, with a total of 234 cases. Since a discussion of Fletcherian authorship belongs to another part of this paper, let it suffice here to note that all our figures seem to support Bradford's case. We must admit, at any rate, that whether *Double Falsehood* was the work of Theobald's own pen or not, in these particulars it shows an appreciable variance from his earlier and later styles.

III

Are there internal evidences of two styles?

Bradford, who thinks so, assigns II, iii; IV (except about fifty lines near the beginning); and V (except a small portion which he does not define) to Fletcher. He believes the remainder shows occasional traces of the most masterful Elizabethan hand, although he admits that for the most part it is far below the poetic or dramatic quality of Shakspere. I have based my tests on Bradford's division.

A graphic representation with one line to indicate the number of feminine endings in each ten verses and another to show the run-on lines reveals such a perceptible change of manner as he has suggested at the beginning of Act III, scene iii. Feminine endings are more frequent after this point and run-on lines noticeably less common. Whatever evidence is thus furnished of a dual authorship receives support from the other tests I made.

	Parts Possibly by Fletcher	By Another
Lines	754	693
Feminine endings	44.2	32
Run-on lines	15.2	21.5
Weak and light endings	.39 (3)	2.7 (19)
Feminine caesural line pauses	16	13.3
Mid-stopped speeches	30	44.5*

* Bradford finds 47 per cent of feminine endings in the Fletcher part. Since he does not state definitely how much of Act V he considers Fletcher's, I have been able to follow his division only approximately.

The parts by Fletcher show a larger percentage of feminine endings. In the other peculiarities of style, the remaining parts predominate, especially in the weak and light endings. Nineteen to three is a very significant difference.

If these figures make it evident that there is a real difference of style in the two parts of *Double Falsehood* as Bradford has distinguished them, they serve to demonstrate even more clearly and effectively the difference between Theobald's acknowledged work and the play under discussion. It seems hardly possible that the portion of the latter which contains 44.2 per cent of feminine endings was composed in 1727 by the same hand that wrote *Orestes* three years later with only 22.6 per cent. Nor does it appear any more likely

that the first part of *Double Falsehood* which contains 19 weak and light endings was written by the same author as the play of 1730 in which there are only 4 altogether. In the same way we may compare the 10 per cent of run-on lines in Theobald's *Orestes* with the 21.6 per cent in *Double Falsehood.* Perhaps other figures are unnecessary to show that the latter is not like the avowed works of Theobald, and that there are in it traces of two manners of writing.

The weak and light endings which we noted above as frequent in the first part of *Double Falsehood,* were so characteristic of Shakspere's later style that they suggest another line of inquiry.

IV

Does internal evidence support the possibility that the original of *Double Falsehood* was identical with the *History of Cardenio,* written by Shakspere and Fletcher about 1613?

Nearly all scholars now believe that Shakspere and Fletcher were joint authors of *Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Henry VIII,* and that these plays were written about this time. I have made a comparison of the parts assigned each author with the parts of *Double Falsehood* using for this purpose the division of *Two Noble Kinsmen* which is to be found in *The Facts about Shakespeare* (p. 160) and the partition of *Henry VIII* employed by Thorndike in his *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare.*[1] The results appear in the table on p. 278.

Notice that the three columns of figures correspond in a general way. That is, the three percentages of feminine endings in the upper half of the table are smaller than the three in the lower half, and the percentages representing the frequency of run-on lines in the lower half are in each case smaller than those above. The difference is always in the right direction. The percentages of weak and light endings correspond most noticeably. In *Double Falsehood,* the proportion of feminine endings for the second part has more significance than would appear from the figure 44.2, for in several

[1] The division of Neilson and Thorndike is based upon that of Littledale (*Two Noble Kinsmen: N.S.S. Trans.*, series 2, part 15), and assigned I (28 ff.), II; III, iii–; IV; and V, i (1–17), ii, iii (104) ff. to Fletcher. Thorndike's division of *Henry VIII* is adapted from that of James Spedding (*N.S.S. Trans.*, 1874; Appendix, p. 14) and gives I, iii, iv; II, i, ii; III, i, ii *b;* IV; and V, ii–v, to Fletcher.

individual scenes this rises to 50 per cent. To be sure, we should reasonably expect a percentage of more than 21.5 of run-on lines in the former part of *Double Falsehood* if Shakspere wrote it, but since Theobald's own average—as far as I can learn from his plays—was between 10 and 15 per cent, this reduction in the number of unstopped lines would be a natural consequence of his revision. A consistent leveling such as the figures in the table indicate is just what we should expect to find in a play which had survived the revisions of Theobald and nobody knows how many other editors.

	Double Falsehood	Parts Assigned to Shakspere	
		T. N. K.	*Henry VIII*
Lines	693	883	1,077
Feminine endings	32	21.5	28
Run-on lines	21.5	52	54.6
W. and light endings	2.7	8.15	10.8
Mid-stopped speeches	44.5	64	68.5

	Double Falsehood	Parts Assigned to Fletcher	
		T. N. K.	*Henry VIII*
Lines	754	1,510	1,447
Feminine endings	44.2	62	58
Run-on lines	15.2	25.8	26
W. and light endings	.39	23	.22
Mid-stopped speeches	30	48	51

A study of the words in *Double Falsehood* does not seem to be of any great value, and considering how much Theobald may have "adapted" it, this is not surprising. Yet I have found less than a dozen words that are too modern in sense to be used in a drama of Fletcher's. More important than this, it seems to me, is a study of Fletcher's sources. Miss Hatcher finds that ten of the plays in which he had a hand were taken from stories of Cervantes.[1] A comparison of these with their sources shows that the originals were used in somewhat the same way the story of Cardenio is here, except of course that *Double Falsehood* reveals little of Fletcher's sprightly invention. The dramatist was using material from Cervantes at about the time

[1] Miss O. L. Hatcher, *John Fletcher: A Study in Dramatic Method*, Chicago, 1905, p. 48.

the *History of Cardenio* must have been written. *Love's Pilgrimage* (1614?), *The Chances* (1615), and possibly *The Coxcomb* (1609–13), are examples of this fact. So it seems more than probable that the entry of Humphrey Moseley in the *Register* assigned the lost play correctly to Fletcher, at least, if not to Shakspere.

A few other details ought to be noticed in passing. If Theobald really had an old manuscript of the *History of Cardenio*, he must have shortened it a great deal, for *Double Falsehood* is little more than half as long as many Elizabethan plays of the period under discussion. Verbal and phrasal parallels, on the other hand, such as those listed above from *Don Quixote* and *Double Falsehood*, are common between plays and their sources in Elizabethan times. I find similar parallels in *Two Noble Kinsmen* and the *Knightes Tale*, in *Henry VIII* and Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, in *Love's Pilgrimage* and *The Two Damsels*, and in *The Chances* and *The Lady Cornelia*. The hearse trick (invading the convent by means of a fake funeral procession, and abducting Leonora) probably needs no other sources than the suggestions furnished by two incidents in other parts of *Don Quixote*, one in Book II, chap. v, and another near the end of the first part.

The line in *Double Falsehood* (III, i, 17), "None but itself can be its parallel," which Pope construed wittily into a weapon against Theobald, has several analogues. It may have found its way into *Double Falsehood* as a reminiscence of Seneca's *Hercules Furens* or of Massinger's *Duke of Milan*. In the former case it might well have been the work of an Elizabethan author. This work of Seneca's seems to have had an important influence on Shakspere in particular.[1] Yet we know that Theobald had an exceptional familiarity with the classics.

It seems probable that the *Cardenio Double Falsehood* pr blem will never be solved to our complete satisfaction until more external

[1] J. W. Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, London, 1893, pp. 18 ff. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1780, p. 507, for discussion. The line referred to in *Hercules Furens* is "Quaeris Alcidae parem? Nemo est nisi ipse" (84–85). In Massinger, it is

> Her goodness doth distain comparison,
> And, but herself, admits no parallel.
> —*Duke of Milan*, IV, iii.

It is worth nothing that Pope's version, "None but himself can be his parallel" (*Pope's Works:* ed. of Elwin and Courthope, 1886, X, 364), is closer to the lines of Seneca and Massinger. Both in Cassell's *Book of Quotations*, London, 1913, and Bartlett's famous work in all editions, Pope's line is attributed to Theobald.

evidence is brought to bear upon it. The small number of female parts in the play (two, except for a maid who speaks two lines), the source in Cervantes, the close verbal relation with the original in Shelton, and some other details, in a general way link it to the drama of the Elizabethans. But the shortness of it, the lifeless verse, some of the language, and the distinctly inferior dramatic quality are strong arguments against its being the work of Shakspere or Fletcher either. We do not know how much Theobald revised, of course, but as a lover of Shakspere, he would not be likely to make any more changes than he thought absolutely necessary. It is not impossible, on the other hand, that the manuscripts were revised several times before they reached him. The history of the *History of Cardenio* might make an interesting and enlightening chapter.

But speculation is futile. Internal evidence, as we have seen, gives no very conclusive results. From these investigations, however, the following facts seem to be established: (1) The immediate source of *Double Falsehood* was Shelton's *Don Quixote*. (2) The style of the play as a whole, and the second part in particular, differs appreciably from Theobald's acknowledged work. (3) There are unmistakable evidences of two styles. (4) These distinct styles show a general similarity to those in *Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Henry VIII*, which are now recognized as belonging to Shakspere and Fletcher.

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THE SCIENTIST AS A COMIC TYPE

In the chapter entitled "The Progress of Science," contributed to the *Cambridge History of English Literature* by Mr. A. E. Shipley, there is the following summary characterizing the scientist as he appeared in comedy: "To the play-writer of the time [the age of Dryden], the man of science or pseudo-science was a vague, peevish pedant, much occupied with physiognomies, dreams, and fantastic ideas as to the properties and powers of various substances."[1] The sentence was evidently written without a full knowledge of the comic type of the period, certainly with no first-hand knowledge of the new scientific humor that was born of and nurtured by the Royal Society. It is the purpose of this paper, therefore, to show how a new type came into comedy that was far different from the "vague, peevish pedant" of alchemy, astrology, and witchcraft.

The period from 1660 to 1700 saw the rise of the new science, or experimental philosophy, based on the inductive method of Sir Francis Bacon. The founding of the science was due to the untiring efforts of a small group of men in and about London, who banded themselves together to study the "New Philosophy," "not meddling with Divinity, Metaphysicks, Moralls, Politicks, Grammar, Rhetoric, or Logic."[2] Among these early scientists the most noted were Wilkins, Wallis, Boyle, Hooke, Barrow, Sloane, and Newton. It was they who established the Royal Society and ambitiously undertook to reconstruct the natural history of the world.

It may be well in the beginning to distinguish the purpose and the method of the experimental philosophers from those of the pseudo-scientists of alchemy, astrology, and witchcraft. The alchemists were ever in search of the Philosopher's Stone; they wanted to discover some cheap and easy way to transmute the baser metals to gold. Such men were not an unfamiliar sight in the London of the age of Dryden.[3] The astrologers were still preying upon the

[1] Cambridge History of English Literature, VIII, 419.

[2] John Wallis, Letter to the Royal Society, 1696.

[3] Cf. Ashmole's *Theatrum Chymicum*, and Hathaway's *The Alchemist*, Introduction.

credulity of the ignorant with their prognostications and fortune-telling.[1] Witchcraft continued to have believers even among the learned who refused to apply common sense to the strange tales that ran from lip to lip.[2] But the new scientists early adopted a motto which was a challenge to every pseudo-science of the day: *nullius in verba.* "No arguments are received as cogent, no principles allowed as current, but what in themselves are intelligible," wrote William Wotton, a Fellow of the Society and a staunch defender of the new faith.[3] "This Society will not own any Hypothesis, System, or doctrine of the Principles of Naturall Philosophy, proposed or mentioned by Philosopher ancient or modern, nor the explication of any phenomena whose recourse must be had to the original causes (as not being explicable by Heat, Cold, Weight, Figure, and the like, as Effects produced thereby)," declared the professional experimenter of the Society.[4] Everything was to be examined anew, "all Systems, Theories, Principles, Hypotheses, Elements, Histories, and Experiments of Things, Naturall and Mechanical, invented, recorded, or practiced, by any considerable author ancient or modern."[5] The foundations of the new philosophy were to be laid strong and deep in countless experiments, out of which should rise into definition a solid mass of new truth. No authority was to be convincing because it was old; no conclusions were to be scouted because they were new.

The Society found royal favor and succeeded in making experimenting popular. Charles II had a laboratory built in Whitehall, which Pepys visited.[6] "It was almost necessary to the character of a fine gentleman to have something to say about air-pumps and telescopes."[7] Membership in the Society increased rapidly; in 1663 there were 131 Fellows.[8] Its fame spread through the social circles of London, so that the city was filled with ballads when the well-known Duchess of Newcastle attended one of its meetings.[9] A need

[1] Cf. Swift's *Partridge Papers.*

[2] Cf. Glanvil's Essay VI and *Sadducismus Triumphatus.*

[3] *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, p. 364.

[4] Hooke's MS Papers, quoted by Weld, *History of the Royal Society*, p. 146.

[5] Hooke's MS Papers, quoted by Weld, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

[6] Cf. *Diary*, May 30, 1667.

[7] Macaulay, *History of England*, I, 376.

[8] MS List of Fellows, British Museum MS 4442.

[9] *Pepys' Diary*, May 30, 1667.

was felt for a permanent record of the Society's activities, and the secretary, Henry Oldenburg, was authorized to prepare a transcript of all papers, a review of all new books of interest to science, and to describe the experiments performed before the members at their meetings. The secretary followed these instructions and published in March, 1655, the first copy of the *Philosophical Transactions*, a publication which has continued to this day the official organ of the Royal Society.

It is not strange, therefore, that, with the rise of this new antagonistic scientific interest, the old pseudo-science should fade out of the comedies. Such characters as Mopus in the Cheats (1662), the two astrologers in the Prologue to Dryden's *The Wild Gallant* (1663), the "Mock Astrologer" in Dryden's *An Evening's Love* (1665), the "Mock Doctor" in Lacy's *The Dumb Lady* (1672) were really out of date and already conventionalized. The pseudo-sciences had not disappeared, to be sure, witness Ashmole's *Theatrum Chymicum*, Swift's *Partridge Papers*, and the astrologers, Lilly, Evans, Captain Bubb, Jeffrey Neve, and Dr. Ardee, but the new scientific attitude was opposed to such beliefs.

One of the earliest characters in comedy that has any direct connection with the interest of the new scientists is Veterano in Shackerley Marmion's *The Antiquary* (1641). The name of the play is taken from this character, whose "affects, spirits, and powers, in their confluctions, all run one way" toward antiquarian research. But antiquarianism in comedy meant simply a foolish curiosity about "rarities." Veterano is thus characterized by his nephew, Lionel, who has designs upon the old man's money: "He is grown obsolete, and 'tis time he were out of date. They say he sits all day in contemplation of a statue with ne'er a nose, and doats on decays with greater love than the self-loved Narcissus did on his beauty."[1] False antiques, of course, are palmed off on this old man; he is represented as a despicable fool, the gull and dupe of everyone. He is in truth a "vague, peevish pedant," but he has little or nothing in common with the new scientists except the interest in things ancient.[2]

Under the name of Oldlove, Veterano reappeared in Thomas Durfey's comedy, *Madam Fickle* (1677). He is still the worshiper

[1] *The Antiquary*, Act I, scene 1. [2] Cf. Birch's *History of the Royal Society*, I, 64.

of antiquity, still stupidly gullible; he is not respected nor is he worthy of respect. "Is there anything," he asks, "more pleasant than antiquities? The Knowledge of the distinction of the Ages, or the deeds and manners of the Ancients, I say, is there anything more pleasant?"[1] Almost a century later, practically the same character was revived as Sir Matthew Mite, in Foote's comedy, *The Nabob* (1773). Eight years later, he appeared once more as the hero of John O'Keefe's *Modern Antiques* (1791). These characters are all cut after the same pattern; they are all old, wealthy, noble—or pretend to be—men who waste their money in a foolish manner on "modern antiques." While they have an interest in common with the new scientists, they could have found no place among them. These characters were only an old Jonsonian humor pensioned in dotage.[2]

The first new scientist appeared on the comic stage in Shadwell's *The Virtuoso* (1676). According to Langbaine, "no man ever undertook to discover the Frailties of such Pretenders to this kind of Knowledge before Mr. Shadwell." The author himself lays claim to originality in his characterization:

> In this are Fools, that much infest the town,
> Plenty of Fops, Grievances of this Age,
> Whose nauseous Figures ne'er were on the Stage.[3]

The name of Sir Nicholas Gimcrack soon became attached to all manner of scientific apparatus, and was synonymous for years with scientific crankism.[4]

What manner of man he was may be clearly seen from the comments made upon him by the other characters in the play. Snarl, the cynic, says of him: "My nephew is such a coxcomb, he has study'd these twenty years about the nature of Lice, Spiders, and Insects."[5] His friend, Sir Samuel Formal, rhetorician, asserts: "He is an enemy to wit as all Virtuoso's are."[6] Clarinda calls him a "sot that has spent twenty thousand pounds in Microscopes, to find out the Nature of Eels in Vinegar, Mites in Cheese, and the

[1] Act III, scene 1.

[2] A Society of Antiquaries had been organized in 1576. The new scientists were commonly known as "virtuosoes."

[3] The Prologue.

[4] Cf. *The Number*, 216.

[5] *The Virtuoso*, Act I, scene 1.

[6] *Ibid.*

Blue of Plums."[1] "One who has broken his Brains," adds Miranda, "about the Nature of Maggots, who has study'd these twenty years to find out the Spots of a Spider, and never cared for understanding Mankind."[2] Longvil, who has some reason to denounce him, declares: "I would rather be a Trumpeter to a Monster, and call the Rabble to see a Calf with six Legs, than such a Blockhead."[3]

Sir Nicholas first appears in the second act of the comedy, in his laboratory, "a spacious Room, where all his Instruments and fine knick-knacks are." The scientific apparatus includes microscopes, telescopes, thermometers, barometers, "pneumatick Engynes, stentrophonical Tubes." Fragments of dead insects lie scattered about the room and special colonies of live ones are crawling about in the corners. As the scene opens Sir Nicholas is discovered in the midst of one of his ridiculous experiments; he is learning to swim by lying on the table and imitating the motions of a frog in a dish of water in front of him. "A most compendious method," announces Sir Samuel Formal, "that in a fortnight, has advanced him to be the best swimmer of Europe. Nay, it were possible to swim with any fish of his inches."[4]

Longvil: Have you ever tried in Water, Sir?

Sir Nicholas: No, Sir. But I swim most excellently on land.

Bruce: Do you intend to practice in the Water, Sir?

Sir Nicholas: Never, Sir, I hate Water. I never come upon the Water, Sir.

Longvil: Then there will be no use of swimming.

Sir Nicholas: I content myself with the Speculative Part of Swimming. I care not for the Practick. I seldom bring anything to Use; 'tis not my Way. Knowledge is my ultimate End.[5]

There were many experiments to follow. There was a transfusion of blood, a dissection of a "Chichester Lobster," the bottling of fine upland country air to be stored in the cellar of the city house like wine, the eclipsing of the "light of rotten wood" in a vacuum, the testing of the magic properties of may-dew, the study of the habits of insects, the observation of the world in the moon through the telescope, the invention of a wonderful speaking trumpet, the mastery of the art of flying. These are the things that occupy the mind

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, Act II, scene 1.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*

of the new scientist. He is not peevish nor vague, but he is pedantic to an extreme degree. He has taken the whole realm of knowledge to be his province, to be investigated for the theoretical principles underlying it. He is busied, not with "physiognomies, dreams, and fantastic ideas as to the properties and powers of various substances," but with experiments in chemistry, in physics, in zoölogy, in astronomy, and with inventions.

The source of material for these experiments is largely the *Philosophical Transactions*. Nearly all of Shadwell's allusions and much of his phraseology may be traced to the reports of experiments by members of the Royal Society, published in the *Transactions* a short time before the presentation of *The Virtuoso*. For instance, witness Swammerdam's letter, October 26, 1667, and the experiments of Robert Hooke, October 24, 1667, on respiration; on the transfusion of blood, witness the report for May 6, 1667, and the experiments of Drs. Lower and King at the Arundel House, November 16, 1666; on the study of spiders and tarantulas, witness a discussion by I. Wray, "On Spiders," and a review of S. W. Senguerdius' *De Tarantula;*[1] on "Eels in Vinegar," witness Leeuwenhoek's letter from Delft, April 21, 1676; on glow-worms, witness Robert Boyle's report, February 15, 1672; on speaking trumpets, witness drawing and explanation by Sir Samuel Moreland, in *Philosophical Transactions*, January 27, 1672. On the art of flying there was the well-known book by Dr. Wilkins, *The Discoverer of a New World; or a Discourse Tending to prove that 'tis Probable there may be another Habitable World in the Moon* (1638). In Lord Worcester's *Century of Inventions* (1655), No. 77 reads, "How to make a Man Fly; which I have tried with a little Boy of ten years old in a Barn, from one end to the other, on a Hay-mow."[2] It is clear, therefore, that Shadwell simply "crammed up" his scientific facts for this comic character. Even a cursory reading shows that he consciously and wantonly garbled the facts from the *Transactions*.

But these are facts gleaned from the observations of the new philosophers, the experimental scientists, not from astrologers, alchemists, or witchmongers. These are the facts, treated after the

[1] *Philosophical Transactions*, III, 660.

[2] Cf. also, Anthony a Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, II, col. 969; Hooke's *Micrographia*, Preface, p. 19.

manner of satiric comedy, which led to the great discoveries of the period—the law of gravitation, the compressibility of air, the analysis of light, the discovery of bacilli, etc. It will be observed that they deal not with "physiognomies, dreams," and only rarely, as in the case of may-dew, with "the fantastic properties and powers of substances." These are the facts of nature burlesqued.

Vagueness and peevishness are not points of satire in the character of Sir Nicholas. He is in fact too assertive, too sanguine, too optimistic about his researches and their importance. But he is a pedant. The knowledge which he professes is all bluff. The essential point, however, lies in this claim of the satirist that such knowledge, if possessed, would be of no use to mankind. This is indeed the essence of all the criticism on the new scientific interest. "This foolish virtuoso does not consider that one Bricklayer is worth forty Philosophers."[1] "So it is knowledge, 'tis no matter of what."[2] And this, the greatest virtuoso of them all, had not invented "even so much as a Mousetrap or an Engyne to pare Cheese with."[3]

Furthermore, it was convincing evidence of a mean, despicable character or a cracked brain to be interested in "mean, despicable creatures, such as Spiders, ants, lice, and other vermin," to the exclusion of society and politics. To use learned language would not dignify the interest; it was essentially low and vulgar. There was no standard of comparison known to Shadwell to show how far beneath the interest and importance of the ballroom was the laboratory, how much more befitting a man were the intrigues of social life than the knowledge of the habits of insects, how much more learning abounded in a coffeehouse than in the lonely study.

This is the type of the new scientist as comedy first found him. He follows the inductive experimental method announced by Sir Francis Bacon, and strives to accomplish the purpose of scientific study as proposed by him, viz., to reconstruct the natural history of the world. His conclusions may be too largely speculative, he may bring nothing to the "practick" in comedy, but his prototype in real life was neither a charlatan nor a fool. The man of the new science as the playwriters misrepresented him, was a fool, because

[1] *The Virtuoso*, Act IV, scene 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, Act III, scene 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, Act V, scene 1.

he was engaged in the vain pursuit of useless knowledge, a pedant, because he was a mere pretender to learning, and a generally despicable character, because he was wholly absorbed in a low, vulgar interest outside the social realm of London society folk. "'Tis below a Virtuoso to trouble himself with Men and Manners. I study Insects."[1]

The new scientific humor reappeared frequently in comedy. In Shadwell's *Sullen Lovers* (1688), Lady Vaine Knowall, who prides herself on her mercurial temperament, lays claim to being a "virtuosa";[2] but this is only a claim. She is a mere "she-pedant," with no discoveries to proclaim, no experiments to perform. Lady Maurice, in Thomas Wright's *The Female Virtuosoes* (1693–97), is much more of a "virtuosa" than Lady Vaine Knowall. Her head is filled with "projects." "I was yesterday with my Lord Mayor, to communicate to him a Mathematical Engine of my own, to keep the streets as clean, and as dry as a drawing Room all the year around."[3] Lovewit, in the same play, has a huge limbec in the process of manufacture "to extract the quintessence of all plays, to sell drop by drop to poets of this age."[4] Catchat, likewise, has recently discovered "three Men in the Moon fighting a duel in a Church-yard," and is now engaged in teaching a flea to sing. "The little Creature," says she, "understands notes already; and if I live, she shall sing a song in the next opera that's acted."[5]

The best representative of the female virtuoso and a fit consort for Sir Nicholas Gimcrack, is Valeria in Mrs. Centlivre's *The Basset-Table* (1706). She is "a Daughter run mad after Philosophy." At her first appearance, she dashes upon the stage in the mad pursuit of a huge flesh-fly, which she has just received for vivisection.

Lady Reveller: I am glad the poor Fly escaped; will you never be weary of these Whimsies?

Valeria: Whimsies! Natural Philosophy a Whimsy! Oh the unlearned World!

Lady Reveller: Ridiculous Learning!

[1] *The Virtuoso*, Act II, scene 1.

[2] "Madam, d'ye think I, that am a Virtuosa, understand no better than to leave you, now you are not well?"—*Sullen Lovers*, Act II, scene 2.

[3] Act II, scene 1.

[4] Act IV, scene 2.

[5] *The Female Virtuosoes*, Act III, scene 1.

Alpiew: Ridiculous indeed for women. Philosophy suits our Sex as Jack-Boots do. . . . .

Lady Reveller: My Stars! This girl will be mad, that's certain.

Valeria: Mad! So Nero banished Philosophers from Rome, and the first Discoverer of the Antipodes was condemned for a heretic.[1]

A bluff sea-captain, designed by Valeria's whimsical father for her husband, is announced in this fashion:

Servant: Madam, here's Sir Richard, and a . . . .

Valeria: A what, is it an Accident, a Substance, a Material Being, or a Being of Reason?

Servant: I don't know what you call a Material Being, it is a man.

Valeria: Pshaw, a Man, that's Nothing.

Lady Reveller: She'll prove by and by out of Descartes that we are all Machines.[2]

Valeria's wits have all run to experiments; she can talk of nothing except her discoveries and investigations. "I would ask of you, Sir, if you had the curiosity to inspect a Mermaid? Or if you are convinced there is a world in every Star. We by our Telescopes, find Seas, Groves, and Plains, and all that; but what they are peopled with, that's the quere."[3] She, like Sir Nicholas, is shown in her laboratory,[4] with a fish ready for dissection. She exclaims over the circulation of blood through its tail; she exhibits to the admiring Lovely, her suitor, the joint-worm, the Lambricus Laetus, which she has found "in opening a Dog the other Day." She asserts that "animals, insects, and reptiles can be put to no nobler use than to improve our knowledge."[5] She dissects her pet pigeon to refute the "vulgar error" that doves have no gall; she is familiar with the Cartesian and new scientific nomenclature; she makes eager inquiry of travelers concerning marvels in foreign lands. In a word, she is a thoroughgoing new scientist.

There were other characters of the same ilk, but they do not show any new traits. Periwinkle, one of the four guardians of Mrs. Lovely in *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* (1718), is a man given over to a search for odd knowledge and a love for "rarities." Sophronia, in *The Refusal; Or, The Ladies Philosophy* (1721), is described as a "Female Philosophic Saint," who proves to be merely a conventional "she-pedant." There is Fossil, in Gay's *Three Hours After Marriage*

[1] *The Basset-Table*, Act II, scene 1. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

(1721), a "physician interested in rarities." There is Lady Science, in James Miller's *The Humours of Oxford* (1726), who is called by her niece, "Lady Gimcrack," and who is almost always "in an universal Fermentation" of scientific pedantry. There is, finally, the contrast between the false scientific pedant and the true scientific scholar in *The State of Physic* (1742). Dr. Mody is "a Physician of Note, formal, and pretending to Learning"; Dr. Easy is a sentimental hero, in type, modest and trustworthy, who has taken the great "new philosopher," Sydenham, for his model.

It was thus that the scientific humor found exploitation in the comedies of the period from the founding of the Royal Society to the middle of the eighteenth century, when science had reached an honorable position among the intellectual interests of men. While the old pseudo-sciences lingered on the stage as well as in the byways of life, they had lost their fresh appeal and were conventionalized. A new kind of material, as has been seen, was discovered by the play-writers—material drawn for comic uses directly from life. The virtuoso, a new scientist, was created to represent the new material. He quickly transplanted the older type. There was, to be sure, the accusation of pedantry and of pseudo-science leveled against him also, but alchemy, astrology, and witchcraft were not among his interests.[1]

This new type was definitely the experimental philosopher, not a "vague, peevish pedant," not "much occupied with physiognomies, dreams, and fantastic ideas as to the properties and powers of various substances," but busied with observation and experimentation, with investigation, with the reconstruction of the natural history of the world. The accusation of pedantry was a convention inherited by the writers of comedy of this period, but the satiric thrust contained in the meanness and uselessness of such knowledge is their own. Sir Nicholas Gimcrack admits that he has never made anything so useful as a mousetrap or an engine to pare cheese with. "The Dressing-Room, and not the Study," says Gainlove, "is the Lady's Province—and a Woman makes as ridiculous a Figure, poring over Globes, or through a Telescope, as a Man would with a Pair of

[1] Cf. the attitude in Shadwell's *Lancashire Witches* (1682) and Addison's *The Drummer* (1715).

Preserves mending Lace."[1] "Study your Country's Good, Mr. Periwinkle," advises Mrs. Lovely, "and not her insects."[2] The antiquarian humor wasted good money; scientific study cracked the brains of men and made women unfit for wives; the character of the individual became as mean and despicable as the objects it studied.

It follows, therefore, that the characterization of the scientist of the age of Dryden as "a vague, peevish pedant, much occupied with physiognomies, dreams, and fantastic ideas as to the properties and powers of various substances," is not accurate. It does not take into consideration the wholly new type, drawn from the new interest of the time. This new type has been found in Sir Nicholas Gimcrack and his followers, male and female. They are the comic presentation of the new experimental philosophy.

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[1] *The Humours of Oxford*, Act V, scene 1.

[2] *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*, Act III, scene 1.

SOME NOTES ON *MANKIND*—*Concluded*

In l. 155, Nought addresses Mercy as "jentyll Jaffrey." I have found two instances of the "slang" use of the name "Geoffrey" in two different senses. One is in Awdeley's *The XXV Orders of Knaves*, of the sixteenth century: "Jeffery Gods Fo is he, that wil sweare & maintaine othes. This is such a lying knaue that none wil beleue him, for the more he sweareth, ye les he is to be beleued."[1] The other is in a Latin poem belonging to the reign of Henry III, in T. Wright's *Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to That of Edward II* (Camden Society), pp. 49–50. Here the name is explained as being equivalent to "jo frai," that is, "I will do it," and as meaning a slow, listless man who is always procrastinating. Geoffrey is one of four brothers, Robert, Richard, Gilbert, and Geoffrey; and a part of the description of the four is contained in the following quatrain:

> Robertus excoriat, extorquet, et minatur;
> Et Ricardus retinet totum quod lucratur;
> Gilebertus decipit, et inde gloriatur;
> Galfridus se procrastinat, et nil operatur.

In the *Manual of Sins*, preserved in a manuscript of the late fifteenth century, a Latin quatrain, beginning "Robertus excoriat torquet et minatur," occurs in a description of four typical "excecutours of þe new facion"—Richard, Robert, Geoffrey, and Gilbert.[2] Mr. Herbert in his account of the *Manual* gives only the first line of the quatrain, but it is undoubtedly the same as the one in the poem in Wright's collection. The use of the name "Geoffrey" to signify a slow, listless man, a procrastinator, was, therefore, known in the fifteenth century; and this is probably the meaning intended in *Mankind*, when the name is given to Mercy. It will be noted that in l. 255 Now-a-days says to Mercy: "I trow yowur name ys 'do lytyll'; ȝe be so longe fro hom."

[1] *Awdeley's Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, etc., ed. E. Viles and F. J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S.), p. 13.

[2] H. Ward and J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, III, 319–20.

In l. 230, we are told that "Measure is treasure." A poem with this title is included among Lydgate's minor poems in the Percy Society Publications, II, 208. The expression is an old proverb. See J. Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (1742), p. 135; F. Seager's "Schoole of Vertue," in *Early English Meals and Manners*, etc., ed. F. J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S.), p. 344, l. 477; Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, ed. R. L. Ramsay (E.E.T.S.), l. 125; "Die Burghsche Cato Paraphrase," ed. Max Förster, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, ed. L. Herrig and others, CXV, 315; and *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, in Percy Society Publications, II, 82.

To impress upon his rustic audience the necessity of "measure" in eating and drinking, our writer compares the pampered body, which is likely to endanger the welfare of the soul, to an overfed horse, which throws his master into the mire (ll. 234–37). A similar comparison occurs in *A Treatise of Ghostly Battle*, where the horse (the body) is to be restrained by the bridle of Abstinence.[1]

In ll. 267–68, Nought says that he has played the fool so long with the "comyn tapster of Bury" that he is very weary. The common tapsters of other towns than Bury were also of doubtful reputation. In 1465 the town council of King's Lynn (one of the towns in the vicinity of which *Mankind* was performed) ordained that "no man within the Towne of Lenne dwellyng fro hens furthward shall kepe nor favour nor mayteyne eny common Tapster with in his house as servaunt or tenaunt, whiche is knowen for a misgoverned woman . . . . and also that all suiche comen Tapstres be avoided out of this Towne by Cristemesse even next comyng."[2]

In ll. 279–81, Mercy says:

> Se þe grett pacyence of Iob, & tribulacyon:
> lyke as þe smyth trieth ern in þe feer,
> So was he triede by Godis vysytacyon.

This figure of trying *iron* by fire is unusual; the common figure, the trying of gold by fire, is the one used by Job himself: "Et probavit me quasi aurum, quod per ignem transit" (Job 23:10). The version in our play may have been due to a careless reading of some such passage as the one in the translations of the *Duodecim Utilitates*

[1] C. Horstman, *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, 422.

[2] *Hist. Mss. Com.*, XI, App. 3, p. 168.

Tribulationis, by Petrus Blesensis, of which there are a number in Middle English: "Þo secunde maner of clensyng is thorou whilk metals are clensid, as gold with fire, & ierne with file."[1] (This passage is followed, a few lines later, by the above-mentioned quotation from Job.) A hasty reading of the words, "gold with fire, & ierne with file," could easily give the version used in the play.

In ll. 308–15, Mankind writes on a paper a verse from the Bible, "Memento, homo, quod cinis es, & in cinerem reuerteris." This is done, he says, "to defende me from all superstycyus charmys"; and then he adds, "Lo! I ber on my bryst þe bagge of myn armys."

This apparently means that he has hung the paper about his neck as a charm against evil—specifically, against the wiles of Myscheff and his companions; and has left it hanging outside his gown or jacket. The wearing of verses of Scripture as charms suspended around the neck was a common mediaeval custom. The following passage, censuring the abuse of the practice, is from the *Dialogue of Dives and Pauper*, printed in 1493:

> Or use any charmes in gathering of herbes, or hangynge of scrowes aboute man or woman or childe or beest for any seknesse, with any scripture or figures and charects, but if it be pater noster, ave, or the crede, or holy wordes of the Gospel, or of Holy Wryt, for devocion nat for curioustie, and only with the tokene of the holy crosse.[2]

The paper no doubt bore a cross, as did most of such charms (see the close of the preceding quotation), and this was purposely made large so that the audience might see it readily. It is to this cross, I suppose, instead of to the entire paper, that Mankind refers in l. 315: "Lo! I ber on my bryst þe bagge of myn armys." The "bagge of armys" was the badge worn by the followers of a nobleman;[3] it was placed on the breast, back, or sleeve.[4] Mankind's meaning is that he has now obeyed Mercy's injunction, given in the preceding part of the same scene, and is now "Crystis own knyght" (l. 222). He has become, to use a modern equivalent, a "soldier of the cross."

[1] C. Horstman, *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, 49; see also 395.

[2] Quoted in Brand, *Popular Antiquities* (1888), III, 320; see also other instances cited there.

[3] *Promptorium Parvulorum*, Camden Society, I, 20.

[4] A. C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, p. 458.

Ll. 445–46:

Nought. I kan pype in a Walsyngham Wystyll, I, Nought, Nought.
Myscheff. Blow a-pase! & þou xall brynge hym in with a flewte.

Mr. Farmer's note on this passage, which he thinks contains a reference to the Wishing Wells of Walsingham, is not to the point, for it does not explain the *Whistle* at all.[1] I have not found the Walsingham Whistle mentioned anywhere else; and offer the following explanation only as a plausible conjecture.

The name "Walsingham Whistle," I think, was applied to the flute by the country people because it was used by the pilgrims to Walsingham. We know that pilgrims were in the habit of enlivening their journey with music of the bagpipe;[2] and there is no reason to suppose that flutes and other instruments were not also used for the same purpose. The shrine at Walsingham, in Norfolk, was a favorite place of pilgrimage, and many of the pilgrims would have to pass through the country in which our play was performed. The people of that section, hearing the flutes so frequently, called them Walsingham Whistles—the whistles of the pilgrims to Walsingham. In similar manner, in Norfolk the Galaxia, or Milky Way, was known as the "Walsingham Way."[3]

"Si dedero," in l. 449, is a popular expression for bribery or buying of favors of any sort. Cf. *Castle of Perseverance*, ll. 878–82; Humanum Genus says:

> Coueytyse, as þou wylt, I wyl do.
> . . . . . .
> of Mankynde, getyth no man no good,
> but if he synge "si dedero."

Also Lydgate's version of Aesop's "Wolf and Sheep," in *Anglia*, IX, 8:

> Whan a jarroúr hath caught savour ones
> To be forsworn, custom makith hym strong,
> "Si dedero" is now so mery a song,
> He hath a practis bi lawe to make a preef,
> To hange a triew man and save an errant thief.

[1] J. S. Farmer, *Lost Tudor Plays*, p. 467.

[2] Chaucer's *Prologue*, 565–66; and F. W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, p. 176.

[3] F. Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, II, 173; IX, 280.

Also a poem from a manuscript of the sixteenth century in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, II, 6; another poem, from a manuscript of the fourteenth century, in *ibid.*, II, 121; *Jack Trueman's Epistle*, in Percy Society Publications, I, 4 (second collection); T. Wright, *Political Songs of England*, p. 324 (Camden Society); Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, Lib. III, ll. 233–34; and C. Horstman, *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, 65.

In l. 473, New-gyse declares that he has no money: "I fayll ij farthyngis of an halpeny." Compare this with the more modern expression: "Nipence, nopence, half a groat lacking two pence."[1] Half a groat equals two pence, as half a penny equals two farthings.

In ll. 480–81, Nought likewise declares that his purse is empty:

> "Non nobis, domine; non nobis," by sent Deny!
> þe deull may daunce in my purse for ony peny!

"Non nobis, domine; non nobis" are the opening words of Ps. 113:1 (second set of verses), given a new interpretation by Nought. With the second line of the quotation cf. the Beggar's speech in Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, E.E.T.S., E.S., lxxii, p. 25, ll. 684 ff.:

> þe feend, men seyn, may hoppen in a pouche
> Whan þat no croys þere-inne may a-pere;
> And by my purs þe same I may seye here.

See also Skelton's, *The Bowge of Courte*, ll. 363–64:

> And by his syde his whynarde and his pouche,
> The deuyll myghte daunce therin for ony crowche.

This refers, of course, to the cross which formed part of the design stamped on the penny and other coins; the devil would not venture into a purse which contained any of these coins.[2]

In l. 490, Now-a-days says: "Remembre my brokyn hede in þe worschyppe of þe v. vowellys." This is Dr. Furnivall's reading; Professor Manly's text has "v voli ellys," but he suggests "vij (or xx) devellys"; Dr. Brandl reads "volvellys," and suggests "dewellys"; Mr. Farmer reads "five vowels," and has a note on "volvellys."[3] None of these suggestions is satisfactory. In the facsimile of the manuscript the words look most like "v. volvellys,"

[1] J. Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (1742), p. 60.

[2] See also a passage from Massinger's *Bashful Lover*, quoted in Skelton's *Works* (American edition, "British Poets" series), III, 40.

[3] J. M. Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama*, I, 333; A. Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas*, p. 57; J. S. Farmer, *Lost Tudor Plays*, pp. 22 and 466.

but might be "v. vowellys" with the *w* carelessly written. However, the expression "worship of the v. vowellys, or volvellys" occurs nowhere else, so far as I can find; and if it did occur it would not fit the context in the play. Mr. Farmer's note on "volvellys" does not help to clear up the obscurity. The "vij (or xx) devellys" are found frequently in mediaeval writings, and could easily be used after the phrase "in the worship of." However, I have not found them in this connection; and, furthermore, that expression would not be particularly suitable for this passage.

A new explanation is suggested here. A "charme to staunch blood," from a manuscript of 1475, ends: "And sey thys charme fyve tymes with fyve pater nosters, in the worschep of the fyve woundys." Another "charme to draw out yren de quarell," from the same manuscript, ends: "And sey thys charme five tymes in the worschip of the fyve woundys of Chryst."[1] Now a common mediaeval term for the wounds of Christ was the "five wells."[2] Hence, by substitution, the "worship of the five wounds" in the charms quoted above would become the "worship of the five wells." I have not found this form of the expression elsewhere, but it is reasonable to suppose that it was used alongside the variant form. The "v. wellys," I think, was the original reading in *Mankind*. The change to "v. vowellys," or "v. volvellys," could easily be the work of a careless scribe. Make the emendation, and we have an expression which exactly fits the context. Now-a-days is talking about the cure of his wound, and he borrows this expression from the charms used at the time in such cures.

In l. 491, Nought refers to the "sytyca in my arme."[3] Dr. Brandl's note on "scythica," a herb used for healing wounds, is unnecessary. The modern "sciatica" is evidently the meaning. The objection has been made that the sciatica does not affect the arm; but therein lies the point of the joke. Such a twisting of terms

[1] Both are given in Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, III, 271. For other references to Christ's wounds in charms—but not connected with their "worship"—see *Anglia*, XIX, 80, 81, 85.

[2] For example, see C. Horstman, *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, 440; F. J. Furnivall, *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, p. 142, ll. 36–37 (revised edition); and two poems by Lydgate, in Percy Society Publications, II, 26 and 238.

[3] Professor Manly, in his text, rightly assigns this speech to Nought; in the E.E.T.S. text it is a part of Now-a-day's speech.

is entirely in keeping with the character of Nought and of the play as a whole.

In ll. 509–10, Nought, who is ready to go on a thieving expedition with his two companions, says:

> Felous, cum forth! & go we hens to-gethyr,
> For drede of "in manus tuas," qweke.

The phrase "in manus tuas" occurs twice in the Bible: in Ps. 30:6, "In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum; redemisti me, Domine Deus veritatis"; and in Christ's last words on the cross as recorded in Luke 23:46. The verse from the Psalms formed part of the prayer to be said by the person receiving the sacrament of Extreme Unction.[1] Because of this fact, and also because many condemned prisoners wanted to die with Christ's last words on their lips, the phrase "in manus tuas" was constantly heard at executions, and became a slang term for the execution itself. It is used in this sense in *Mankind*.

While Mankind is praying, Tityvillus, intending to divert him from his devotions, whispers (l. 551):

> "A schorte preyere thyrlyth hewyn": of þi preyere blyn.

This expression occurs in the poem "The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage," in *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, etc., ed. F. J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S.), p. 43, ll. 167–68:

> A schort prayer wynnythe heyvyn,
> the patter noster and an ave.

Cf. also *Piers Plowman*, C, XII, 294 ff.:

> And lewede leele laborers . and land-tylynge peuple
> Persen with a pater-noster . paradys other heuene,
> Passinge purgatorie penaunceles . for here parfit by-leyue;
> Breuis oratio penetrat celum.

In the two preceding passages the efficacy of short prayers like the Pater Noster is set forth; but even these are too long for Tityvillus, and he turns the proverb into an argument for inducing Mankind to abbreviate the Pater Noster still farther—by desisting from it entirely.[2]

[1] Myrc, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, p. 54.

[2] See also "Proverbs of Prophets, Poets, and Saints," in *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS* (E.E.T.S.), II, 552.

In ll. 562–64, Tityvillus says:

> yff ȝe haue ony syluer, in happe, pure brasse,
> Take a lytyll powder of Parysch, & cast ouer hys face,
> Ande ewyn in þe howll-flyght let hym passe.

This seems to be a reference to a common trick of the alchemists: the turning of copper or brass into a white metal resembling silver, by the use of an arsenic compound, such as orpiment (auripigmentum), trisulphide of arsenic.[1] I have not found the term "powder of Parysch" used elsewhere, but it was probably a popular name for orpiment (cf. our modern Paris green, an arsenic compound, and Paris purple, an arsenious by-product). The alchemical use of the orpiment produced a vile odor. A reading of the passage quoted above, in connection with the preceding lines of the play (ll. 553–61), and a comparison of them with ll. 32–35 of *Colyn Blowbols Testament*[2] will make the meaning sufficiently clear. The tone of the passage is on the same level with that of several others in the play.

"Howll-flyght" means the dusk of evening, when owls fly.[3] In this passage it is used as if it were an alchemical term; if it is, I have not discovered its meaning.

In l. 586, Tityvillus, approaching Mankind, who is asleep, says to the audience: "Qwyst! þesse! þe Deull ys dede! I xall goo ronde in hys ere." The proverb, "Heigh ho, the Devil is dead," is given in Ray's collection,[4] and it is explained as meaning that a difficulty is almost overcome, a journey almost finished, etc.[5] The significance of the use of this proverb by Tityvillus is apparent: he has already led Mankind to renounce labor and prayer, the two safeguards which Mercy had recommended against temptation; Mankind's downfall is almost accomplished. Tityvillus now whispers in his ear the suggestion for the dream which completes the task.

In this dream he suggests that Mercy has stolen a horse and a "nete," and that for the crime he now "rydyth ouer þe galous."

[1] E. Von Meyer, *History of Chemistry* (trans. by G. M' Gowan), pp. 37 and 54; and R. Steele, *Mediaeval Lore*, p. 34 (King's Classics).

[2] W. C. Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry of England*, I, 93.

[3] See Skelton, "The Douty Duke of Albany," l. 312, in his *Works*, II, 331 (American edition), and "Piers of Fullham," l. 28, in Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, II, 3.

[4] J. Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (1742), p. 55.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

This figure of *riding* on the gallows as on a horse recalls the fact that the gallows was sometimes popularly known as a horse; as in the Yorkshire riddle quoted by Mr. S. Baring-Gould: "What is the horse that is ridden that never was foaled, and rid with a bridle that never had bit?" The answer is, "The gallows."[1] Mr. Baring-Gould sees in this a reminiscence of "Ogre's horse," the name given to the world-tree on which Odin hanged himself.

New-gyse, who has just escaped hanging because the rope broke, appears on the stage with the "halter" still around his neck. He calls the rope "sent Audrys holy bende," and explains his chafed and swollen neck by saying (ll. 622–23):

> I haue a lytyll dyshes, as yt plesse Gode to sende,
> With a runnynge rynge-worme.

St. Audry, or Etheldreda, of Ely died of a pestilence, one of the symptoms of which was a great swelling of the neck; cf. New English Dictionary, *s.v.* "Tawdry lace."

In l. 678, Nought excuses his poor handwriting by saying: "I xulde haue don bettur, hade I wyst." "Had I wyst" is a proverbial expression for incompetence and carelessness. Ripley, in his *Compound of Alchymie*, speaking of unlearned and unskilful men who try to be alchemists, and are ragged and lean, says: "And thus for (had I wyst) they suffer losse and wo."[2] See also Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Lib. I, l. 1888, and Lib. IV, l. 305; "The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage," l. 120, in *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, etc., p. 42; "Proverbs of Good Counsel," l. 56, in *ibid.*, p. 69; and a note with a number of references in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, etc., ed. L. Herrig and others, XC, 258–59.

In l. 683, the deposed Edward IV is referred to as "Edwardi nullateni" (not "millateni" as in the E.E.T.S. text)—in mocking allusion to his being no longer king. Cf. Lydgate's *Order of Fools*, where, speaking of various kinds of fools, he says:

> N[u]llatensis a-sesythe hath hys bulle
> To alle suche, þat neuer of hem shalle the.

[1] S. Baring-Gould, *Strange Survivals*, p. 245.

[2] E. Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652), l. 153.

And later in the same poem there is a reference to "som worthy byshoppe nullatence" who grants the fools a "general pardoun and a patent to be-gyn her dispence."[1]

In l. 684, the date of the mock court is given as: "On ȝestern day, in Feuerere, þe ȝere passyth fully." I am indebted to Professor Manly for the explanation of the latter part of the date: it means that the year is entirely wanting—the year is unknown.

In l. 743, Mercy uses the expression, "In trust is treason." This is given in Camden's *Remains Concerning Britain* (1870), p. 325, in a list of popular proverbs. See also J. O. Halliwell, *Ludus Coventriae* (Shakespeare Society), p. 241; Hugh Rhode's "Boke of Nurture," in *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S.), p. 91, l. 347; and "The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage," l. 76.

In ll. 746–48, Mercy speaks thus of ingratitude:

> As a nobyll versyfyer makyth mencyon in þis verse:
> "Lex & natura, Christus et omnia iura
> Damnant in-gratum; lugetur eum fore natum."

Who this "nobyll versyfyer" was, I have not discovered; but Gower places a similar statement at the head of the section on Ingratitude in his *Confessio Amantis* (Lib. V, sec. vii):

> Cuncta creatura, deus et qui cuncta creauit,
> Dampnant ingrati dicta que facta viri.

This idea he amplifies in the English text, using more of the details found in our play (Lib. V, ll. 4917 ff.):

> The bokes speken of this vice,
> And telle hou god of his justice,
> Be weie of kinde and ek nature
> And every lifissh creature,
> The lawe also, who that it kan,
> Thei dampnen an unkinde man.

This passage agrees with the Latin version given in *Mankind* more closely than it does with the one in the *Confessio*. Gower expresses the same idea in the *Mirour de l'Omme*, ll. 6685 ff.

In l. 775, Now-a-days correctly classifies himself when he concludes his speech with the words, "My bolte ys schott," which are

[1] *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, etc., ed. F. J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S.), p. 83, l. 135; and p. 84, ll. 162–64.

a part of the still familiar proverb, "A fool's bolt is soon shot." This proverb was also current in mediaeval times. It is found in the "Proverbs of Hendyng," l. 85, in K. Böddeker, *Altenglische Dichtungen des Ms. Harl. 2253*, p. 291; and in "The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage," l. 95.

In ll. 810–11, Mercy exhorts Mankind:

> ȝelde me nethyr golde nor tresure, but yowur humbyll obeysyance,
> The voluntary subieccyon of yowur hert, & I am content.

The idea in this passage is expressed in a number of places in the Bible, but the phrasing and details are different. These are probably taken from some commentary on Prov. 23:26: "Praebe, fili mi, cor tuum mihi." A passage from the same source is in *Wisdom*, ll. 79–82:

> Fili! prebe michi cor tuum!
> I aske not ellys of all þi substance:
> Thy clene hert, þi meke obeysance,
> yeue me þat, & I am contente.

In ll. 850–51, we are told:

> Whyll a wond ys fresch, yt ys prowyd curabyll by surgery,
> Þat, yf yt procede ouyrlonge, yt ys cawse of gret grewance.

A similar figure is used in *The Gouernaunce of Prynces, or Pryvete of Pryveteis*, translated by James Yonge in 1422: "The grete Poet Ouydie Sayth, Pryncipijs obsta, 'Wytstonde the begynnynge,' ffor lyghtyre is a fressh wounde to hele, than a festrid."[1] The latter part of this quotation is probably a popular proverb: it has the form and typical subject-matter of one.

One of the principal features of *Mankind* is the satire on contemporary manners and customs. New-gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought, as their names indicate, represent the young dandies of the time who pride themselves on being up to date. The words "new gyse" and "nowadays" were commonly used by writers in commenting on the new styles and manners. Thus in *Nature*,[2] Pride, speaking of Man's clothes, says:

> But in fayth I lyke not your aray
> It ys not the fassyon that goth now a day
> For now there ys a new guyse.

[1] *Secreta Secretorum*, ed. R. Steele (E.E.T.S.), p. 161.

[2] Brandl, *Quellen*, p. 105, ll. 1024 ff.

See also Skelton's *Garlande of Laurell:*

> For the gyse now adays
> Of sum iangelyng iays
> Is to discommende
> That they can not amende.[1]

Nought is a fit companion for New-gyse and Now-a-days: he is chronically without money, and he loves to make merry and to play the fool with the common tapster of Bury (ll. 265–69). Here, in epitome, is the life of our three characters and of the young dandies of the time whom they represent.

New-gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought are, of course, dressed in the extreme of fashion, probably even to the point of caricature, and in this way furnish part of the satire on dress in the play; but the satire is more marked in their manner of fitting out Mankind with a new jacket (ll. 664 ff.), which the fashion of the day dictated should be very short. New-gyse objects to Mankind's broad gown, and suggests that it could be sold for enough to provide him with many jackets. Mankind consents to exchange the gown for a jacket, provided the latter affords him covering enough to keep out the cold. New-gyse accordingly goes out to make the exchange. He is gone for so long a time that Now-a-days calls for him, remarking that the jacket will not be worth a farthing (ll. 687–88)—he must be trying to get one with only a farthing's worth of cloth in it. New-gyse re-enters with a jacket which he declares is scanty enough to allow Mankind to leap lightly about without encumbrance from it. Nought, however, objects to the cut—"yt ys not schapyn worth a morsell of brede"; and especially to the size—"ther ys to moche cloth, yt weys as ony lede." Accordingly, he takes it and abbreviates it still more—till it is only a suggestion of a jacket we may believe, for New-gyse exclaims with delight when it is returned: "Hay, doog! hay, whoppe! whoo! go yowur wey lyghtly! ȝe are well made for to ren" (ll. 713–14).

Short jackets were the style in the fifteenth century, as is proved by the statutes which were made from time to time to regulate the length of this garment. Thus in 1463 it was ordered "that no knight, under the estate of a lord, esquire, gentleman, nor none other person,

[1] *The Poetical Works of John Skelton*, Vol. II, p. 226, ll. 1261–64 (American edition).

shall use or wear from the feast of All Saints, which shall be in the year of our Lord M. cccc. lxv., any gown, jacket, or coat, unless it be of such length that the same may cover his privy members and buttocks."[1] This statute was not enforced, however, and another, phrased in practically the same words, was adopted in 1482.[2] At the time of our play, then, the fashion was still in vogue.

New-gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought also defend the contemporary fashion of prolix speaking and writing. In l. 102, Mercy, whose theory is better than his practice, advises them to use "few wordis; few & well sett." Thomas Betson, in his *Ryght Profytable Treatyse*, f. b vi,[3] gives the same advice: "Beware of hyghe speche & clamorous/and see that thy wordes be fewe well sette & resonable." See also the poem on "The Siege of Rouen," in *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, 1876), p. 27: "Speke wordys but lytylle and welle hym set." But New-gyse declares:

> Ser, yt ys þe new gyse & þe new jett:
> Many wordis, & schortely sett:
> Thys ys þe new gyse, euery dele.

Anyone who is acquainted with the literature of the fifteenth century will readily agree with New-gyse that this is the fashion of the age.

These three characters also join Mischief and Tytyvillus in ridiculing the use of Latin quotations and pompous, Latinized diction by Mercy and Mankind. The latter, in this respect, were following the fashion of the writers of the age; but it was a clerical fashion, not one that was affected by the class represented by New-gyse and his fellows. The ridicule sometimes takes the form of "dog-Latin," as in ll. 56 ff., 391 ff., 673 ff., and 768. Sometimes they use quotations from the Bible or church services, to which they give a perverted meaning to suit their purpose; thus, ll. 317–19, from Pss. 17:26–27—132:1; l. 468, from Rev. 17:14; l. 480, a part of Ps. 113:1 (second set of verses); and l. 433, a part of a common liturgical formula.

[1] *Statutes at Large*, III, 362.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 455.

[3] Facsimile reprint, Cambridge University Press, 1905.

PLACE

Mr. Pollard's conclusions concerning the place of performance for *Mankind* are, briefly stated, as follows: It was produced by a strolling company of players, acting probably in the courtyards of inns, in the country districts centering around the towns of Cambridge and King's Lynn, respectively. My conclusions agree essentially with his, but I have found some new details that may be of interest.

Hitherto, the identification of the towns named in ll. 498–508 has been a matter of conjecture, and, in some cases, of doubt. All the editors have agreed as to Trumpyngton, Waltom, Gayton, Fullburn, Massyngham, and Botysam. Their identity has been proved in the case of all these towns except Gayton and Massyngham by the investigations given earlier in this article. I have found no references to the Patrykes of Massyngham and the Bollmans of Gayton; but there can be little doubt that these places have been correctly identified.

Dr. Furnivall thinks that the Soffeham of l. 508 is Swaffham, in Norfolk. This is not certain, however, for, as Dr. Brandl points out, there was also a Swaffham in Cambridgeshire, and I have found Hammonds in both the Norfolk and the Cambridgeshire towns at about the time of our play (see above, under "Hamonde of Soffeham"). Swaffham Bulbeck is about 7 miles northeast by east from Cambridge, and only a few miles from Bottisham. It would, therefore, fit the conditions of the play as well as the Norfolk town does. However, as the writer seems to be making "a deliberate attempt to keep up interest in two different districts by local allusions very equitably distributed,"[1] and as the substitution of the Cambridgeshire town would destroy the balance between the Cambridgeshire and Norfolk places, making the proportion 6 to 3, instead of 5 to 4, it is perhaps better to retain the Norfolk Swaffham. The choice of either town does not materially change the results.

Sanston and Hanston (ll. 498–99) have puzzled the editors. Dr. Furnivall, reading the names as just given, suggests Santon, Norfolk,

[1] *Macro Plays*, p. xii. The attempt to keep the references to the two districts balanced becomes even more apparent when we notice that three men in Cambridgeshire and three in Norfolk are to be visited; the other men named are to be "spared."

and Ampton, Suffolk, or Hunston, Norfolk. Dr. Brandl, at the suggestion of Dr. Stevenson, reads Sauston and Hauston, and identifies them with Sawston and Hauxton, both near Cambridge.[1] Mr. Pollard adopts the latter readings. That Sawston is correct is proved by the presence of the family of Huntingdons in that place at the time of the play (see above, under "Huntyngton"). Hence Hauston is probably the correct reading for the other name, for it makes a better rhyme with Sauston than Hanston would, and there were Thyrlowes in Hauxton near the time of the play (cf. Wylliam Thurlay, in l. 499; and see above, under "Thurlay"). Moreover, the three towns, Sawston, Hauxton, and Trumpington, named in three successive lines of the play, form a group, all within a few miles of each other, just south of Cambridge. Mr. Pollard adopted the readings Sauston and Hauston; hence this investigation does not alter his conclusions, but merely confirms the data with which he worked.

Why were these two districts, one centering about Cambridge, the other about King's Lynn, chosen as the field of operations by the strolling players? The two places were nearly forty miles apart —no mean distance for a company which Mr. Pollard pictures as "trudging through mire and snow" as they went from one place of performance to another. A glance at the map will answer this question. The two towns are connected by the rivers Cam and Ouse, which in the fifteenth century formed an excellent waterway, and which therefore furnished the players a convenient method of travel.[2] Hence the company probably covered the longer stages of their journey by boat. It is not likely, however, that they made the entire forty-mile trip in one stage. The local allusions show that the play was intended primarily for performance in the rural districts surrounding the two towns; but it does not follow that they confined their operations to these localities. There is no reason to suppose that they would travel the forty miles intervening without trying to pick up some money on the way. So to Mr. Pollard's picture of the players trudging through the mire we may add the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. xi.

[2] For the importance of this waterway to the Sturbridge Fair at Cambridge, see J. T. Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, I, 142.

picture of them floating down the river and stopping, as opportunity offered, to give their performance throughout the sections bordering the streams.

AUTHOR

There is some evidence in ll. 498–500 that the author was a Cambridgeshire man who was especially familiar with the neighborhood around the town of Cambridge. The three towns Sawston, Hauxton, and Trumpington are named first. These towns lie near Cambridge—the first, about 5 miles south by east; the second, 4½ miles south by west; the third, 2 miles south—and thus form a compact group. It will be noticed, also, that these three are assigned in a group to New-gyse. The places named later are more scattered, and are not assigned in distinct groups: two Norfolk towns and one Cambridgeshire town—about forty miles apart—are given to Now-a-days; and the same number with the same arrangement, to Nought. This assigning of a compact group to one man, and naming it first in the list; then the shifting of later assignments from one county to the other is what one would naturally expect of a writer who was familiar with the first group, but who was not so well acquainted with the other towns and thought of them merely as places lying in the territory that was to be covered by the company on its tour. This theory is also supported by the phraseology in ll. 498–500. New-gyse's words, "fyrst I xall be-gyn" at Sawston, "fro thens I xall go" to Hauxton, "ande so forth" to Trumpington, suggest the work of a man who knew that short three or four mile walk from Sawston to Trumpington, through Hauxton.

For trying to determine the position held by this man, and his affiliations with contemporary classes of society, we have the following data: his acquaintance with the life and tastes of the country people; his knowledge of Latin, as shown by his coining of Latinized words and his frequent use of Latin phrases; his satire against the church; his predilection for coarse humor; his indifference to the theological system of the church (see p. 119); and his knowledge of legal terms and methods of court procedure. What shall we conclude from this data? We may take for granted his Latin education; and we may assume that he was in close touch with rural life. Just what his position was, is not certain. He may have been a man in

holy orders; certainly, as Dr. Brandl points out,[1] with the example of Skelton in mind, we find nothing in the data to contradict this theory. The satire does not prove him a Lollard or an enemy of the church, for satire on ecclesiastical abuses was written by devout and orthodox men. The writer's indifference to the theological system of the church may be due to the fact that this is only a sham morality (see p. 120), written with a very secondary interest in the lesson to be taught. One theory, then, is that the writer was a man in orders; if such was the case, our most natural assumption is that he held a rural living near Cambridge.

Another possible conclusion is that the author was a man trained for the law; this is suggested by his familiarity with legal terms and the method of conducting court. Cf. "cepe coppus" and "non est inventus" (ll. 773–74) and the mock court scene (ll. 657 ff.). In this case we may suppose him to have been a lawyer, perhaps keeping an office in the town of Cambridge, and having clients among the neighboring country people. However, the legal knowledge shown in the play is not so extensive that the latter might not have been written by a layman. Either of these suggestions is possible and plausible; neither is certain. But to whatever class we assign the author, he was the first writer of extant moralities to make a very definite step toward the secularization of the morality type of play. He was one of the earliest of English "dramatists" who wrote primarily for the sake of the play, and only incidentally for the sake of the moral or religious lesson.

THE MORALITY STRUCTURE OF THE PLAY

The serious part of the plot of *Mankind* is of the usual morality type—the conflict of the forces of good and evil for the soul of Mankind. The following analysis brings out an interpretation of the temptation scene which, I believe, has not been given before. In the analysis I have adopted Mr. Ramsay's division of the play into four stages, with a change of the point of division between the last two.[2]

1. Innocence (1–315): Mankind does not appear until l. 181. The preceding part of the play is taken up mainly with a preliminary

[1] A. Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas*, p. xxxi.

[2] R. L. Ramsay, *Magnyfycence* (E.E.T.S.), p. clx.

skirmish between Mercy and Myscheff, the latter aided by the three Vices. Mankind then enters, complaining of the constant fight between his soul and his body. Mercy gives him instruction, interrupted by considerable horseplay by the Vices, as to how he may keep his body in subjection; and leaves after injunctions to beware of Tityvillus and his fellows, to "do truly yowur labure, & kepe yowur haly day" (l. 293), and to "do truly yowur labure, & be neuer ydyll" (l. 301). Labor and the observance of his religious duties are to be Mankind's safeguards. The latter declares that the "rebellyn of my flesch" is now overcome; and hangs a charm—a verse of Scripture—about his neck to protect him from the forces of evil.

2. Temptation (316–599): Mankind proceeds at once to carry out Mercy's instruction about labor, by setting to work digging with his spade "to eschew ydullness" (l. 322) and also presumably to prepare the ground for planting. Immediately New-gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought begin their temptation by ridiculing his work, and thus trying to make him give it up. They fail, however, and are beaten by Mankind with his spade, the symbol of labor. By labor he has overcome his enemies. Thereupon he triumphantly departs with his spade, to "lyue euer with labure, to corecte my insolence" (l. 403). Myscheff enters, and sympathizes with his fellows; then they call in Tityvillus to help. Tityvillus is wilier than the others; and instead of ridiculing Mankind's work he proceeds to make the labor difficult and unprofitable by putting a board in the ground where Mankind is digging, and by stealing his seed. Mankind quits work in disgust: "here I gyf wppe my spade, for now & for euer"; he refuses to work any longer to keep his body occupied and thus out of mischief: "to occupye my body, I wyll not put me in deuer" (ll. 542–43). He has now disobeyed the first part of Mercy's injunction. He has not, however, given up the second part; and he kneels to say his Pater Noster. Tityvillus whispers in his ear that a short prayer is better than a long one, and stops even the short Pater Noster by a suggestion not more delicate than many others in the play. Acting upon the suggestion, Mankind leaves the stage; when he returns, he announces that he is tired of both labor and prayer and will have no more to do with them though

Mercy be angry (l. 579). He goes to sleep, and Tityvillus completes his estrangement from Mercy by making him dream that Mercy has been hanged for stealing. Mankind has forsworn both labor and prayer, and falls at once into evil ways.

3. Life-in-Sin (600–803): Mankind hastens to join New-gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought in their manner of living. As there is little of the morality element in this section, the analysis of it is omitted.

4. Repentance (804–907): Mercy exhorts Mankind to repent; the latter says that he has sinned beyond hope of redemption. Mercy declares that it is never too late to repent, and that he is ever ready to help those who seek him. Mankind finally submits, and returns to a life of righteousness.

Thus Mankind falls into sin through neglecting labor and his religious duties. He is redeemed merely by asking and receiving Mercy, without the help of the sacrament of penance. It is noteworthy that there is very little mention in the play of the theological teachings of the church. The most important references are Mercy's injunction to keep the holy days (l. 293), and the incidental references to the mass (l. 291) and to "masse & matens, owres & prime" (l. 705). Compare this with the well-worked-out theological scheme for man's fall and redemption as given in *Wisdom*, written only ten years earlier. There man falls by the three successive steps—suggestion, delectation, and consent—into the three chief sins—pride, covetousness, and lechery. He is redeemed by undergoing the three steps in the sacrament of penance—contrition, confession, and satisfaction—and is reformed in the trinity of the virtues—faith, hope, and charity.[1] In *Mankind*, it is apparent that we are dealing with a type of morality play very different from *Wisdom*. A very simple framework has taken the place of the elaborate theological scheme.

Note also ll. 878–81, in which the writer tries to identify the forces of evil—Tityvillus and his companions—with the three traditional enemies of mankind—the World, the Flesh, and the Devil:

> New-gyse, Now-a-dayis, Nowgth, þe 'world' we may hem call;
> & propyrlly Titiuilly syngnyfyes the fend of helle;
> the flesch,—þat ys, þe unclene concupiscens of ȝour body
> these be your iij gostly enmyis.

[1] W. K. Smart, *Some English and Latin Sources for the Morality of Wisdom*, p. 45.

The comparison, it will be seen, breaks down, for Flesh is not represented on the stage by any of Tityvillus' crew, and Myscheff, one of the chief forces of evil, is not included in the three enemies—indeed, there is no place for him. This looks as if the author brought in whatever comic characters he needed, without thinking of how they would fit into the traditional morality-play trinity, and only as an afterthought decided to identify them as well as he could with that trinity.

Again, in the entire play Tityvillus and his companions are absent from the stage during only 333 lines; one or more of them are present during 574 lines—about two-thirds of the play—and whenever they are on the stage they dominate the scene with their rough humor.

From these facts we conclude that this is only a sham morality—with a slight morality framework that offers an excuse for the production of the play, whose chief business is to entertain the country audiences with its coarse humor, and bring their "reyallys" and groats into the company's treasury.

SOURCE

I have found no direct source for any passage in *Mankind;* in fact, most of the passages have specific references to characters and situations in the play which show that they were written for the occasion, and not borrowed almost verbatim, as were large parts of *Wisdom*, for instance. Two sources have been suggested: one—the "half-acre" episode in *Piers Plowman*—by Miss Mabel M. Keiller;[1] the other—the poem "Merci Passith Riȝtwisnes"—by W. R. Mackenzie.[2] Lack of space forbids a detailed analysis of these so-called "sources." At the most, however, they can have furnished only slight suggestions for *Mankind*, and it is very doubtful if they did that much. Certainly there is no significant parallelism between the field episode in *Piers Plowman* and the digging scene in *Mankind.* Likewise, the poem "Merci Passith Riȝtwisnes" has no significant points in common with *Mankind.* The fact that Mercy and a sinner appear in a poem and a play, and use the same *general* arguments in both, does not show that one borrowed from the other. The association between Mercy and a sinner is obvious enough; bring

[1] *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, June, 1911.

[2] *Ibid.*, March, 1912.

the two together and the nature of their dialogue is determined by the nature of the characters and the situation. In the absence of parallelism in phrasing and details of situation, then, there is no reason for supposing that the writer of *Mankind* knew this poem.

Of course the author used much conventional material, as the parallels already cited show, but he reshaped it to fit his play. A number of the ideas in the serious parts are from the Bible; and it may not be out of place to indicate these: l. 43, "The corn xall be sauyde, þe chaffe xall be brente," from Matt. 3:12, or Luke 3:17; l. 175, "But such as þei haue sowyn, such xall þei repe," from Gal. 6:7; ll. 216–17, "ȝę [Mercy] be approxymatt to Gode, and nere of hys consell; He hat instytut you a-boue all hys werkis," perhaps a free rendering of Ps. 130:7, "For with the Lord there is mercy," and of Ps. 145:9, "And his tender mercies are over all his works"; l. 221, "Vita hominis est milicia super terram," from Job 7:1 (not in the English version); l. 357, "Why stonde ye ydyll?" perhaps from Matt. 20:6, "Why stand ye here all the day idle?" ll. 399–400, "I do yt not a-lone: With þe helpe of þe grace of Gode, I resyst my fon," perhaps adapted from I Cor. 15:10, "But I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me"; l. 760, "Vanitas vanitatum, all ys but a vanyte," from Eccles. 1:2; l. 839, "To truste ouermoche In a prince, yt ys not expedient," from Ps. 146:3, "Put not your trust in princes"; l. 855 (referring to the punishment for sins after death), "But, whan ȝe be go, vsque ad minimum quadrantem ȝe schall rekyn þis ryght," perhaps suggested by Matt. 5:26, where Christ, speaking of a man committed to prison, says, "Amen dico tibi, non exies inde, donec reddas novissimum quadrantem."

This list does not include the passages which have been previously discussed in this article, or those whose biblical sources have been pointed out by the editors of the play.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF *PIERS THE PLOWMAN*

That I was not the first student of *Piers the Plowman* to entertain the idea that the workmanship indicated more than one author is shown not only by the passages from Thomas Wright quoted by Samuel Moore in his discussion of the *Piers the Plowman* tradition but also by some passages in the writings of that pioneer American scholar George P. Marsh.

To the first of these passages my attention was recently directed by Mr. Thomas A. Knott. It reads as follows:

> The manuscripts of *Piers Ploughman* vary so widely that Whitaker could explain the discrepancies only by the supposition of a *rifaccimento* by the author himself, at a considerably later period, when his opinions had undergone important changes; but a comparison of Whitaker's and Wright's texts reveals so wide differences in grammar, vocabulary, and orthography that it is quite unreasonable to refer the two recensions to one writer, and it is by no means improbable that both are very unlike the author's original.[1]

This naturally suggested the examination of Marsh's other volume on the English language. Lecture VII, on "The Author of Piers Ploughman and His Imitators," contains many sane and illuminating remarks on the poems, the most significant of which, for our present topic, is this:

> The number of early manuscripts of this work which still survive proves its general diffusion; and the wide variations which exist between the copies show that they had excited interest enough to be thought worthy of careful revision by the original author, or, as is more probable, of important modification by the numerous editors and transcribers under whose recension they subsequently passed. This, indeed, was the custom of the time; but in most cases, copyists only accommodated the dialect of the author to that of their own age or district, or, at most, added here and there an explanatory gloss, whereas in some of the later manuscripts of *Piers Ploughman*, a very different tone of sentiment prevails from that which marks what is believed to be the original text of the work. It had become eminently a popular possession, a didactic catechism. This fact and its anonymous character would be thought to justify licenses in copyists, whereas the works of Gower and Chaucer came in a purely literary form, and with an authority derived

[1] George P. Marsh, *Lectures on the English Language*, first series, revised and enlarged ed. (New York: Scribner, 1887, p. 364, note). This volume was first published in 1859.

from the social position of the writers, which secured them from being so freely tampered with by later editors; and consequently the differences between different manuscripts of those authors are generally grammatical or orthographical merely.[1]

That I was ignorant of these passages when I formulated my own views can be attributed only to failure of memory; for I not only ought to have seen them but actually did see them in 1885, when I made what I supposed to be a thorough and profitable study of Marsh's books.

It will be noted that Marsh's views are much more precise and definite than those of Thomas Wright, and contain in effect, though not in detail, the conclusions for which I have contended. I am glad to have the support of an independent utterance from a scholar so distinguished for soundness of taste and sanity of judgment as was Mr. Marsh.

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[1] G. P. Marsh, *Origin and History of the English Language*, 3d ed. (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., 1872, p. 297). The preface of the first edition is repeated in the third. It dates the contents of the lectures back to 1860–61, when they were delivered at the Lowell Institute, in Boston. This passage occurs in the same form in the editions of 1885 and 1892. The 1892 edition changes the *they's* of lines 3 and 6 to *it*.

CHAUCERIANA

THE CANTERBURY TALES

A 82, *I gesse.* Examples of this "Yankeeism" in British poetry are:

Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, 1539–40:

> And to our wish I see one hither speeding,
> An Ebrew, as *I guess*, and of our tribe.

Tennyson, *Maud*, Part II, 5, 3:

> And another, a lord of all things, praying
> To his own great self, as *I guess*.

In my *Notes on Chaucer* I have called attention to Shelley, *Adonais*, 31.

A 110, *woodecraft.* Is a knowledge of "woodcraft" ascribed to Paris, the brother of Hector, in *Roman de Troie*, 5455–56?

> Traire saveit merveilles bien,
> Mais *sot de bois* sor tote rien.

A 200, *in good poynt.* Cf. *Sir Ferumbras*, 515:

> it wil don him be hol and sounde & maky him *in god poynt.*

A 258, *love-dayes.* These were frequently used for fraudulent purposes; cf. *Piers Plowman* C text, Passus XII, vss. 16 ff.

A 264. In *Roman de Troie*, vs. 5330 it is recorded that Hector stammered:

> Mais un sol petit *baubeiot.*

A 637–38,

> And whan that he wel dronken hadde the wyn,
> Than wolde he speke no word but Latyn.

In the *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon* of K. F. T. Wander I find the following under "Latein" (Vol. V):

> Post sumptum vinum loquitur mea lingua Latinum,
> Et bibo cum bis ter, sum qualibet arte magister.

also (Vol. II):

> Ille bibat vinum qui scit dictare Latinum.

In the Life of Saint Meriasek, a Cornish miracle play written at the beginning of the sixteenth century, edited by Whitley Stokes, occurs the following (vss. 80–81):

> pan ve luen ov zos a wyn
> ny gara covs mes laten,

which is translated by Mr. Stokes: "When my tot may be full of wine I love not to speak (aught) save Latin."

A distinguished philologist has informed me that the proverb was common in the University of Strassburg when he was a student there. Another scholar relates an anecdote of an inebriated student, somewhere in Germany, who said, in my informant's presence: "Wenn ich besoffen bin so spreeh' ich nur Französisch."

A 1422, Chaucer probably had in mind the biblical phrase (Josh. 9:21, 23): "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

A 1660, for the exaggeration, cf. *Roman de Troie*, 24372–73:

Jusqu' as ventres sont li destrier
En sanc vermeil.

A 1697, *Under the sonne*, defined by Mather as "to the eastward under a low-lying sun." I have observed only one other instance of this use of the phrase, and that is in the Flemish *Reinaert de Vos*, 759–60:

Hi sach, sunt *onder die sonne*,
Lamfroit come geronnen.

"He saw sidelong, under the sun, Lamfroit come running."

A 1910, Coral, as a building material, occurs in *Sir Ferumbras* 1324–27:

Þe walles of Þe chambre were ⁊ araid for Þe nones,
y-maked of ful riche gere ⁊ of *coral* and riche stones,
Þe wyndowes wern y-mad of iaspre ⁊ & of oÞre stones fyne,
ypoudred wiÞ perree of polastre ⁊ Þe leues [=folding-doors] were masalyne [?=brass].

In *Roman de Troie* 14631 ff. there is an elaborate description of a chamber of alabaster, the translucency of which material was observed by the author.

A 2160, *cloothe of Tars*. I cannot, on any evidence accessible to me, agree with the New English Dictionary in identifying this word *Tars* with the mythical *Tarsia* or *Tharsia* in the confines of China. To cite Mandeville as an authority, as that dictionary does, is a good deal like appealing to Baron Munchausen. The name really comes from *Tarsus*, as is nowhere better shown than by the title of the romance of *The Kyng of Tars and the Soudon of Damas*. But mediaeval ideas about the place were hazy, as is shown by Boccaccio's coupling *Tarso* with *Sidon*, and calling Sidon, *Parthian* (*Teseide*, 8, stanzas 35 and 40). He seems to have regarded *Tars* as another name for *Tyre*, and to have thought that both *Tyre* and *Sidon* were in the Far East. "Cloth of Tars" is, according to all accessible evidence, "cloth of Tarsus," just as "damask" is "cloth of Damascus." The following examples of the phrase "cloth of Tars" do not solve the problem, but, in the dearth of evidence, are worth noting:

Sir Ferumbras, 4463–64: And we hau her scarletes & grene, & *cloÞes of tarse*, and of sulk ful schene, & cloÞes eke of golde.

Sir Ferumbras, 5077: On a cloÞ of tarse, ryche & fyn.

2698, *in memorie*. "Conscious," "in his senses." For memory="mind," cf. *Comus*, 205–6:

a thousand fantasies
Begin to throng into my memory.

Webster, *Duchess of Malfi*, I, 1:

I am making my will (as 'tis fit princes should
In perfect *memory*), and, I pray, sir, tell me,
Were not one better make it smiling, thus,
Than in deep groans and terrible ghastly looks, etc.

Webster, *The Devil's Law*, Case 2, 1:

He died in perfect *memory*, I hope, and made me his heir.

2803–5: In my *Notes on Chaucer* I have hunted a false trail in seeking to find the source of the idea that the heart is the seat of the intellect in Aristotle. Chaucer and Boccaccio both derived the idea from the Bible. Cf. I Kings 3:9. The Jews seem to have derived this conception from Egypt; see J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, *passim*.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Shakespeare's Theater. By Ashley H. Thorndike. New York: Macmillan, 1916.

This is a worth-while book, careful in method, admirable in tone, positive, unusually clear, and in many respects unexpectedly comprehensive. Besides the chapters naturally to be looked for upon the theaters, there are others dealing with Shakespeare's London, the court drama, government regulation, the dramatic companies, the authors, actors and acting, and, perhaps freshest and most illuminating of all, the Elizabethan audience. The book is also well illustrated and provided with good bibliographies which include most recent publications, though in those on the stage no reference is made either to Miss Charlotte Porter's extended discussions in the *First Folio* Shakespeare nor to the several recent papers by Professor T. S. Graves. Space is lacking for any further notice of these subjects, and for anything but the most superficial discussion of the more important matters concerning the theaters and the methods of stage presentation.

The most striking characteristic of the book is Professor Thorndike's obvious desire to take all possible influences into account, and his method of explaining Elizabethan practice by reference both to its antecedents in the mediaeval period and its developments during the Restoration. His treatment of the theater offers little that is new. Admitting the probability of variation and of change, he tries to construct a typical theater rather than to arrive at a precise knowledge of any one. His plan of the Fortune (p. 75) is surely wrong in one particular: no practical stage manager would ever build a theater in which there was no easy means of passage, concealed from the audience, from one side of the stage to the other. Such a passage must have existed, diminishing the depth of the rear stage or enforcing a slight projection such as is illustrated in the Messalina picture. On the existence of this passage also depend the central doors from the rear stage, made so much of by some students. Concerning the balcony, the hut, the tiring-room, etc., very little is said, and many other subjects of interest—those discussed for example by Professor Graves and Mr. W. J. Lawrence—are rather strangely neglected.

On stage presentation Professor Thorndike shows significant advances. No longer do we find attempts to impose modern ideas of propriety and realism upon even the Scripture cycles, nor the Elizabethan stage represented as an unsatisfactory approximation to that of modern melodrama. Professor Thorndike represents it rather as a transition stage, half mediaeval, half modern, or indeed as more than half mediaeval, since he agrees that the

front stage was much more important than the rear, at least through Shakespeare's period. It is exactly this view which, despite the overwhelming evidence in its favor, has caused so much difference of opinion.

Concerning one important point I must comment a little more in detail. Professor Thorndike says that for the use on the front stage of simultaneous, and therefore to us incongruous, properties there is insufficient evidence. He offers no evidence against it, however, nor does he show that he has considered the evidence for it. So far to be sure only a little of this evidence has been presented, and here there is space only to hint at it. I cannot believe that he has sufficiently considered the practical difficulties of placing in the cramped quarters of the rear stage some of the settings which we know existed, nor the several contemporary allusions which at least hint at their position on the front stage. More than that, there are many plays which, if they used settings at all—and it would be absurd to imagine they did not—violate the principle of the continuous act repeatedly. Moreover, granted that the front stage was mediaeval in principle, why suppose simultaneous properties would have seemed out of place upon it? Professor Thorndike himself truly says that any feeling of incongruity from imaginary shifting of place depends largely on the assumption that the main stage is some particular spot. Precisely the same thing is true of simultaneous properties. Finally there is the principle of recurring settings, briefly suggested by me in *Modern Philology*, XII, 253. It is the only explanation yet suggested for an apparent and curious inconsistency in the use of the rear stage and the bringing out of properties on the front stage, which admits of any sort of proof. That the plays do so extraordinarily conform to it, provided the "trees" and the "throne" are allowed upon the front stage, is surely a matter not to be disregarded. No doubt the tendency was against the admission of large properties to the front stage, but the evidence seems to me at least to show that they were often present there through the life of Shakespeare. Professor Thorndike's view is attractive in its simplicity and moderation and will especially appeal to those who believe that in any disputed matter there is much to be said on both sides. In a question of fact, however, the ultimate opinion must rest upon the existing evidence.

Professor Thorndike says little concerning the technic of Shakespeare's plays as influenced by the conditions in which he worked, and fails to notice some important difficulties, I think, of Elizabethan stagecraft, but to balance this lack there is the positive merit of abstaining from theories for which the only basis is the imagination of the writer. The book is certainly the best presentation of the field as a whole which has yet appeared in any language, and it provides a valuable starting point for future work. Thus it is an admirable publication for this anniversary year, and Professor Thorndike is to be congratulated upon it.

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Modern Philology

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HEINRICH VON KLEIST

Heinrich von Kleist is hardly a familiar name to English readers, though he is the subject of a book in English[1] as early as 1875, which contains an excellent blank verse rendering of his greatest play, *Der Prinz von Homburg*, and an entirely satisfactory translation of his most powerful narrative, *Michael Kohlhaas*. In Germany his reputation is fully established. The critic, the historian, the *régisseur*, the poet, the painter, have done him homage. Tieck rescued him—almost literally—in 1821; in the fifties Treitschke read that inner spirit of his work which Brahm, Eloesser, and others have since so admirably interpreted; Adolf von Menzel in the seventies captured the vividness of particular creations in spirited black-and-white; Wilhelm von Polenz found in Kleist's biography the material for a tragedy in 1891; finally the craftsmanship of Erich Schmidt and his henchmen has in recent years inclosed his works in a compact five-volume edition which meets all needs.

This paper endeavors to trace the inner consistency of Kleist's temperament and to relate it to the peculiar spirit that pervades his plays. It is true that few writers defy orderly analysis so stubbornly, and that which is offered here cannot pretend to explain him completely. But it is hoped that it may be found suggestive as an attempted reading of an evasive personality and a unique sequence of plays.

[1] Lloyd and Newton, *Prussia's Representative Man*. London: Teubner, 1875.

The personality is discovered, if anywhere, in the few years immediately following Kleist's retirement from the army in the spring of 1799. He had entered it, it will be remembered, in June, 1792, before he had completed his fifteenth year. After going through the siege of Mainz and rising to a lieutenancy, he turned civilian to study mathematics, philosophy, and Latin, realizing that "was der Reiseplan dem Reisenden ist, das ist der Lebensplan dem Menschen,"[1] and for the benefit of a fellow-soldier he wrote, Baedeker-fashion, a lengthy *Aufsatz, den sichern Weg des Glücks zu finden, und ungestört, auch unter den grössten Drangsalen des Lebens, ihn zu geniessen.* He is loath to lose a day without drawing "moralische Revenüen,"[2] and when he turns eighteenth-century schoolmaster and induces his betrothed to write essays in his absence, her progress means more than her love: "Ich freue mich darauf, dass ich Dich nicht wiederkennen werde, wenn ich Dich wiedersehe."[3] Kleist affords at this stage in his life an astonishing instance of the premature personal composure to which certain types of training can lead. Steady military discipline has doubtless straitlaced countless natures into the acceptance for life of an activity, an outlook, and a self-criticism, which do not exceed a definition in simple terms. Even Kleist, whose enigmatic complexity defies the biographer a century after his death, waited two years, till the spring of 1801, for his real personality to break the iron shell which a long boyhood apprenticeship in the army and a rigid family tradition had forged around it. Meanwhile, in complete ignorance of the hidden processes of his nature, he constructed and advertised to his friends his clear outlook and his trite morality.

His early letters, in which a precocious intellect urbanely solves the riddle of the stars, hold their own for blandness with any eighteenth-century moralizing. Indeed, the nineteenth century is nowhere in evidence, unless it be in the alarming intensity with which he embraces the standpoint and the purpose of the moment. He writes in February, 1801, immediately before his intellectual capitulation: "Ich beschloss, nicht aus dem Zimmer zu gehen, bis ich über

[1] *Briefe* (*Werke*, ed. E. Schmidt, V), p. 43.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

einen Lebensplan entschieden wäre; aber 8 Tage vergiengen, und ich musste doch am Ende das Zimmer unentschlossen wieder verlassen."[1] An analysis of his mind at this time yields a list of purely eighteenth-century qualities, but the vigor, the ferocity almost, with which they are announced is foreign to the essential spirit of that age. And though something of the logic which Kleist here parades stays with him through life and peeps with impish coolness through the lurid curtains of his imagination, yet it is the intensity alone that is truly characteristic of him. It is reflected again and again in his dramatic creations. The blind and exhaustive acceptance of a point of view, a purpose, a virtue, is fundamental in some of his strongest figures. Hardly anywhere is it absent. Its most energetic expression is in Penthesilea and in Hermann, but it is also most intimately conveyed in Käthchen, and disconcertingly in Sylvester Schroffenstein. Perhaps Sylvester, blindly aggravating the fatal mischief with the excess of a simple Christian virtue, best illustrates this anomalous period of Kleist's life, when tragedy and poetry were outwardly so very remote.

To return to the biography. The much-discussed Würzburg journey, falling in the middle of Kleist's two years of suspension, must surely have had a practical, not a spiritual, purpose. It probably did much to prepare the way for the mental crisis of 1801, but it did not reveal him fully to himself. It undoubtedly awoke in him a new sensitiveness to natural beauty and a vague presentiment of poetic ability. The two descriptions of Würzburg are the clearest indication of this:

> Den Lauf der Strassen hat der regelloseste Zufall gebildet. In dieser Hinsicht unterscheidet sich Würzburg durch nichts, von der Anlage des gemeinsten Dorfes. Da hat sich Jeder angebaut, wo es ihm grade gefiel, ohne eben auf den Nachbar viele Rücksicht zu nehmen. Daher findet man nichts als eine Zuzammenstellung vieler einzelnen Häuser, und vermisst die Idee eines Ganzen, die Existenz eines allgemeinen Interesses. Oft ehe man es sich versieht ist man in ein Labyrinth von Gebäuden gerathen, wo man sich den Faden der Ariadne wünschen muss, um sich heraus zu finden. Das Alles könnte man der grauen Vorzeit noch verzeihen; aber wenn heut zu Tage ganz an der Stelle der alten Häuser neue gebaut werden, so dass also auch die Idee, die Stadt zu ordnen, nicht vorhanden ist, so heisst das ein Versehen verewigen.[2]

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 195. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

This was on his arrival in September, 1800. In October he writes: "Ich finde jetzt die Gegend um diese Stadt weit angenehmer, als ich sie bei meinem Einzuge fand; ja ich mögte fast sagen, dass ich sie jetzt schön finde—und ich weiss nicht, ob sich die Gegend verändert hat, oder das Herz, das ihren Eindruck empfieng,"[1] and is loud in praise of hills and water. But the book of maxims is still cherished and Kleist remains almost as unconscious of his inner nature as when a year earlier he overruled his family and doffed his uniform.

The final tapping of the shell was, curiously enough, due to the reading of Kant's philosophy. It is hard today to realize the intense personal importance to the reader that the "reine Vernunft" had in its own age. "Es scheint, als ob ich eines von den Opfern der Thorheit werden würde, deren die kantische Philosophie so viele auf das Gewissen hat."[2] *Bildung* and *Wahrheit*, the two main props of Kleist's jerry-built castle, were knocked from under at a touch of this hammer of the intellect. Thus the intellectual dogmatism which insulated his inmost self could only be counteracted—so thoroughgoing was his acceptance of it—by intellectual means. With almost childlike pathos he cries:

> Wir können nicht entscheiden ob das, was wir Wahrheit nennen, wahrhaft Wahrheit ist, oder ob es uns nur so scheint. Ist das letzte, so ist die Wahrheit, die wir hier sammeln, nach dem Tode nicht mehr—und alles Bestreben, ein Eigenthum sich zu erwerben, das uns auch in das Grab folgt, ist vergeblich. . . . . Seit diese Ueberzeugung, nämlich, dass hienieden keine Wahrheit zu finden ist, vor meine Seele trat, habe ich nicht wieder ein Buch angerührt. Ich bin unthätig in meinem Zimmer umhergegangen, ich habe mich an das offne Fenster gesetzt, ich bin hinausgelaufen ins Freie, eine innerliche Unruhe trieb mich zuletzt in Tabagien und Caffeehäuser, ich habe Schauspiele und Concerte besucht, um mich zu zerstreuen, ich habe sogar, um mich zu betäuben, eine Thorheit begangen, die Dir Carl lieber erzählen mag, als ich; und dennoch war der einzige Gedanke, den meine Seele in diesem äusseren Tumulte mit glühender Angst bearbeitete immer nur dieser: dein *einziges*, dein *höchstes* Ziel ist gesunken.[3]

From then on till the autumn of 1811, when Kleist and a married lady of his acquaintance committed a dual suicide at the Wannsee, an astonishing succession of changing prospects might be recounted

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 144. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 207. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

from his life, and in that short space were generated the whole of his writings of any importance—a masterpiece of comedy, a masterpiece of serious drama, four or five other plays of astonishing vigor, a handful of brilliant short stories, and a few odd lyrics and snatches of prose. Stranger still, he appears to have remained, up to the beginning of this period, quite unconscious of the powers within him, or at any rate unconscious of their nature—a thing in itself phenomenal, though not necessarily, as one biographer says, unique in the lives of poets.[1]

What of his spiritual life in these ten years? During the months which immediately followed the loss of his youthful outlook, there is in his letters much talk of fate—more, at least, than at any other period of his life. With his flimsy vessel sunk, the young swimmer is at first aghast at the welter of blind forces over which he has been blissfully cruising. He exaggerates the significance of the mere accidents of life, or, rather, he sees the full significance where habit dulls an average mind. In July, 1801, the bray of a donkey frightens the horses behind which he and his sister are driving; the carriage upsets without harm to either—"Und an einem Eselsgeschrei hieng ein Menschenleben? Und wenn es nun in dieser Minute geschlossen gewesen wäre, *darum* also hätte ich gelebt? Darum? *Das* hätte der Himmel mit diesem dunkeln, räthselhaften, irrdischen Leben gewollt, und weiter nichts—? Doch für diesmal war es noch nicht geschlossen,—*wofür* er uns das Leben gefristet hat, wer kann es wissen?"[2] Kleist is all confusion for a while, "wie die Werchfasern im Spinnrocken,"[3] and he strives in vain "mit der Hand des Verstandes den Faden der Wahrheit, den das Rad der Erfahrung hinaus ziehen soll, um die Spule des Gedächtnisses zu ordnen."[3] And, in the long run, the personal confusion, far more than the impersonal caprice, holds his curiosity. The references to fate become fewer and less striking in their utterance. A sentence on the "ego," meanwhile, blazes hot even amid the smolder of his letters: "Dieses räthselhafte Ding, das wir besitzen, wir wissen nicht von wem, das uns fortführt, wir wissen nicht wohin, das unser Eigenthum ist, wir wissen nicht, ob wir darüber schalten dürfen, eine Habe, die nichts

[1] F. Servaes, *Heinrich von Kleist*, 1912. [2] *Briefe*, p. 240. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

werth ist, wenn sie uns etwas werth ist, ein Ding, wie ein Wiederspruch, flach und tief, öde und reich, würdig und verächtlich, vieldeutig und unergründlich, ein Ding, das jeder wegwerfen mögte, wie ein unverständliches Buch."[1] The words burst out from the context with cumulative force, as if they had lain and gathered power in the inner chambers of his mind. And the very fact of their energy is peculiar when their content is considered. The riddle of personality has often found expression, but where does it receive so sweeping, so fateful, a voice? Character is Fate—the saying is trite and a commonplace, but the mind which such a reflection dominates is apt to be quizzical, reflective, analytic, and its creations will be of like nature. Kleist, strangely enough, gives these unforgettable words a driving power and a momentum which add a vast impersonal quality to the thing he characterizes. His feeling for personality is energetic in a manner foreign to all that is personal. It is dangerous, dynamic, destructive.

Kleist's letters, from about this time on, assume a more and more practical character, and it is in his plays that the real essence of his spirit must now be sought. It is not that reticence conceals the working of his mind. His frankness remains as pronounced as ever and becomes phenomenal in his latest letters. The collapse of his first intellectual edifice was followed by no attempt at a second. He disparages knowledge and the intellect, and relinquishes any endeavor to organize further the vast material of experience. "Die Wissenschaften habe ich ganz aufgegeben."[2] And some six years later (June, 1807) in a mood of despair, which, if passing, brings out, at least, a conviction that was too profound to leave him: "Ach, es ist ein ermüdender Zustand, dieses Leben, recht, wie Sie sagten, eine Fatigue. Erfahrungen rings, dass man eine Ewigkeit brauchte, um sie zu würdigen, und, kaum wahrgenommen, schon wieder von andern verdrängt, die eben so unbegriffen verschwinden."[3] He sees in the intellect no power whatsoever to order life, and beholds in the only experience which persists—the human consciousness—a complete riddle. His essay *Ueber die allmähliche Verfertigung der Gedanken beim Reden* is thoroughly characteristic of him. Here he builds up an arresting paradox on the theme: "l'idée vient en parlant." Sig-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 244. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 260. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 342.

nificant, too, is the fact that he retains an interest in mathematics, where his craving for absolute values perhaps found a last refuge, unassailed by experience. "Ich kann ein Differentiale finden, und einen Vers machen; sind das nicht die beiden Enden der menschlichen Fähigkeit?"[1] When he seeks a constant in art, he turns in like spirit to musical counterpoint. Three months before his death he writes: "Ich glaube, dass im Generalbass die wichtigsten Aufschlüsse über die Dichtkunst enthalten sind."[2] But he makes henceforth no attempt to sort the changing phenomena of life, and only in his last play is there embodied any real sense of order—order, too, of a purely practical nature. Nowhere does Kleist appear to reason a single step beyond this. His sole anchorage is personality with its unsounded depths and incalculable storms.

This unusual outlook upon life—unusual at least for so intense a mind as Kleist's—has left its mark on the body of his plays.[3] In fact, it accounts for the peculiar light that is on them. Kleist's vision, be it repeated, is anomalous in that the sole conclusion he cherishes about life, the unfathomableness of personality, gathers in his mind a vigor, an all-controlling importance, which was rarely, if ever, consistently associated with it by an imaginative writer. Something akin to it lurks, no doubt, in the early work of many exuberant poets; it imparts luridness, perhaps, to some Stürmer and Dränger, and to certain Elizabethans. But it was never steadily maintained through any series of plays the merits of which are comparable with Kleist's. Plays like *Penthesilea* and the *Hermannsschlacht* draw their life, to an almost unparalleled degree, from a single personal source—so much so, that they raise questions of dramatic theory which might have lain unexamined.

It is peculiar to drama, as opposed to other creative forms of literature, that the whole of its action must pass through the medium of personality. Personality must either furnish the action, or at least reflect it. More than that, there is a quantitative limit set to this medium; the number of characters in any play is infinitely small

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 316. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 429.

[3] The personal element in the *Novellen* is very elusive. It seemed convenient to omit them here.

in relation to the population of a nation or of the world, and of these, even, only a handful can be given prominence. But since the outer world and, particularly, outer humanity must necessarily be related to the immediate action, the task of the dramatist is thereby complicated. He must present, through the mouths of a small group of individuals, a piece of life in which they not only reveal themselves, but also reflect a twofold association: first, with the more numerous life of mankind wherein their lives are imbedded; secondly, with the all-inclosing world of matter and accident. Thus the personal utterance of the play must be ballasted, as it were, with elements relatively impersonal, and others which are entirely impersonal. Or, if convenience may select the terms, the individual must control three registers: the "individual" itself, the "collective" of humanity, and the "impersonal" of natural forces. The harmonics of drama demands this complexity.

It is true that scenery itself, by merely providing a material setting, contributes to the impersonal. The simple enactment before a curtain of the simplest dialogue adds impersonal elements which the literature of the conversation might utterly lack. But the greater dramatists have always shrunk from the dissociating of stage-effect and book-effect and have conscientiously furnished a literary counterpart for all that is essential in the stage-impression. The very continuance of drama lies here in this parallelism, and a swerving in either direction means a definite weakening of vitality. The critic is thus entitled to search for the presence of these three elements—the individual, the collective, the impersonal—in the substance of a play, and to observe, further, how far the dramatic energy is distributed among them. An accurate division could nowhere be made of so subtly blended a compound as human life, but the presence of these elements in a plausible analysis is immediately perceptible and it is not difficult to examine the manner in which dramatists introduce them. Thus, it is at once evident that the Greek chorus makes ample provision of the vaster inclosing human substance, the collective, and, by definitely appropriating thus much of the vigor, gives the dramatist freer play in the stressing of his principal characters, without risk of disturbing the desirable balance of energies. Similarly, the common life of Shakspere's relief scenes, all, in fact, that

we call choric, is neither more nor less than a provision of this middle element. Much of it can, of course, be supplied without the actual presence of subordinate groups and masses of humanity. Any reference to distinct past or distinct future, any looking outside of himself on the part of a character, contributes to it. And even without this, any generalizations, any philosophic reflection, any insistence on universals in human experience, will do as much. The third element, the impersonal, expressing itself through all reference to the non-human, through all accident and circumstance and material accessories, looks after itself, no doubt, better than the second. But it is interesting to observe how scrupulous Shakspere is to embody his nature settings in the letter of his scenes, and with what cunning he mingles the sway of personal impulse with the coercion of circumstance. Nor must the impersonal potentialities of mere speech be overlooked. Steadiness of rhythm and pitch are parts of a universal continuity and themselves contribute impersonal energy. Perhaps the following passage from a modern novel is not without relevancy: "'The tears fell from her eyes—and then she died,' concluded the girl in an imperturbable monotone, which more than anything else, more than the white statuesque immobility of her person, more than mere words could do, troubled my mind profoundly with the passive, irremediable horror of the scene."[1] For such reasons as this, greater license is tolerated in dramatic characterization, where the whole play is set in verse; the prose play, lacking this particular element of impersonal control, must treat its personalities more cautiously.

The reasonableness of the greatest dramas is impossible without a just distribution of these elements. True, it is a distribution for genius to effect, and neither mathematics nor political economy can calculate or deduce the percentages of it. It is a balance of dramatic energies, capable of endless variety, but hedged by limits which the intuitive wisdom of larger poetic minds has never failed to discern. It is to the credit, however, of some lesser writers that their very deviation from this unwritten standard, their special endeavors, their experiments, and their errors direct the thoughtful mind to issues which greater poets conceal, and, by pointing to the problem, at least serve to illuminate the glory of major imaginations. The various

[1] Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim*.

attempts in modern drama to stage a composite hero, to compose an action dominated by the mass, are a complete example of this technical suggestiveness. Schiller's *Tell* and other plays only partially subordinate the individual. Not until Hauptmann's *Weber* does plural humanity hold the stage throughout. By avoiding the stressing of individuals and making the aggregate completely dominant, Hauptmann has furnished dramatic criticism with an intensely interesting example of maximum insistence on one element. The result is a play of novel quality and impression. The sharp, soaring moments of more normally organized drama are impossible here, where the gathering mutter of indeterminate masses muffles the single voice. The scenes shade off imperceptibly into the recesses of perspective, while a brooding, pervasive tone gives an abiding suggestion of unopened magazines of strength. Some such effect goes inevitably with the stressing of this middle element.

Hauptmann's *Weber* was a conscious attempt at the solution of a technical problem. Kleist's plays—generally speaking—form a striking counterpart at the other end of the century, for, quite unconsciously, with no theories at his back, he carries the first element to the point of extremest emphasis. Scherer was aware, as indeed all readers must be, of a peculiar and completely novel intensity in Kleist's characteristic work. He felt at once that it was excessive in its kind, some dramatic maximum in a particular direction. He says of Kleist: "Er treibt die Objectivität und den Realismus so weit, dass er sich im Drama ganz auf die Darstellung des Gegenwärtigen concentrirt und uns in den engen Gesichtskreis handelnder und emfindender Menschen mehr, als irgend ein Dramatiker vor ihm, gebannt hält."[1] The terms "objectivity" and "realism" in this context are not beyond criticism, but the body of the statement is lucid enough—Kleist devotes himself to the "presentation of the immediate"; he rivets his whole attention on the rendering of a definite piece of life, rapid in its enactment and limited in its personnel. One is tempted to go beyond Scherer. So intensely does Kleist concentrate his vision that the foreground of his spectacle of energies becomes dominant; the individual blocks the prospect, obscuring the middle distance with its collective human chorus, and almost crowding out the background

[1] *Geschichte der deutsche Literatur.*

of the material world. He violently deranges the balance in favor of the immediate and personal; it is almost entirely from the actual characters—often from a single character—that the vigor derives. He is careless of the larger canvas; he is at no pains to weave the special action into union with the vaster life without; humanity at large is a neglected force. In his hands the material world is mainly visual, rarely dynamic, rarely emerging into the interference of circumstance; it is a mere playground, with no power of stealthy influence or prerogative of intervention. Kleist's *Penthesilea* in the first decade of the nineteenth century is a critical *Gegenstück* to Hauptmann's *Weber* in the last. Both constitute a *ne plus ultra* in dramatic stresses.

Penthesilea is the most complete title in all drama, since nowhere else does the title-rôle so tyrannize the play. It is only after an immersion in the play's atmosphere that what is here said of it can be tested. And clearly any measure of dramatic excess is relative; elements essential in all life can be minimized, never eliminated. The propelling forces can never be wholly gathered from one element alone; an external analysis will always point to a mixed origin. Thus it is from her dead mother that the initial fillip is given to Penthesilea's conduct, and the changing fortune of war is essential in the development of the crisis. But in the real world of the play the personal energy of Penthesilea alone is felt. From the opening picture of paralytic amazement on the part of Achilles' companions, who relate and behold the feverish pursuit of the Amazon queen, "die Hyäne, die blind-wütende," down to the last scene of her astonishing volitional suicide, an extreme manifestation of pure will which the daring of playwrights has surely never outdone—

> Denn jetzt steig' ich in meinen Busen nieder,
> Gleich einem Schacht, und grabe, kalt wie Erz,
> Mir ein vernichtendes Gefühl hervor.
> Dies Erz, dies läutr' ich in der Glut des Jammers
> Hart mir zu Stahl; tränk' es mit Gift sodann,
> Heissätzendem, der Reue, durch und durch;
> Trag' es der Hoffnung ew'gem Amboss zu,
> Und schärf' und spitz' es mir zu einem Dolch;
> Und diesem Dolch jetzt reich' ich meine Brust:
> So! So! So! So! Und wieder!—Nun ist's gut [ll. 3025–34]—

there is in the course of some three thousand lines hardly a pause in the furious exhibition of Penthesilea's blazing personality. The play is, indeed, less a dramatic action than a dramatic conflagration, the mere spectacle of which possesses the perceptions of the beholder as if it were the sum of all forces and the world about it inert matter for it to vitalize or consume. So intense is this tragic heroine that, for the time being, the universe seems bounded spatially by her energies, and all that she does not immediately touch into warmth—the rose festival, Troy, and Agamemnon—seems unreal as shadows.

It is interesting to observe some of the characteristics of this amazing play and to consider how far they contribute to the peculiar dominant effect. It will at once be noticed that the sententious is almost entirely lacking. Reflection is as remote from Penthesilea, her friends, and her opponents, as if the lives of them all had begun with the play's opening and the very basis of reflection were absent. The earlier history of the Amazons and their leader—Achilles and the Greeks have as good as none!—is narrated as far as is necessary to make the weird plot plausible for the moment, but there is a vast gulf between it and the immediate business. The events lie in a remote past, a different world almost. Their life is not the life of the play. They seem to belong to a different complex of energies, a detached system of forces. It is as if the eyes had followed the line of a searchlight and become absorbed in its circle of illumination and had then cast their gaze suddenly back on some distant light to the rear. The bond with outer humanity is not felt throughout the play. All that is not seen is too remote to appear continuous with the actual and visible, and the created life of the poet's brain seems a thing isolated, its own universe, its own first cause. So much for the collective. Turning to the impersonal, we find that the material setting of the play is by no means ignored. On the contrary, it is beheld with an extraordinary sharpness; it is vivid to an unparalleled degree. The return of Achilles, seen off-stage from a hillock, is scientifically recorded with a catalogue of the parts of himself and his chariot horses as they appear in turn over the hill-crest:

> Seht! Steigt dort, über jenes Berges Rücken,
> Ein Haupt nicht, ein bewaffnetes, empor?
> Ein Helm, von Federbüschen überschattet?
>
> 332

Der Nacken schon, der mächt'ge, der es trägt?
Die Schultern auch, die Arme, stahlumglänzt?
Das ganze Brustgebild, o seht doch, Freunde,
Bis wo den Leib der goldne Gurt umschliesst?
. . . . . .
Die Häupter sieht man schon, geschmückt mit Blessen,
Des Rossgespanns! Nur noch die Schenkel sind,
Die Hufe, von der Höhe Rand bedeckt!
Jetzt, auf dem Horizonte, steht das ganze
Kriegsfahrzeug da! [ll. 356–62, 364–68.]

Still more breath-taking is the observation of the chariot-wheels, whirled in flight to an opaque disc:

Der Blick dringt unzerknicht sich durch die Räder
Zur Scheibe fliegend eingedreht, nicht hin [ll. 385–86].

Penthesilea even sees her own reflection in the shining breastplate of Achilles when they approach one another (ll. 642–45). There is a lurid clarity about the whole picture. The landscape is illuminated by the blaze of Penthesilea's self. She is its sun. Of itself it is, in a phrase of Kleist's,

Nichts als ein dunkler Grund nur, eine Folie,
Die Funkelpracht des Einzigen zu heben [*Penth.*, ll. 1042–43].

It is a thing visualized with no energy of its own. It is usually in the half-lights that nature seems alert, an incalculable store of hidden forces. "When other things sank brooding to sleep the heath appeared slowly to awake and listen," says Thomas Hardy. Macbeth's witches fade in the sunlight, and it is in the obscurity of rain and thunder that the frail body of a Lear is buffeted. In *Penthesilea* the very clearness of the pictorial vision robs the things seen of their true energy. Hebbel felt this to be spurious: "In Heinrich von Kleist's falscher Plastik wird gewissermassen der Lebensodem auch sichtbar gemacht."[1] There is no atmosphere in it, no impressionism, only color and outline and brightness. It has the flat, inert falseness of a color photograph. It astonishes the eye, but leaves the spirit hungry.

Other characteristics might be derived, but these are among the most obvious. Their contribution to the atmosphere of the play is

[1] *Tagebücher*, ed. Werner, IV, 5740.

a uniform one, and its effect is to identify Penthesilea with the vitality of the whole action. She storms comet-like through the breathless succession of twenty-four scenes that constitute the play,

> Mit eines Waldstroms wütendem Erguss
> Die einen, wie die andern, niederbrausend [ll. 120–21].

She rules imperiously the very forces of nature, when she in her furious onset

> Hinweg die Luft trinkt lechzend, die sie hemmt [l. 398].

The play cannot command our affection; it must always evoke a large measure of disapproval; but the sheer energy of its central figure will remain a thing not easy to put aside, for it is a supreme instance, surpassing Marlowe, of that type of play which a single person dominates.

The same tendency influences every play of this disconcerting author. His earliest play, *Die Familie Schroffenstein*, is the only one with a deliberate attempt to employ the energy of blind forces in vitalizing the action, and this feature of the work seems, from an inspection of the variants, to have been an afterthought.[1] The play probably arose during the brief fatalistic mood of 1801 and was externally influenced by it. Certainly the coincidences in its plot are ludicrous in the extreme and only less foolish than the absurd little finger, cut from a dead child's hand, which contributes in some measure to the general misunderstanding and is grotesquely accentuated late in the play as a symbol of fateful malice. The variety of the characters, the strongly differentiated scenes—there is a witch's kitchen with cauldron and incantations as well as some woodland love-making—the presence of a fair amount of general reflection, all these do indeed create a feeling of balance, which makes the play, immature as it is, the most normal in general impression of all Kleist's dramas and gives promise of a development far more on traditional lines than proved to be the case. But even here the mood which makes puppets of mankind is felt to be on the wane and the unfathomable personality asserts itself. The character of Rupert—in lesser degree Sylvester—is a clear forerunner of the later unique studies. The opening scene—it must be one of Kleist's earliest—strikes a

[1] Cf. Kleist's MS note at the beginning of IV, iii, and again to l. 2223.

furious personal note. Mass has just been sung in the castle chapel at Rossitz; Rupert and his family approach the altar:

Rupert: Ich schwöre Rache! Rache! auf die Hostie,
Dem Haus' Sylvesters, Grafen Schroffenstein.
(*Er empfängt das Abendmahl.*)
Die Reihe ist an dir, mein Sohn.
Ottokar: Mein Herz
Trägt wie mit Schwingen deinen Fluch zu Gott.
Ich schwöre Rache, so wie du.
Rup.: Den Namen,
Mein Sohn, den Namen nenne!
Ott.: Rache schwör' ich
Sylvestern Schroffenstein!
Rup.: Nein, irre nicht!
Ein Fluch, wie unsrer, kömmt vor Gottes Ohr,
Und jedes Wort bewaffnet er mit Blitzen.
Drum wäge sie gewissenhaft.—Sprich nicht
"Sylvester," sprich "sein ganzes Haus," so hast
Du's sichrer.
Ott.: Rache schwör' ich, Rache!
Dem Mörderhaus' Sylvesters.
(*Er empfängt das Abendmahl.*)
Rup.: Eustache,
Die Reihe ist an dir.
Eustache: Verschone mich,
Ich bin ein Weib—
Rup.: Und Mutter auch des Toten.
Eust.: O Gott! Wie soll ein Weib sich rächen?
Rup.: In
Dedanken. Würge sie betend.
(*Sie empfängt das Abendmahl.*)
[ll. 23–39.]

Of this same father, Ottokar says:

Er trägt uns, wie die See das Schiff, wir müssen
Mit seiner Woge fort, sie ist nicht zu
Beschwören [ll. 1454–56].

The thesis can be applied instructively to the whole series of Kleist's plays, and, while none of them instances it so completely as *Penthesilea*, their most remarkable peculiarities tally closely with it and can, perhaps, be fully comprehended only from this point of view. Hermann is an amazing example of purely personal initiative bending

a disunited nation to a great issue and, elsewhere, Käthchen's apparent passivity is, at bottom, the controlling energy in the only parts of the play that truly live. In both these most unique works the severance from normal life is strongly pronounced. The *Hermannsschlacht* is anything but a typical national assertion; it is a penetrating study of an individual manifestation of patriotism, so unusual in nature as to be incomprehensible to Hermann's own fellows. Käthchen is an unforgettable study, one of the most intimate feminine studies in literature, but with the slightest possible measure of general validity. It is significant, too, that the nature-setting which Kleist deliberately associates with her:

> —wo der Zeisig sich das Nest gebaut,
> Der zwitschernde, in dem Hollunderstrauch [V, xii],[1]

is as highly specialized among external phenomena as is Käthchen among women. The impersonal contribution, exquisite as a decorative setting, is in no way a *milieu* and stands for no force or influence. The mediaeval gear which bestrews the play like an untidy museum is equally devoid of inner significance. The bustle of it all is straightforwardly refreshing, but it is hardly in serious relation to the principal characters. Käthchen is ruthlessly withdrawn from the rich associations, so superbly conveyed in the opening scene, and the succeeding pictures, with the exception of III, i, have nothing of their breadth. Like the landscape of *Penthesilea*—though in lesser degree—they are seen without mood or atmosphere, stage-settings in flat surfaces for characters that move to and fro on an intervening plane. Further, Kleist's broken rhythms of speech, which diminish the impersonal in all his plays, are further accentuated here by the very capricious alternation of prose and verse.

The attitude that this paper takes is frankly remote from R. M. Meyer's generalization on Kleist: "Aus einer unsicheren Stimmung, die den Helden umgibt, erwächst in rascher Entwickelung das Problem. Diese Stimmung lebt in allen Nebenfiguren; hell wird sie in dem Helden. Und darin liegt es, dass bei Kleist die Gesamtpersönlichkeit, die Volksindividualität zum eigentlichen Helden wird. Der Heros der *Hermannsschlacht* ist das deutsche Volk; der rechte Sieger

[1] Cf. also I, ii (two references) and the whole of IV, ii.

im *Prinzen von Homburg* ist: Brandenburg."[1] As an inverse statement of Kleist's characteristics, this passage seems completely adequate. Granting the plots of the two plays mentioned, it is difficult to realize how the mass could be more subordinated than is the case here. Something has already been said of the *Hermannsschlacht*, a play "einzig und allein auf diesen Augenblick berechnet." As for the *Prinz von Homburg*, which is, likewise, closely identified with the spirit of the times, it is strange that in a play the immediate purpose of which had everything to gain from massed effects there should be no military parade, much less a folk-scene. As Erich Schmidt observes: "Kein Schwede tritt auf; es wird nie mit Massenszenen gearbeitet; das Bürgertum Brandenburgs erscheint nirgends, die Bauernschaft nur für einen Augenblick, um Herberge für einen hohen Gast zu bieten; unser Drama gehört allein dem Hof und den Offizieren des Kurfürsten."[2] If it had been possible for Kleist to organize a larger body of humanity and make it articulate, as Schiller and Hauptmann could, it would surely have been here, in the two historical plays, when his heart beat high for Prussia, for, in spite of their peculiarities, they remain the most comprehensive utterance in his country's literature of the spirit of regeneration which stirred Fichte and the war poets. The accident of circumstance furnishes us in these last plays with proof, otherwise not forthcoming, that Kleist was not only constitutionally disinclined, but constitutionally unable to control and energize the crowd. His overpowering feeling for personality leaves us after a repeated perusal of these latest creations with a profound impression of individual purposefulness, so utter as to be enigmatic, in Hermann, and of individual volatility, disturbing to some readers even today, in Prinz Friedrich von Homburg. Reserve must be made for that early fragment, *Robert Guiskard*, which opens splendidly on the larger note of a people's voice, but it must be remembered that the play was left unfinished, and the assumption is plausible that Kleist was defeated by a plan which was not sufficiently compatible to his imagination.

Kleist's ability, then, to conceive and organize dramatically is thus exactly in line with his personal conviction about life. Just as

[1] *Die deutsche Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts*, I, 28. [2] Kleist, *Werke*, III, 12.

he remained more completely than most adults the center of a disorderly universe, so his natural tendency in play-writing was to throw full energy into a single character and to surround it with passive material, human and inanimate, which it illumines, quickens, or annihilates at will. And just as this sole constant, the personality, was to Kleist a riddle, incalculable and fraught with unsuspected potentialities, so in his plays these central figures, violent as they are, are not usually fully revealed as consistent entities but only flashed into the eye from the particular angle of immediate observation. This excessive realism only serves to emphasize the detachment of these works from common life, and even from one another. Each play is its own world. We cannot, as in Shakspere, transfer a character in imagination from one play to another. In each there is a separate system of energies. How complete, for example, is the isolation, from the world and from other plays, of *Der zerbrochene Krug*. There is not the faintest vein of social satire or criticism in this delightful study of a country judge and his escapades. It is, rather, a special world, analogous to ours, but not of it, constructed for our personal delight. Judge Adam, more fortunate than his confrères of this earth, awakens no contempt and feels no humiliation, and even the last picture—

> Seht! wie der Richter Adam, bitt' ich euch,
> Berg auf, Berg ab, als flöh' er Rad und Galgen,
> Das aufgepflügte Winterfeld durchstampft!
> . . . . . .
> Jetzt kommt er auf die Strasse. Seht! seht!
> Wie die Perücke ihm den Rücken peitscht!
> [ll. 1954–56, 1958–59]—

elicits our unreserved gratitude for a final touch of generous entertainment.

It can be seen, then, that throughout Kleist's plays, his extraordinary bias toward the personal, as the controlling energy, determines or, at least, in large measure affects the impression they convey to the student. Mention has been made, here and there in this paper, of every drama of his, except the *Amphitryon*, where he was subordinating his creative power to purposes of translation. Considering the five plays, in which his powers are fully revealed, it is not hard to see

that the balance of energies among the individual, the collective, and the impersonal is essential in what is felt to be artistic breadth and sanity. The *Hermannsschlacht* and *Penthesilea*, both works of unforgettable vigor and originality, lack the equilibrium of greater dramas while sharing, beyond doubt, many of their virtues. The very defects of *Käthchen*, the popular concessions—perhaps some of those which Kleist so bitterly regretted—restore a semblance of balance, not exactly inherent, and may help it to weather storms of time, in which its immediate fellows, unsteadied by general cargo, may ultimately go down. The *Prinz von Homburg* and *Der zerbrochene Krug* stand apart from these three. They retain in restrained form the virtues of Kleist's genius and powerfully correct his great excess. Both contain a rich gallery of portraits; both touch the healthier national traditions. Judge Adam, first cousin to Falstaff, is not the life-energy of his play, but merely its central figure. Licht, the sly clerk, the garrulous Frau Marthe, Veit and Ruprecht, those admirable villagers, all stand on their own feet; they draw their life from the soil and move in the larger sunlight.

> Ein rüstig Mädel ist's, ich hab's beim Ernten
> Gesehn, wo alles von der Faust ihr ging,
> Und ihr das Heu man flog, als wie gemaust.
> Da sagt' ich: "Willst du?" Und sie sagte: "Ach!
> Was du da gekelst." Und nachher sagt' sie: "Ja."
> [ll. 876–80.]

Here Kleist touches Mother Earth, as nowhere in the extremer plays. He joins the ranks in peasant literature with Otto Ludwig and Anzengruber, and, to the delight of his admirers, adds his share to the splendid native tradition that was later enriched by the *Heiteretei* and the *Kreuzelschreiber*. And in the *Prinz von Homburg*, the presence alone of old "Hans Kottwitz aus der Priegnitz" and the still greater Kurfürst, the "märk'sche Weise" of these splendid fellows, gives ample poise to this fascinating study. Hence, while the relation of these two plays to the main characteristics of Kleist's other works can easily be traced, it is unobtrusive, and the whole manner of them is on altogether broader lines.

By virtue of these two plays Kleist has a claim on all students of drama. There is little or nothing in character-comedy since Shakspere that is choicer than *Der zerbrochene Krug*, and in serious drama

the *Prinz von Homburg*, with its superlative deftness, holds a unique and distinguished place.

For theorists in literature Kleist has done still more. The critic who is not content with masterpieces alone, where poets so ungenerously cover their traces, will find in a fuller study of Kleist a most welcome insistence on the real *point de départ* in literary judgments. In order to point the physician's finger at Kleist's poetic constitution, its basis of energy, not its basis of dexterity, must be regarded. He insists, all unconsciously, on the underlying arrangement of vitalities which sustains the whole of literature. The application of accepted Classical and Romantic standards to his work shows how external, not to say superficial, are such criteria. Drama is at bottom a system of energies, and it is to Kleist's enormous credit that he defies examination on any shallower basis.

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THE VOGUE OF LITERARY THEORIES IN GERMANY FROM 1500 TO 1730

> Verschweig' auch nichts, mein immer muntrer Sohn,
> von unsrer Organisation,
> Auch dasz wir uns an Zeit und Ort nichts kehren
> Und uns um Aristoteles nicht scheren.
>
> —G. HAUPTMANN, *Festspiel in deutschen Reimen.*

"Wie leid ists mir itzt, dasz ich nicht mehr Poeten und Historien gelesen habe und mir auch dieselben niemand geleret hat. Habe dafür müssen lesen des Teufels Dreck, die Philosophos und Sophisten. . . . ." Thus Martin Luther (1524). He must have been thinking here, among others, of Aristotle. The Stagyrite had been in the mediaeval mind the *princeps philosophorum*,[1] the high-priest of knowledge, and last, not least, the mentor and teacher of the mighty Alexander. To be sure, he was sometimes represented as a necromancer, but this also happened to the much-revered Virgil and, in a way, it was a compliment. The "Pfaffe" Lamprecht (about 1125: "Aristoteles der Wise man") and Rudolf von Ems[2] sang his praises and his fame would have been untarnished but for his name's getting connected with a certain, probably oriental, tale of a wise man's futile attempt to outwit a clever woman. The result was a striking impression in the mediaeval mind: the wiseacre on all fours, bridled and bestraddled by Alexander's beautiful wife; a picture redrawn in tales, Latin and other, and shown in Shrovetide plays.[3] It is well known that Luther put Cicero far above the *Erzstultum* Aristoteles, the "mueszigen Esel der Geld und Gut, und gute faule Tage genug

[1] Liber de moribus et vita philosophorum, fifteenth-century MS. Berlin, Kön. Bibl. 924 theol. qu. 214. In 1516 in "Ein schön Tragedj, gezogen aus der Heyl. Geschrifft, wie Belial ein recht mit Christo anfecht," we find among the 31 characters: God the Father, Solomon, Peter, Jeremy, Octavian, and Aristotle. Cf. Gottsched, *Nöthiger Vorrath*, II, 227).

[2] Alexanderlied: "Der kuenste bluome an wisheit/von dem alliu pfaffheit seit . . . . Aristoteles der wīse/der nach menschlichem prīse/der hohesten kuenste wīsete/die man zuo kuenste prīsete." Cf. W. Hertz, "Aristoteles in den Alexanderdichtungen des Mittelalters," *Abh. d. I. Cl. d. K. Ak. d. Wiss.*, Bd. XIX, I, Abt. (Munich, 1890).

[3] Cf. H. Sachs, *Persones, die königin, reit den philosophum Aristotelem*, 1545. Keller gives full references. See also Cholevius, *Gesch. d. D. Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen* (Leipzig 1854–56), I, 172.

hatte."[1] Yet Aristotle was an enemy to be counted with. Translated and interpreted by Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, Cardinal Bessarion, Gregorius Tiphernas, and others, he won staunch supporters, even among the Reformers. Melanchthon was one of them and it cost Amerbach his position. No greater monument could have been raised to him at the time than the five volumes of the Aldina Major (1495–98), no more untiring devotion lavished on his text than that of Victorius, Muretus, Camerarius.[2] Luther's language was correspondingly violent against the "verdammte hochmuetige schalkhaftige Heide." It is true that he excepted the *Poetics* from his sweeping condemnation, but the exception could not destroy the general impression. The *Poetics* lived through the Middle Ages in sorely mutilated and misinterpreted Syriac and Arabic versions and subsequently in Herman's translation of the shortened paraphrase by Averroes. Later on, however, in the first half of the sixteenth century, translations and commentaries became frequent.[3] Aristotle began, at that time, to assume the position of supreme legislator of Parnassus, which he did not yet occupy in the early Renaissance, but to which the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after Scaliger, raised him with an eagerness nothing short of astounding, and which nothing but a passionate craving for authority, utterly foreign to our times, can explain.[4] Among other possible legislators of poetry Longinus was hardly known,[5] but the influence of Horace, although little in the foreground, was continuous and strong. Especially in the drama, the precepts of Evanthius-Donatus and Suetonius-Diomedes found the readiest acceptance. Cicero and Quintilian were abundantly quoted.

The question now is asked: What was the attitude of the man of letters, especially the dramatist, toward poetical laws and rules

[1] Truth to say, "Aristoteles ist zwar ein guter und listiger dialecticus gewest, der den Methodum und richtigen ordentlichen Weg im Lehren gehalten hat; aber die Sachen und den rechten Kern hat er nicht gelehrt, wie Cicero."—*Werke*, Frankfurt-Erlangen, 62, 341.

[2] Cf. Pauly, *Real-Enc. d. class. Altertumswiss.*, II (1895), 1031.

[3] Cf. Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York, 1899), pp. 16 ff.; J. W. Cunliffe, "Early French Tragedy," *Journal of Comparative Literature*, I, 303.

[4] Cf. Spingarn, p. 141; Borinski, *Die Poetik der Renaissance* (1886), p. 81.

[5] One of the few who mention as much as his name is Zesen, *Das hochdeutsche Helikonische Rosentahl* (1669), pp. 22–23.

as, in the main, laid down by Aristotle and his more prominent successors? We do not wish here to expound the historical aspects of the *poeta nascitur* theory in Germany. Whether they believed that a poet must have inborn gifts, or held that training alone was sufficient; whatever position they took with regard to *Poetics* and *Aeraria*, sedatives for the wild Pegasus or tonics for the weary Muse, there was, apart from that, the crucial question: Shall we have binding rules or not, and, if so, how binding?

There is, of course, a background of submission; there is the dumb, colorless crowd of the subservients, who follow the rules because somebody made them, theirs not to question but obey. In the sixteenth century their name is legion. Michael Hiltprandus prints with his double drama *Ecclesia Militans* (Dilingae, 1573) three testimonials: the first from a professor of theology, vouching for the Catholic orthodoxy of the play; the second from Johannes Vicaeus, professor of philosophy at Oxford, assuring that "nothing was found in it which might seem to deviate from the rules and precepts of the poetics" (". . . . Nihil in ea reperi, quod ab artis poeticae rationibus ac praeceptionibus alienum videatur"); the third signed by M. Joh. Engerdus, *Professor Poeseos* at Ingolstadt, who found that the *pedes et syllabae* were made *ad unguem*. This was certainly love of authority with a vengeance. Balthasar Crusius[1] Franciscus, Eutrachelius,[2] and Aegidius Hunnius anxiously follow the rules, and so do many others. "And to what purpose?" one might ask, when, in spite of the well-meant efforts of scores of rule-abiding schoolmasters all over Europe, Ascham, scanning England, France, Italy, and Germany for a perfect tragedy, could find "not one, I am sure is able to abide the trew touch of *Aristotles* preceptes, and *Euripides* examples, save onely two, that I ever saw, *M. Watsons Absalom*, and *Georgius Buckananus Iephthe.*"[3] The harshness of this verdict was, maybe, likely to dishearten a dramatist, but it would gladden the heart of the critics.

The next century saw the advent of Opitz. He had studied the rules as they were taught by Aristotle and Horace in the past and

[1] *Exodus Tragoedia*, 1605.

[2] *Esther* (1549); cf. Schwartz, *Esther im deutschen und niederländischen Drama* (Oldenburg, 1896), pp. 201 ff.

[3] *The Scholemaster* (*ca.* 1570), *ap.* Cunliffe, *Early English Classical Tragedies* (Oxford 1912), p. lxxix.

more recently by Vida and Scaliger, "so auszfuehrlich dasz weiter etwas darbey zu thun vergebens ist."[1] But there can never be too much of a good thing, apparently, and Opitz wrote, or rather pieced together, a little treatise of his own, at which the mantle of the wizard fell on his rather narrow shoulders, and he was the lawgiver for a long time. It might be interesting to follow his fortune. Its curve, in a way, measures the popularity of the rules in Germany, and to trace it is like taking a flying trip through the literary thought of a century.

THE RISE AND FALL OF MARTIN OPITZ

Saluted by Tscherning as the Homer and Maro of his time; celebrated by Fleming, who was then writing his sonnets in the wilds of Tartary, as the prince of German song, and by Dach, as the marvel of the country; toasted in 1627, at a banquet in Strassburg, as the greatest of German poets, he finally reached the zenith of his glory when Buchner, the Wittenberg *Professor Poeseos*, addressed him as follows: "Our country's muse cannot rise any higher and must rest on the summit where you have placed her. Meanwhile we shall follow you and adore your footsteps, thus, however, making sure that we shall not die in complete obscurity" ("Non potest ascendere altius Musa patria et necesse est ut quiescat eo fastigio quo tu collocasti. Interim te sequemur et tua vestigia adorabimus, sic tamen non obscuri prorsus morituri").[2]

Moller puts him in the first rank of the German poets[3] and his merits as a reformer are upheld in academic dissertations.[4] Neither are his claims overlooked in foreign parts.[5]

[1] *Buch der Teutschen Poeterey*, ed. Braune, p. 8.

[2] *Epist.*, 51; cf. Morhof, *Unterricht von der deutschen Sprache und Poesie*, ed. 1700, p. 387. Whoever cares to read more of such nauseous adulation is referred to the pages of adjectives and verses devoted to Opitz and stored in Bergmann's *Aerarium Poeticum* (1677), pp. 1296 ff. See also Reimmann, *Versuch einer Einleitung in die Historiam Literariam* (1708–13), III, 450 ff.

[3] *Tyrocinium* (1656).

[4] Joh. Schreinerus defended the following thesis in his dissertation on *Problemata Poetica* (1674): "Multum alienus est a pristina facie modernus Germanae Poeseos nitor, cujus reformationis autor Opitius erat, nec infelices successores Flemingius, Schottelius, Ristius pluresve alii."

[5] Baillet declares: "On dit que c'est lui qui a débrouillé cette Poësie, qui lui a donné ses règles, sa mesure, ses accroissemens, qui l'a rendu fixe et qui l'a mise en l'état, où nous la voyons aujourd'hui."—*Jugemens des Savans* (Paris, 1668), IV, 108 ff.

This was a meteoric start to which a sudden end might have been predicted. It may be that, after such extravagant praise as Buchner's, a reaction was bound to come.

In 1637, while Rist was still appreciative of Opitz,[1] there were persons about who took a strangely sober view of his achievements. There was Harsdörfer denying him originality,[2] and Hoffmann von Hoffmannswaldau, who came very near modern valuations of the idol, but whose opinions would have sounded nothing less than sacrilegious to the Opitz devotee of thirty years before.[3]

Poor Opitz! In 1683 the Frankfort professor Adam Ebertus,[4] after the model of Boccalini's famous *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, with Erasmian picturesqueness and in racy Latin, described the shameful treatment meted out to Opitz on the mountain of song,[5] and a few years later Weise was speaking of "dear Mr. Opitz" in a condescending way and with many French words. On the whole, excepting the two years at the end of his life as Historiographer Royal of Poland, Opitz had been a poor wretch, a wanderer on the face of the earth,

[1] ". . . . Der seinen fruchtbaren Tau der gruendlichen Poetischen Unterweisung erstlich ueber seine Landeszleute die Teutsche/mildiglich hat auszgegossen . . . ." (*Poetischer Lustgarten*). At his death he praised Opitz and thereby incurred, as he believed, the lifelong persecution of the mysterious "Simei." Cf. *Das friedewünschende Teutschland* (1647).

[2] Starting from the principle that originality makes the poet, he concluded that Joost van den Vondel, the contemporary Dutch poet, was not wrong in denying Opitz the title of poet: "weil er gar wenig aus eigener Erfindung/viel aber aus andern gedolmetschet habe" (*Gespraechspiele*, IV [1647], 62 of the Zugabe). Cf. also *Hertzbewegliche Sonntagsandachten* (Nürnberg, 1649, 1650), and the author's "De Nederlandsche letterkunde in Duitschland in de zeventiende eeuw," *Tydschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal-en Letterkunde* (Leiden), XXXIII, 25 ff.

[3] Hoffmannswaldau chiefly emphasizes Opitz' merits in point of poetical reform (*Deutsche Übersetzungen und Gedichte* [Breslau, 1679]).

[4] *Quinquaginta Relationes ex Parnasso* (Hamburg, 1683). Boccalini's influence (1556–1613) on Joh. Val. Andreae, Harsdörfer, and especially Schupp in his later years, is noticeable. Partial translations into German were published in 1617 and 1641. An almost complete edition, reprinted in 1644, appeared in Frankfort in 1644. Cf. P. Stötzner, "Trajano Boccalini und sein Einfluss auf die deutsche Litteratur," *Archiv* (1899), CIII, 107–47.

[5] Opitz, exhausted by the excesses of a lewd life ("popinas lenonesque nimium sectandi"), clad in rags, has fallen asleep on a heap of manure within the precincts of Parnassus. He is caught and put to rope-twisting, escapes, but is caught again and brought before Apollo. Conrad Celtes, good soul, offers him part of his clothes, but Opitz declines, hoping that his rags will soften the judge's heart. And now the Humanist repays Opitz with interest for whatever the latter, and more especially his followers, in their nationalistic zeal for the language of the people, may have said against the Latin-writing pundits. After a sharp reprimand the cringing wretch is bound over to behave decently and dismissed (Relatio XXV).

mostly dependent upon patrons; and Weise, who was something of a "climber," has his mouth full with the names of more substantial people: Schottelius, who is "Hoff-Rath" in Wolfenbüttel, Harsdörfer, "ein vornehmer Patritius und Raths-Verwandter" in Nürnberg, or Hoffmannswaldau, who was "Praeses" in Breslau.[1]

No wonder, then, that from Morhof to Statius, through Jaenich and Wahl,[2] and in spite of an occasional word in his favor,[3] the attitude toward Opitz became increasingly critical or indifferent. It was high time when Gottsched came to the rescue and in a public lecture, in 1739, paid solemn homage to the mighty one who had fallen so low.[4] In 1747 Opitz is already treated as an object of literary research,[5] an indication that he was no longer regarded as a living force in literature, and that Gottsched's "Lobrede," in spite of the high tribute paid, was a dirge.

But to revert to the first half of the seventeenth century: After Opitz the followers of the rules were no less numerous. Klaj was proud to be one of them[6] and Mitternacht marveled at the success

[1] *Curiöse Gedanken*, andrer Theil, 1692.

[2] Morhof also quotes Buchner, while disagreeing with him, repeats the charge made by Harsdörfer, and even dares to say that Opitz was not the first to reassert the rule of natural accentuation of verses, but Petrus Denaisius, on the testimony of Melchior Adami (Morhof, *Unterricht*, ed. 1700, p. 387). Of course, we know that Johannes Claj (of Herzberg) in his German grammar of 1578 enunciated the principle before Opitz, and that the Dutchman Abraham Van der Myle expressed it in 1612, in his *Orthographia Belgica*. Opitz himself quotes the example of Tobias Hübner. Jaenich sticks to Opitz, but Wahl is skeptical about reformers. He does not indorse Buchner as to Opitz and declares: "Von denen allzustrengen Reformatoribus der Teutschen Sprache will ich jetzo nichts gedencken, weil schon jedermann bekannt dasz sie nicht so viel Fruechte gebracht als sie wohl gemeynet" (*Anleitung zur poetischen Elocution*, 1706). This passage does not occur in the edition of 1709 (Wahl, *Kurtze Einleitung* [1715]). With indifference more wounding than any scorn, such a creature as J. J. Statius declares in 1715: "Dieser Mann hat zu seiner Zeit einen ziemlichen Beyfall gehabt" (*Der wohlgebahnte Weg zu der deutschen Poesie* [1716]).

[3] An anonymous author—Benjamin Neukirch—in 1697 believes that Buchner's praise, of course, was exaggerated, but that nevertheless Opitz did ". . . . mehr als man meynet, und dasz viel Versmacher in Deutschland leben, welche die Kraefte dieses Poeten noch nicht erkennet" (Vorrede von der Poesie, in *Herrn von Hoffmannswaldau und andere Gedichte*, [Leipzig, 1697–1709]).

[4] This "Lobrede auf Opitz" reprinted in *Gesammelte Reden*, and which is said to contain a number of opinions of contemporaries down to Leibniz, was not accessible to me.

[5] Cf. Gottsched, *Beytraege* (Leipzig, 1732–1742), VII, 54, 74, etc.).

[6] *Herodes der Kindermörder*, 1645. But Elias Schlegel, as Schmid (*Chronologie des deutschen Theaters*, 1775) points out, showed how little the rules were really respected in this drama. Cf. also *Critische Beytraege*, VII, 355.

of the rule-scorning English comedians,[1] while Morhof,[2] Rappolt,[3] Triller[4] still unquestioningly cling to tradition and authority.

Certain authors, from the sixteenth century on, while standing for the rules, would feel urged to know and say why. Schosser, for instance, contended that they were after all only reasonable, those "boundaries which reason determines and which the leader of the Peripatetics has shown us" ("Terminos quos ratio fixit et princeps Peripateticorum monstravit . . . .").[5] The Jesuit Alexander Pontanus professes to believe in the rules, but in his opinion Aristotle and his followers have failed to point out a really easy way to Helicon, failed to write a treatise which the teachers would find easy to explain and the students easy to understand. Hence his own book.[6]

Rist, like Morhof, has heard of heretics who question all authority.[7] However, there must be rules, he thinks, and besides they have been drawn by Opitz "aus der Sprachen Natur."[8] At this

[1] They do not seem to owe their success to the rules: "Zwar die Engellender/und andere im Lande herumbstreichende *Comoedianten*/als welche entweder agar nichts oder nicht viel besonders studiret haben/sind hierum wenig bekuemmert/wie aus denen Engellaendischen Comoedien/so in zweyen *voluminibus* zusammen gedruckt/satsam zu ersehen stehet/als in welchen fast nicht eine einige zu befinden/die nach den vorgeschriebnen *legibus* und *praeceptis* durchgaengig eingerichtet wäre, ..."—*Der ungluecksselige Soldat und vorwitzige Barbierer*, 1662.

[2] *Unterricht*, ed. 1700, 190 ff.

[3] Professor D. Rappolt, of Leipzig, was a full-fledged critic. He wrote a commentary to the *Christus Patiens* of Hugo Grotius, which was supposed to be a well-nigh perfect tragedy, and tested it with all the known critical acids "nach den scharffen Reguln des Aristotelis, Horatii, Heinsii und Scaligeri." It was edited by his no less learned son-in-law, L. Feller, Leipzig, 1678.

[4] In 1723 Dan. W. Triller wrote a commentary to the *Christus Patiens*, this time in German, calling the work of the Dutch jurist a *Wunderwerck*, in which none of the rules of "Aristotile, Barnes [*sic*], Dryden, Sarrazin, Corneille" had been violated.

[5] *Disputatio de Tragoedia* (1569).

[6] He scoffs at the notion that poets are born and can really be poets without any training, as if, he says, "poets grew from seed, spontaneously, like mushrooms in the woods and did not need any rules." An orator, they think, needs training ("At poema iubentur & putantur posse fingere, qui eius artem nullam gustaverunt: qui neque de eius fine, partibus, & partis cuiusque proprietatibus per nebulam aliquando audierunt"). But the rules, even as they are, might be better. Aristotle is obscure, the text mutilated and imperfect, and he speaks only of tragedy. Horace never intended his epistle to the Piso's as a treatise on poetics and as for Scaliger, Vida, and others, they are copious, subtle, incisive, but—unsatisfactory! (*Institutiones Poeticae* [1594].)

[7] ". . . . Die doerffen wohl fragen/wer dem Opitio befohlen habe/gewisse leges von der Teutschen Poeterey auffzusetzen/es moechte wohl ein jedweder seine eigene Prosodey schreiben."

[8] *Musa Teutonica*, 1643. This point of view is emphasized in 1725: "Diese Regeln sind nichts anders als die Ordnung, welche die Natur erfordert und alle gute Poeten

point the argument of common-sense was the only one that would still hold out. There were too many writers in revolt, Germans and foreigners, some even putting forth in treatises their bold negations.[1] Finally the rules appeared to be supreme again, at least for a short time. The heretics were chastised and Weise was most cruelly spoken of by Gottsched.[2] But, almost unnoticeably, a great change had come to pass. It was understood, in theory at least, that there was to be no more unreasoned tyranny of the rules. There is no slavery in obeying the laws of nature and the dictates of common-sense. And that was just what the rules were at last taken to represent. Witness Gottsched: "Es kommt also nicht auf das Ansehen Aristotelis, oder andrer Critikverstandigen an; die solche Regeln nach ihrem Eigensinne ausgedacht haetten. Die gesunde Vernunft hat solches die Griechischen Tragoedienschreiber gelehrte, ehe diser Weltweise die Regeln der Dichtkunst abfassete."[3]

The traditionalists had thus been slowly compelled, first, to account reasonably for their attitude and thereby make it clearer, not only to others, but perhaps also to themselves, and, concomitantly, to abate their claims and learn a certain tolerance. Of course, there was an underlying reason. Considering the strength which the legions of authority usually possess by numbers and inertia, the force and aggressiveness of the opposition must have been great; and indeed it was little short of astounding. To be sure, no German before Gottsched ever came near Shakespeare's imperial self-reliance, claiming as his privilege:

> to o'erthrow law and in one self-born hour
> To plant and o'erwhelm custom.[4]

gehalten haben. Der fuernehmste, welcher uns hierinnen den Weg gebahnt, ist bey den Griechen Aristoteles, und bey den Lateinern Horatius gewesen. Diesen sind zu unseren Zeiten Vida, Scaliger, Vossius, Rapinus and andere gefolgt, welche alle doch nicht so weit gesehen als der erste."—*Anleitung zur Poesie*, Anon. (Breslau, 1725).

[1] Picander-Henrici, for instance, although respectful of the rules in general, has "for nuetzlich befunden, die Regeln der Kunst nicht so genau, als wohl billig, in acht zu nehmen. Diese Entschuldigung wird um so geneigter angenommen werden weil sich der fruchtbare Comoedien-Schreiber in Spanien, *Lope de Vega* damit fortzukommen getrauet/und solches in einem Gedicht: *Arte nuevo de hazer comedias in este tiempo*, welches er der Academie zu Madrit zugeschrieben, angefuehret."—*Teutsche Schauspiele* (1726).

[2] *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen*, 1730, pp. 593–94.

[3] *Beytrage*, III, 616.

[4] *Winter's Tale*, Prol. IV.

But strange to say, the Humanists (whose dramatic history is not known as it should be) came very near it.

Gnapheus chose the theme of the prodigal son for one of his comedies, a theme which skirts tragedy at points. He knows it is "against the rules of comedy which Flaccus handed down to us." Nevertheless he wrote his play. "For I prefer," he said, "to observe the respect due to piety rather than the decorum of literature" ("Malui enim pietatis respectui quam literaturae decoro alicubi servire . . . . crimen levius quam a sensu et rei dignitate recedere."[1] To him the subject was the main matter, not the form into which it was to be put. To violate the rules of Horace was to him a "lighter offense than to deviate from the dignity of the subject." Why should the rules laid down by a heathen philosopher, "Aristoteles der Haid," bind a Christian dramatist?[2] The heathen tolerance and promiscuity of the Renaissance is a thing of the past, said Nicolaus Barptolomaeus.[3] This is a new age and a new race. Therefore, says Johannes Sapidus, who knew the critics down to Alexander Donatus:

. . . . we cannot follow, neither do we want to/the art and custom of Antiquity./For in our time, in contrast to that bygone age,/Things have a different aspect, arrangement and foundation;/The way of living has changed, the worship of God has changed,/The mutual intercourse of men has changed,/Not only in public but in private life;/Hence also a changed way of writing is necessary.

. . . . at nos nec potuimus nec uoluimus sequi
Artem atque morem, quem tenuit antiquitas.
Nam aetate nostra, prisco ab isto tempore,
Rerum alia facies, ordo & institutio,
Alius modus uitae, alius est cultus Dei,
Alia hominum communicatio inuicem,
Non publice solum, sed et domestice:
Unde & alia ratione scribendi est opus.[4]

To Naogeorg the critics objected that his tragedies were no tragedies. To be sure, he replied, "I know what they do not like in

[1] *Acolastus* (1529), ed. Bolte.

[2] As he is called in the title of a play of 1511 (Goedeke, *Grundriss*, I, 333).

[3] He has only four acts in his tragedy *Christus Xylonicus* (Colon., 1537; also in *Trag. & Com. aliquot* [Basil, 1541]). But this French monk impenitently declares that "Christian liberty refuses to be bound by those far-fetched heathen rules" ("Christianae libertatis rationem anxiis ethnicorum legibus astrictam esse noluit"!).

[4] Anabion, *Argentorati*, 1539.

them: the comical elements which I insert for relief. I do not delight in bombast or endless words; I do not confine my subjects to the Greeks, and you will rarely hear me exclaim 'Vae' or 'Iuppiter.' I leave that to Sophocles and to Euripides, and to Seneca. They were successful enough in their time, but the times have changed."[1] This was independence with just a dash of defiance, but it was not perjury to the masters of antiquity. They were expressions of their own time and as such to be honored, and it was no inconsistency of Naogeorg to translate into Latin the *Ajax* and the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles. It was not scorn, only the logical adaptation to changed circumstances. "We have often offended against the rules of ancient Comedy, not in contempt, but as a matter of expediency," said one of the Humanists in 1590 ("In leges veteris Comoediae saepe peccabimus, non contemptu sed consilio").[2] Ludovicus Crocius wonders how anyone can bother to uphold the rules. "Who will fight for a thing which time has antiquated? Where is Athens? where is the Roman Forum? where are the Megalensic games? where are the circuses and the theaters?" If all these have perished, why do we still enforce rules which were observed by the poets at the time when these flourished?[3] Further instances of a fine spirit of independence might be shown in Gregorius Hollonius, of Liège,[4] Heinrich Cnaust of Berlin,[5] and Cornelius Schonaeus of Delft.[6] Thus we observe the Humanists, actuated by a strong sense of nationalism, which seems to have arisen in the Netherlands and in Germany as

[1] Further he remarks:

> At nunc si eorum quisquam agat tragoedias
> Populoque spectandas uel ipse Diphilus
> Exhibeat, explodetur, huius si modo
> Genius popelli notus est satis mihi.
> . . . . si auferas sententiarum lumina,
> Atque grauitatem dictionis propriam,
> Inisipidius nec esse insulsius,
> Nec tempori huic minus fatebere idoneum.
>
> [*Hamanus Tragoedia*, 1583.]

In the dedication of his *Iudas Iscariotes* (1552) he again upholds his claim of being the representative of a new kind of tragedy. His translator Dam. Lindtner (*Von der Königin Esther und Haman* [1607]) has assimilated his spirit.

[2] "De humanitatis regno comoedia altera, in qua de criticis, poetis obscoenis: et aliis ad literas spectantibus agitur," 1590, MS, Munich, Hof- und Staatsbibl. *ap.* Francke, *Terenz und die Schulkomoedie in Deutschland* (1877), p. 140.

[3] *Tragicae comicaeque actiones* (1605).

[4] *Lambertias* (Antverpiae, 1556).

[5] *Agapetus* (Argent., 1562).

[6] *Triumphus Christi, Comoediarum altera pars* (Amsterdam, 1595).

early as, and maybe earlier than, in Italy,[1] and which perhaps has shown itself stronger in those countries than anywhere else,[2] contending, to be sure, for freedom from the ancient rules, but not from rules as such. The changing conditions of life should be expressed by changing laws, they held; but they would not have been Humanists if their sense of form and their love of mental discipline had forsaken them. With the Jesuits the question took a different turn. That great fighting body, in discovering the hitherto almost neglected possibilities of the school-drama, decided, with a characteristic mixture of traditionalism and originality, not to discard the ancient rules, but to rejuvenate them. They may be said to be the first who understood these rules and, deftly modifying them, to have created a modern dramaturgy in Germany. The Jesuit Avancinus calls the sacred unities a "superstition" and shows scant respect to mere lawgivers who do not test their own precepts: he is a practical man ("Ego practicos eos imitor, quos suspicio: non propterea deteriores: quod minus vetustos. Saeculi hoc vitium est, non artis, quod tam sero tam illustres viros protulerit").[3] For this was the secret of the rejuvenating process: When men use certain means for ends that are very dear to them, those means, even if they are poor, are thoroughly vitalized. The Jesuits wanted popularity and success for the glory and extension of the Catholic church. As a body they were exceedingly shrewd; consequently only those who could achieve results with the audience were given their boards, and in order to get results these gave the public what it wanted. The editor of the *Ludi theatrales* of Jacob Bidermannus owns it quite frankly: the author has offended Flaccus occasionally? Be it so. He knew the rules well enough, though, but: "rather believe me, reader, I have done it in sane deliberation, for my object has been solely to suit the inclinations of my audience."[4]

After all, why be pestered with rules, even if practical necessity did not brush them aside? They are not an eternal and unchangeable

[1] Cf. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 162 ff.

[2] Cf. Borinski, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[3] *Poesis dramatica* (Colon., 1675), I.

[4] Whatever he may have written, Bidermannus had his reasons. He tried like Terence: "quoquo modo effecisse, Populo ut placerent, quas dedisset fabulas" (*Ludi theatrales* [Monachi, 1666]).

institution.[1] Few would disagree on this with the Jesuits when we reflect that even Scaliger had said so in connection with some rule of the chorus, and he a rule-monger himself: "If now somebody should do in a different manner, I think he would be allowed to, just as our predecessors claimed that it was allowed to them" ("Si quis aliter nunc fecerit, puto ei licere posse, quemadmodum sibi licuisse voluerunt ille").[2] And Scaliger, at that time, certainly enjoyed the respect of the literary world of Germany. Opitz wrote verses for him[3] and found it difficult to believe that Scaliger was a mere man."[4] Klaj shared his feeling in this regard: if Scaliger was not more than a man, at least he was all that a man could possibly be (". . . . also dasz es gar scheinet/als wann die Natur an diesem Manne versuchen wolle/wie weit sich des Menschen Kraeffte in der Geschikklichkeit erstrekketen").[5] With independent minds like Schupp, the matter of the rules again bears a different aspect. Such men are constitutionally adverse to rules: they are too strong. And, strange to remark, it hardly occurs to anybody to question their behavior. Thrown round the radiance of Shakespeare or the majesty of Goethe, the mantle of the rules would appear shabby, as it would seem skimpy on the broad shoulders of a Luther or a Rabelais.

Schupp simply could not understand the use of rules.

> Ob das Woertlein und, die, das, ihr, und dergleichen kurz oder lang sei, daran ist mir und allen Musquetirern in Stade und Bremen nichts gelegen. Welcher Roem. Kaiser, ja welcher Apostel hat ein Gesetz geben, dasz man einer silben halben, dem Opitio zu gefallen, einen guten Gedanken solle fahren lassen? Ihr vornehme critici, sagt mir, ob der koenig David in seinen Psalmen sich allzeit gebunden habe an die Reguln, welche Pindarus in seinen Odis observirt hat? Und ihr, Teutsche Poetae, sagt mir ob Lutherus, wann er traurig oder freudig gewesen und sein Gemuet zu erquicken ein geistreiches Liedlein gemacht, darin er mehr auf das Anliegen seines Herzens und auf die Realia, als auf poetische, isabellische, florabellische,

[1] The first German Humanists had already said so, but they may have been prejudiced by their hard struggle against Scholasticism and by their very strong conviction that they had opened a new Christian period in the drama as well as in life.

[2] *Poetices* (1561), L, III, cap. 97, 2d ed. (1581), p. 377.

[3] Which wound up with these words: . . . . "Dann wann ich was dein werth dir übersenden wolte/So kont ich nichts verehrn/als dich nur dir allein" (*ap.* Moller, *Tyrocinium* [1656], p. 81).

[4] Ein Mann, ein blosser Mann/Der Adler in der Luft/redt alle Völker an (*ap.* Peschwitz, *Parnassus*, vo. Scaliger).

[5] *Lobrede von der Theutschen Poeterey* (1645), p. 8. The reasons of Scaliger's popularity in Germany are well explained by Borinski, *Poetik der Renaissance* (1888), pp. 10 ff.

corydonische, galateische phrases gesehen hat, allzeit in acht genommen hab' eure Antipericatametaparbeugedamphirribificationes poeticas sive in Parnasso sive in Helicone ex utero parturientis Minervae, non sine risu prudentiorum Satiricorum productas.[1]

That this protest was effective would appear from the pamphlets of Sacer and Caldenbach, both directed against the stringency of the Opitzian rules.[2]

In certain academic circles, in Marburg, e.g., this independence was curiously misinterpreted. Schupp's friend Conrad Bachmann once thought: "Was sich reyme das reyme sich." But when Schupp became acquainted with "Opitzian/Buchners/Harsdoerfers/Caesii/ und anderer vornehmen Teutschen poeten Schrifften und Anleitung zur Poeterey" and gave him these to read, the aged Hessian laughingly said: "Wer von Natur inventioes ist/*copiam verborum* hat/ und in bonis authoribus belesen ist/und will sich auf den Notfall nicht *resolviren*, dasz er wolle innerhalb 14. Tagen ein Teutscher Poet werden/der ist nicht werth dasz er Brot esse. . . . ."[3] The fact is that Bachmann, and many with him, had no idea of poetry. They seem to have perceived only the externals, and quite imperfectly at that. The appearance of poetics in the vernacular, while possibly heightening their discrimination in what they took for poetry, certainly also cheapened it in their eyes, by making it appear so easy of attainment. As a result Schupp's whole-souled declaration was to them only an encouragement to treat the rules offhand. Where Schupp implied the necessity of genuine poetical endowments, they only saw the advisability of being von "Naturinventioes." Yet even that was an advance and a sign of impending change.

In 1675 an anonymous author of clownish expression but wide information and shrewd sense, and who must have known of the

[1] *Morgen- und Abendlieder, Schriften* (Hamburg, 1701), I, 896, *ap.* Goedeke, *Grundriss*, 2d ed., III, 235. Written before 1661, when Schupp died. Also quoted by Neumeister, *De poetis hujus saeculi praecipuis* (1695), vo. Schuppius.

[2] Christoph Caldenbach's protest appeared anonymously as *Der pedantische Irrthum des Uberwitzigen doch betrogenen Schulfuchses* (Rappersweil, 1673). Schupp's gibe furnished G. F. Sacer, i.e., Hartmann Reinhold, with his second title: *Reime dich oder ich fresse dich* (Nordhausen, 1673), the first title of which may have been borrowed by Abraham a Sancta Clara, in spirit a twin brother of Schupp, for a collection of sermons: *Reimb dich oder ich liss dich* (Salzburg, 1684). Neumeister also mentions the second title under Plavius, alias Plauen, M. Joh.

[3] An den Leser. Sonderlich an die junge Teutsche Poeten (*Morgen- und Abendlieder. Schrifften*, [1663], p. 935). Goedeke wrongly represents this as an utterance of Schupp himself.

French *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, surveying the situation, found that the Germans spurned neither the ancients nor the moderns and were treading the middle way, removed alike from the rude ignorance of the "English comedians" and effete slavery to the rules.[1] His verdict was correct. Among Harsdörfer and his friends and even among such sedate philologists as Schottelius,[2] the idea was rife that their age had other needs than the ancient times, an idea which they may have received from the fiery Humanists, quoted above, and which they themselves passed on to the frisky protagonists of the "Galante Zeit."

Its application, however, was modified. The needs were seen no longer to be social, ethical, but individualistic, sentimental. With the increasing importance attached to natural gifts, the power of the rules steadily decreased. It is one of the strains of the "Galante Zeit" to appreciate the finer inborn qualities while debasing them into mere adornments of a life alike futile and materialistic. The doctrine of the infallibility of nature, never theoretically denied, but in practice ever scornfully neglected, was coming into its own, borne upon the wave of Rousseau's popularity.

Thus Christian Weise has no use for rules: "Wer ein *Ingenium* dazu hat/der wird sich selber finden: und wer keine *Naturalia* dazu hat/der wird sich aus meinen Regeln schlecht erbauen."[3] But judgment, of course, should always guide one: "Das ist der beste Künstler, der sich den nothwendigen Umstanden nach an keine Regel bindet und gleichwohl die besorglichen Absurditäten zu vermeiden und zu verbergen weisz."[4] Weise was a man of the world, a *Weltmann*, and he had noticed that the classics were not the main

[1] *Alamodisch technologisches Interim* (Rappersweil, 1675).

[2] Harsdörfer quoted the views of the Italian Bisaccione—Maiolino Bisaccioni of Ferrara, best known as a writer of historical novels, 1582–1663—who held that as to operatic pieces in general "Aristoteles ist nicht mehr der Poeterey Gesetzgeber/und Euripides/Aristophanes/Sophocles/solten so wohl von uns zu lernen haben als Plautus und Terentius" (*Gesprächspiele* [Nürnberg, 1641–49], IV, 44). Schottelius, expressing a desire to see a German write a treatise on poetics like that of Scaliger, had his doubts as to the extent to which the ancient rules should be taken into consideration, as ". . . . wir doch in einem anderen/sonderlich in Freuden- und Trauer-spielen/nicht eben nach der Griechen und Lateiner Gesetzen/sondern vielmehr nach unseren und itzigen Arten und Weisen solch Spiele zu verfertigen/uns einzurichten haben moechten . . . ." (*Teutsche Vers- oder Reim-Kunst* [1645], ed. 1656, p. 266).

[3] *Lust und Nutz der spielenden Jugend* (1690). Just the thing to say for the author of the *Zweyfache Poetenzunft* and the arch-enemy of Zesen. Cf. *Die drey aergsten Ertznarren*, cap. 11; *Ueberfluessige Gedanken*, X, 12.

[4] *Comoedienprobe* (1695).

thing to get on in the world (". . . . niemand wird bey den wichtigesten Staats-Handlungen auch wohl in gemeinen Angelegenheiten sehr *avanciren*, wenn er seinen Vortrag nach der *Ciceronianis*chen oder nach der *Aristoteli*schen Leisten einrichten wolte").[1] Natural gifts, if properly trained by practical usage, were sure to lead one much farther.[2] It is no far cry from Weise, *galant*, and full of *Affecte*, to the teeming libretto-writer of the period, Barthold Feind. With a pen dipped in hysop as often as not, he wrote many pages on the technique of the opera. But even he declared finally: "*Methodus* ist und bleibt allemahl *arbitraria*." Besides, he believed that his field was different: "In den Opern . . . . läst man sich nicht gerne so enge Gesetze vorschreiben,"[3] a view which Harsdörfer had already expressed and of which the authors of school-dramas also claimed the benefit. In the latter case, as a result of the many material difficulties for the regular and frequent supply of dramas, distribution of parts, rehearsals and productions, relaxation in theory naturally followed upon relaxation in practice. Feind's colleague Menantes agreed with him, putting the opinion of the pre-Gottschedian period "in a nutshell" when he wrote ". . . . weil alle theatralische Sachen in der *Opinion* beruhen, darf man eben in einem und anderm Dinge kein Distelkopf sein, sondern musz dem Theatro, der Materie, der Zeit und andere *Circumstantien* eine Freiheit lassen."[4] The revolt had clearly spread beyond control.

In 1704 Omeis, *Professor Poeseos* in Altdorf, makes it very plain that a great change had come to pass. Rules there were to be, but it was understood that their basis should be the *German drama!* He knew Aristotle but did not consider him as a lawgiver, neither did he protest against the usage of his own time as he found it.[5] There is a crowning fact expressed by this calm aposteriorism and this absolute acceptance of the legitimate growth, or at least change, of literary forms. Even among the most ardent devotees of the classical, the excellence of nature had become a tenet. Classical

[1] *Neue Proben von der vertrauten Redenskunst* (1700).

[2] As Avancinus had observed before: ". . . . manche aus einem blossen guten Exempel zu guter Imitation gebracht werden, da ein ander aus allen Regeln nicht eine gute Zeile wird zuwege bringen."—Weise, *ibid.*

[3] *Gedanken von der Opera* (1708), p. 86.

[4] *Die allerneueste Art zur reinen und galanten Poesie zu gelangen* (1722), p. 412.

[5] *Gruendliche Anleitung* (Nürnberg, 1704).

texts were quoted to order: Cato and Cicero, nay Tertullian, were called upon to testify.[1] The era of absolutism was past indeed.

In the meantime, of course, Aristotle had fallen from on high. In the main his career had been triumphant everywhere, in spite of both the quiet subversiveness of certain commentators and the sensational attacks of the Patrizzi-Bruno type.[2] In 1717, however, in Germany, he was merely an object of scorn: "However great Aristotle may have been in his time, at present many have reached such a degree of impudence, that they cannot speak of him with enough contempt" ("Quantus uir autem Aristoteles etiam suo tempore fuerit, tamen eo impudentiae multi dilabuntur hodie, ut non satis contemptim de eo loqui sciunt"[3]).

A not unimportant conclusion may be drawn from this. On close examination, the *Critische Dichtkunst*, although ostensibly a monument to traditionalism, is partly an expression of the rival claims. To the scholar who re-reads it with the foregoing outline in mind, this may become more striking. In spite of Gottsched's autocratic instincts of which one is conscious all through the book, silent admissions, unobtrusive restrictions, a toning down of the once sweeping assertions and a general atmosphere of reasonableness distinctly confirm this impression.

When we further remember that Gottsched's period of influence was to be followed, after 1740, by the almost passionate reaction of the Swiss Reformers, of Gellert, of Lessing, we can discern more clearly under the appearances the essential weakness of a system undermined by more than two centuries of destructive criticism. Pseudo-classicism was tottering on its bases and Gottsched's massive work, once down, was to give longer and more effective service as a tombstone than as a temple. To be sure, under the circumstances the Sturm und Drang period loses something of its romantic abruptness. Yet a heightened consciousness of historical sequence may compensate for the loss.

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[1] Cf. Car. Colczawa, *Exercitationes Dramaticae* (Pragae, 1703), I, "Ad Lectorem."

[2] Cf. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

[3] Boltz, *De causis jacturae rei literariae* (1717), p. 91.

THE RHYTHMIC FORM OF THE GERMAN FOLK-SONGS

III

THE CHAIN

The rhythmic group next larger than the row—a combination usually of two rows—is the chain, one of the most important divisions of the song.

As the music-metric length of the row was four crests with their intervening troughs, we have in the chain normally a group of twice that length, namely, of eight crests, which is co-ordinate with a melodic series of four or eight measures.[1]

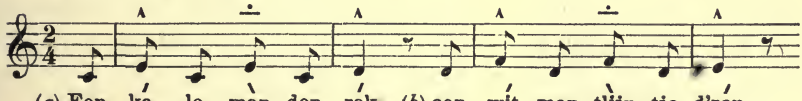
The foregoing statement considered alone would seem to indicate that there was little of importance offered by a discussion of this group which had not already been discussed in connection with "rows." But that such a conclusion does not agree with the facts in the case will, I think, soon become apparent. The chain is fully as important as the row, if not more so. It represents really a *complete* group, of which the row is often only an incomplete part. This *completeness* is clearly discernible whether we view it from its melodic aspect or from that of the text. For the melody shows at the end usually a partial or complete cadence, which is coincident with a deep pause in the text—often a full stop as at the end of a sentence.

In examining over a thousand songs, I have found many types of chain, some of them fundamental and others rare or exceptional. It will now be my purpose to review the typical ones, and indeed in the same order as I have, in preceding articles, reviewed the rows.

THE CHAIN OF TWO-PART MOVEMENT

COMPOSED OF ROWS BEGINNING WITH UPBEAT

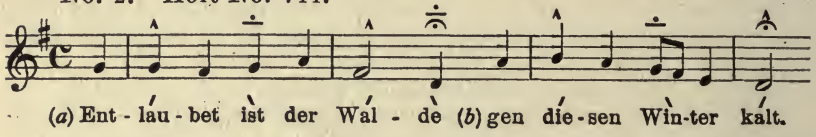
No. 1. Hort No. 392.



[1] Cf. on the nature of the chain also Saran, *Deutsche Verslehre*, p. 169.

We have here to do with a chain which is found in comparatively few songs. It is composed of two similar rows, in both of which the fourth crest syllable and the preceding trough syllable are lacking and are represented by pauses or long notes which fill out the orchestic frame. The rows usually have *a a* rhyme, rarely *a b*. The similarity between the text rhythm of the two rows is supplemented by a similarity of melodic procedure and of music-metric form between the two corresponding parts of the melody. The text similarity often goes so far as to result in the second row being a repetition of the first. See, for instance, Hort Nos. 987, 1699*a*, and 1785.[1]

No. 2. Hort No. 744.



This differs from No. 1 simply in that a fourth crest syllable is added to the first row. It is the most singable and by far the most widely used chain in the German folk-songs, representing a combination of practically all the points of excellence which make for easy, smooth singing, namely, the two-time, the upbeat in both rows, the omission of the last trough syllable of its first row,[2] giving the row *klingender* rhyme, the second row of three crests only and of masculine rhyme, thus providing the chain with the most popular rhyme sequence, *a b* (or *x a*), and finally, proportionate pauses—a lighter one between the two rows and a heavier one at the end of the chain. No wonder the chain is popular.

There are, to be sure, other chains, as we shall see farther on, which have some or indeed most of these points of excellence, but the very fact that they are lacking in even *one*[3] of those vital characteristics just enumerated seems to have prevented them effectually from rivaling this form in popularity.

This chain, while conforming in its general proportions to the original orchestic form, does not, as we have just seen, fill that form

[1] Further examples of this chain are found in Hort Nos. 304, 326, 392, 558*a*, 643, 751, 1025, 1088, 1142, 1354, 1393, 1394, 1402, 1423, 1510, etc.

[2] Cf. *Modern Philology*, XIII, No. 10, p. 577.

[3] The rare chain No. 1, for instance, differs from this No. 2 in but *one* particular, its masculine *a a* rhyme.

out fully. This is perhaps the reason why it is rarely used in just those varieties of songs where orchestic fulness is a necessary asset, as in march and dance songs. I have found it, for instance, used but five times in the more than a hundred dance songs (those with melodies) in Hort, whereas elsewhere in Hort this chain is used in an average of about one song in every four. It is most frequently used in the love songs, Hort Nos. 371–740.

There seems to be a firm stateliness to this movement which is not possessed by any other. When I sing the melodies which have this movement as their foundation, they impress me as being sturdy, *echt deutsch.* It certainly was no mere accident that such songs as—

Hort No. 293. O Magdeburg halt dich feste!
1392. O Strassburg, o Strassburg,
1700 (Binzer). Wir hatten gebauet
(Scheffel). Alt Heidelberg, du Feine!

where solid fatherland-love is the predominating note, assumed this form. Observe in this connection also such earnest religious songs as—

Hort No. 1967. In Schwarz will ich mich kleiden
1999. Ich ging einmal spatzieren
2000. Von Gott will ich nicht lassen

and the knightly ballad,

Hort No. 94*a*. Es taget in dem Osten.[1]

Professor Ernst Feise calls my attention, in this connection, to such dance songs as Hort Nos. 930, 931, and 978, which in spite of this same form of chain express a decidedly gayer mood than that of the extracts above. He wonders if the apparent adaptability of the movement to such various emotions is due to changes in tempo or to other factors. I believe tempo is the commonest factor. It is surely possible to change the mood of this or, for that matter, any movement by a change in tempo. Other factors are probably the *melodic procedure* (jumping about in large intervals is of itself a concomitant of gaiety while a step-wise rising and falling is more sedate),

[1] Further examples of No. 2 chain are Hort Nos. 244, 245, 251, 256, 257, 259, 262, 263, 276, 285, 287, etc.

the *mode* (melodies in major are brighter and happier than those in minor or in many of the old church modes), and the *time* (3/8 and 6/8 time are "hopping," 2/4 and 4/4 are "walking," movements).

But the fact remains that this chain was *seldom used* when such light jesting as we find in Hort No. 978 was the mood of the text. This fact alone convinces me that there must be something innately sedate in the movement itself.

Professor Feise tells me also that he finds this chain in 31.7 per cent of all the iambic four-beat poems in F. Avenarius' *Hausbuch deutscher Lyrik* (München, 1910), and in almost all German *Abendlieder*. This shows that it is popular with the "art" poets and that they have interpreted its basic *Stimmung* with clear insight.

I might add that it is the much-used "sixes and sevens" of our English hymns. Its use in English poetry is curtailed, however, by the rarity of words in our language which lend themselves easily to its *klingender* rhyme.

The temptation to vary in individual songs from this fundamental type of chain—one which was so nearly ideal for the singer—was not great. But we do nevertheless find some variants. There are songs, for example, where the upbeat to the second row is lacking. This peculiarity is found especially where this second row is in the nature of a joyful exclamation or a refrain. An example:

Hort No. 1441. Es taget vor dem Walde,
Stánd auf, Kätterlein!

A reason for this is not hard to find. The text word which forms the upbeat of the second row usually serves in the capacity of a conjunctive joining the two rows of the chain. In an instance like this, however, where the sentence is complete in the first row, such joining is unnecessary and the useless conjunctive is dropped.[1]

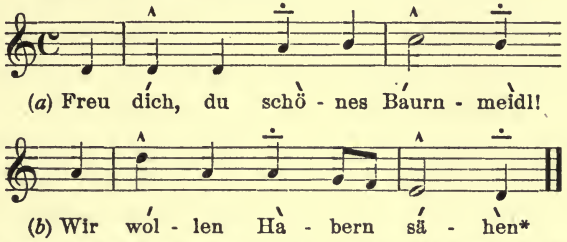
I shall mention one other sort of varying chain. There are some songs of this type where the first row has a *less full* form than has the example "Entlaubet," etc. (No. 2, Hort No. 744), above. Examples:

[1] Cf. G. Brandsch, "Die Tonalität des Auftaktes in den deutschen Volksweisen," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, N. F. 36, No. 3, p. 426, where he speaks of this upbeat from the standpoint of its conjunctive function in the melody.

Hort Nos. 1392 and 1700. (Cited above.)

No. 1660. Ich weiss mir drei Blümlein
931. Der Meie, der Meie
1707. Ach Gretlein, ach Gretlein
1888. Im Sommer, im Sommer

Here the two bonds in the text are brought into clear relief by means of a sort of parallelism in both text and melody.[1]

No. 3. Hort No. 958.

* Further examples of this chain are Hort Nos. 249, 325, 893, 912*a*, 958, 988, 1123, 1316, 1341, 1439, 1594, 1617, 1619, 1788, 1904, 1952, etc.

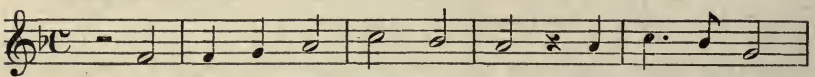
Both rows are of the type of row (*a*) of chain No. 2 above. The exact metrical similarity of the two rows in this chain is a ruling factor in the peculiarities of its environment. The *text* similarity invites also a corresponding *melodic* similarity (or is it the other way around?), which is always marked and which sometimes goes so far as to make the two melodic rows *identical*, as for instance in Hort Nos. 1916 and 1940. But the melody of the *first* row, in this as well as in most other forms of chain, closes with only a semi-cadence or even no cadence at all. That is, the closing effect in the melody is here *not complete*. So of course when we repeat this melodic "phrase" or otherwise restate it in the second row, the case remains musically the same—the closing effect is *still incomplete* and we do not seem to have reached the end of the chain. It is by reason of this unclosed feeling at the end of such pairs of rows, that sometimes a *third* row, which closes with the full melodic cadence, is appended, and we have a chain of the melodic-rhythmic form *a a' b*, as in Hort Nos. 743*a*, 1704, 1790, 1993, etc.

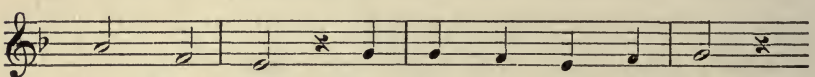
This situation in the melody is, of course, paralleled in the text. That is, the sentence is not complete with the second row, but runs

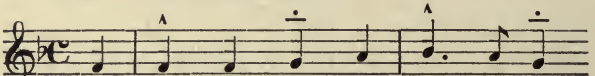
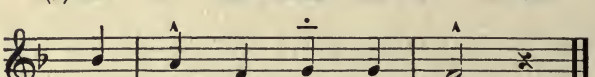
[1] Cf. *Modern Philology*, XIV, No. 2, pp. 77 and 84.

on, often with only a slight pause, into the third row, with which it closes. An example:

Hort No. 743*a*.





No. 4. Hort No. 450*a*.

In (*a*) all four crests and all four troughs are represented by syllables; in (*b*) three crests and three troughs. The second row of this chain has, almost without exception, the one form which we see in the example above. I have, however, found a few instances (Hort Nos. 367, 977*a*, 1120, and 1907) where its upbeat is lacking, and, indeed, for that same reason which we noted on p. 105 above—that the row in question, in its function as an exclamation or refrain, is syntactically independent of row (*a*), as for instance:

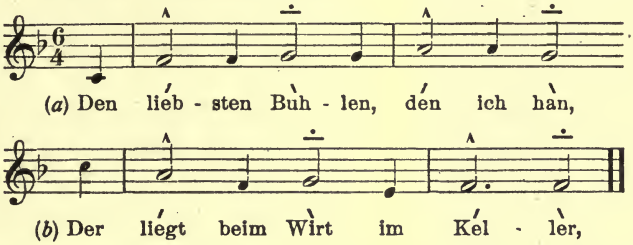
Hort No. 977*a*. Et gieng en Paterke langs te Kant,
Hei, 'twas in de Mei!

I might also mention, in passing, sporadic chains like the following:

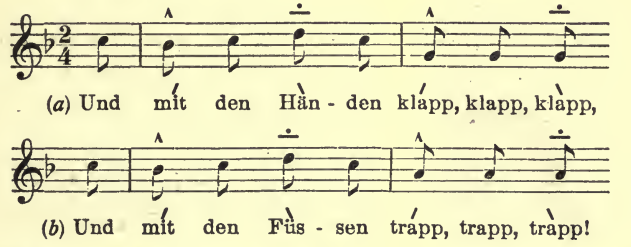
Hort No. 1646. All mein Gedanken, die ich hab,
Die sind bei dir!

in which (*b*) is very empty of trough syllables, having the metric form — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑.

This chain is and has been for centuries much used in the folk-songs. It forms the basis of the "Chevy Chase" strophe, which I shall discuss in a following part of this study.[1]

No. 5. Hort No. 1119.

It differs from the foregoing type (No. 4) in one point only—in (*b*) the fourth crest is represented by a syllable, though the trough syllable preceding it is lacking. This gives the chain a strong closing effect. This closing effect is the real strength of the chain, and is undoubtedly one of the factors in making this the second most popular chain in the German folk-songs. It is found in "Ein feste Burg" and in very many others of the most beloved songs of early as well as more recent times.[2]

As in chains Nos. 2 and 4, there are also a few examples of this type which drop the upbeat at the beginning of the second row, and, indeed, under precisely the same circumstances here as there. Examples in Hort Nos. 1124, 1125, and 1146.[3]

No. 6. Hort No. 1026.

[1] Further examples are Hort Nos. 345, 352*a*, 367, 406, 415, 428, 447*a*, 448, 460*b*, 462, 502, 521, 531*a*, 532, 537*a*, 551, 555, 557*a*, 595, 652, 700*a*, 718, etc.

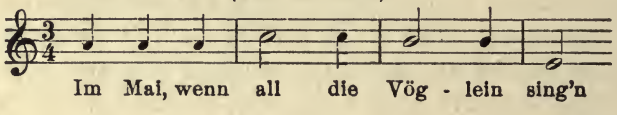
[2] Feise's statistics indicate a great popularity of this type also in "art" lyrics. It comes second in frequency among the poems of iambic four-beat rows in Avenarius, *op. cit.*

[3] Further examples of chain No. 5, the regular type, are Hort Nos. 258, 268, 270, 288, 310, 311, 313, 357*a*, 376, 395*a*, 396*a*, 426, 427, 433*a*, 436*a*, 437, 444, 446, 449, 465, 470, 471, 479, etc.

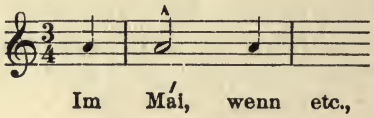
This chain is equally popular with type No. 5. More than a hundred songs in Hort use it. And it was as popular in the older folk-songs (fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries) as in more modern times. In practically all instances its two rows rhyme with each other. We see also in this chain now and then the dropping of the upbeat in the second row. Examples in Hort Nos. 460*a*, 517, 902*a*, 1252, 1253, and 1761.

The fact that the music notation in Hort of some of the older melodies using this kind of a chain shows at the beginning of the first row an apparent lack of upbeat should not lead us to believe that we have to do with a special form of chain. The first measure of the following, for instance,

Hort No. 961 (alte Melodie).



has the beginning trough and should really be sung in a manner approximating,

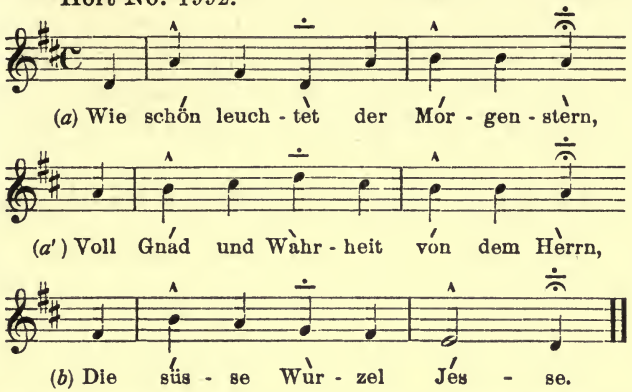


as is clearly shown by the text and also by a second melody of this same song, which Böhme gives in Hort, Vol. II, p. 731.[1]

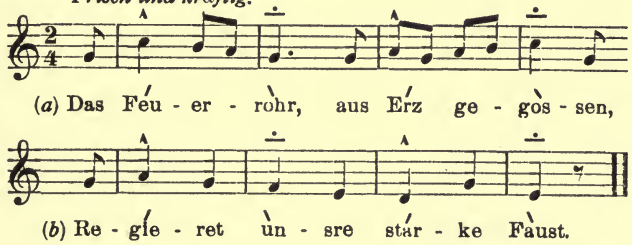
We sometimes find a pair of rows which are like the component parts of this chain No. 6, but which become a real chain only after a third row has been added. This third row is usually of a different (shorter) type from the first two—often of the metric form—

[1] Cf. John B. Beck, *Der Takt in den Musikaufzeichnungen des 12. u. 13. Jahrhunderts*, in *Riemann Festschrift* (Max Hesse), Leipzig, 1909, p. 170. Some further examples of this sort of beginning are in Hort Nos. 485, 839, 1307, 1442, 1973, etc.

An example:

Hort No. 1992.

This sort of chain is found very often in the folk-songs and church hymns of earlier centuries, more rarely, however, in songs of recent times. By reason of its three-row length it is found usually in strophes of three (rhyme sequence *a a b*), five (*a a b x b*), and six (*a a b c c b*) rows.[1]

No. 7. Hort No. 1330.

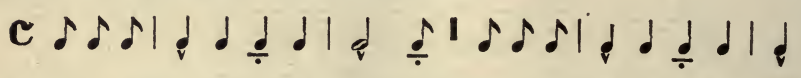
Frisch und kräftig.

This chain is too long to be popular. There are only a few instances of its use in Hort, and none of these few songs was widely sung for a long period. Most of them, indeed, are easily traceable to "art" sources. The orchestic frame is over-full. The crowded condition is felt here at the juncture of the two rows (at which place crowding is especially objectionable), where, instead of the normal

[1] Some further examples of the three-row variety are in Hort Nos. 243*a*, 252, 282, 283, 294, 295, 305, 358*a*, 401, 863, etc.

Further examples of the normal chain No. 6 are Hort Nos. 228, 235, 281, 466*a*, 541, 598, 607, 755, 769*b*, 795, 878, 881*a*, 932, 945, 946, 955, 1062, etc.

pause, we have to hurry two syllables into one orchestic trough time. This has to be done in order to take care of that extra (last) syllable in the first row.

There is a tendency in some songs to alleviate, in various ways, this crowded condition. Hort No. 1353, for instance, consumes three of the syllables in the upbeat as follows:



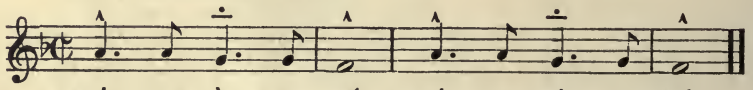
Hort No. 1366 puts the melody into 6/8 time, and inserts an inorganic pause between the rows. See also Hort Nos. 361, 355, 759, 828, and 2002.

Chains of still longer rows than those already discussed are even rarer among the folk-songs, and are found only in songs that have the fewest earmarks of wide popularity.[1]

COMPOSED OF ROWS BEGINNING WITH DOWNBEAT

The downbeat chains, like the downbeat rows, their component parts, are rare, in contrast with those with upbeat. In the following pages I have been able to give approximately complete lists of the songs in Hort in which the different downbeat chains occur. A comparison of these lists, therefore, will show in a general way the comparative popularity of the various chain forms.

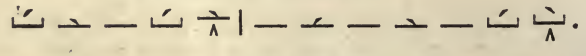
No. 8. Hort No. 1708.



(*a*) Hóp - chen, hòp hop hé! (*b*) Lór - chen, Mǎd - chen, stéh!

There is only one other example in Hort (No. 622) of *exactly* this form. It is, rather, a variant of this that is more important and more widely used, namely, a form which, in omitting the first interior trough of the first row and inserting the upbeat at the beginning of the second row, appears like the following example:

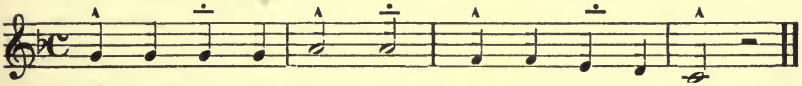
Hort No. 838*b*. Tanz, Liebchen, tanz!
Ich kauf dir eine Kapp!



[1] Examples, Hort Nos. 608, 650, 673, 1369, 1378, 1379, 1764, and 1804.

In order that we may see with what uniformity this peculiar "Sleep, baby, sleep" chain occurs, I shall cite one from each of the songs:

Hort No. 1219. Tra—ri—ro,
Der Sommer der ist do!
1568. Spinn, Mädchen, spinn!
So wachsen dir die Sinn!
1777. Ta-bak, Tabak,
Du edles Kraut, [upbeat lacking]
1806. Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf!
Der Vater hüt't die Schaf, [cf. Hort No. 1807]
1826. Mäh, Lämmchen, mäh!
Das Lämmchen geht ins Holz,
1850. Maikäfer, flieg!
Der Vater ist im Krieg,
1913. Bet, Kindchen, bet!
Morgen kommt der Schwed, [upbeat lacking]

No. 9. Hort No. 1963.

(*a*) O du ar - mer Ju - das, (*b*) was hast du ge - tan?*

* Further examples are Hort Nos. 505, 786*a*, 1029, 1298, and 1892.

This chain is found in a small group of songs. It is like the foregoing, No. 8, except that its first row has the fourth orchestic crest represented by a syllable.

There are a few variants having the upbeat between rows, like[1]

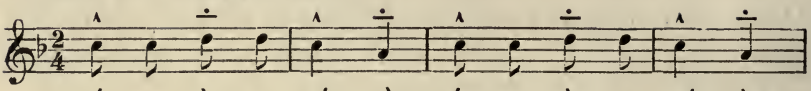
Hort No. 1150. Mártein, lieber Hérre,
Nun lásst uns fröhlich séin.

Compare this rarely used chain with the most popular one in the German folk-songs, No. 2. Note how similar they are. They differ in only one detail, the presence there and the absence here of the *beginning upbeat*. This is still further proof of the importance of what at first sight might seem to be an insignificant characteristic of the German folk-songs.[2]

[1] See also Hort No. 1749.

[2] Feise's statistics (see p. 104 above) show the same tendency in "art" lyrics. Among the 96 in Avenarius which use the tetrameter, only three use this chain, whereas 20 use chain No. 2.

No. 10. Hort No. 1870.



(*a*) Rĭn - gel, Rĭn - gel, Rĕi - hĕ, (*b*) sĭnd der Kĭn - der drĕi - ĕ,*

* Further examples are Hort Nos. 1818, 1842, 1843, 1871, and 1974.

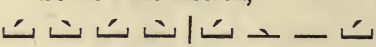
Here both rows are exactly like the first row of No. 9.

Many songs have a variant of this chain, showing an upbeat in the second row, as for instance:[1]

Hort No. 1830. Bácke, bácke, Kúchen,
Der Bäcker hát gerúfen!

The dropping of various trough syllables, usually in the first row, is another common variation. See for instance:[2]

Hort No. 1825. Hóp, hóp, zéhren,
Só rie'n die Heéren,



That this "Ring around the rosie" movement is a very popular one with children may be surmised from the foregoing extracts. And this surmise becomes a conviction when we recognize the fact that also *all* the songs which I have cited thus far (in the footnotes, by number only) in the discussion of this type are children's songs. This conviction has led me to look farther into the songs which Böhme has collected in Hort under the heading "Kinderlieder," namely Hort Nos. 1806–1917 (only about 70 of them have melodies), with the purpose of determining still more definitely how far the children go in discarding the upbeat and other trough syllables. And I find, (*a*) that in all but a few instances the songs which the children *themselves* sang start with the crest syllable—the downbeat, even though the upbeat may and does often appear at the beginning of rows other than the first; and (*b*) that those types of chain predominate in which other trough syllables are lacking in an unusual degree.

That these same conditions hold, though perhaps in a slightly less degree, in the songs the German children are singing at the present

[1] Further examples are Hort Nos. 1222, 1778, 1804, 1810, 1811, 1822, 1827, 1830, 1840, 1841, 1856, 1879, and 1891.

[2] Further examples are Hort Nos. 1182, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1822, 1855, 1856, and 1891.

day becomes clear when we examine the excellent little collection of a hundred children's games with melodies, called "Ringel Ringel Reihe," collected by K. Henninger (Schaffsteins Blaue Bändchen, Nr. 51, Köln, 1913). Out of the hundred songs, 37 begin with the downbeat.

That both these characteristics, the absence of upbeat and a freedom in the matter of trough filling within the row which often allows two or more crests to be contiguous, are notable characteristics also of the oldest extant German songs makes it clear how well the old native German character of rhythm has been preserved in the untutored and natural expression of children.

Why do the songs of children show just these traits? Perhaps they start on a strongly accented syllable because they feel instinctively the *strength* of such a beginning. A trochaic form of foot has been found by psychologists[1] to offer a *stronger start* for a rhythmic series of impressions than does an iambic form.

As to their leaving out interior trough syllables, this may be the result of their absolute freedom from the binding rules of poesy. The makers ("art" poets) of the very earliest extant German rhymed songs showed this same independence (or ignorance?) of the exotic Romance principle of *alternation* (cf. Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 259 and 260 ff.). German folk-songs in general have *always* shown a similar freedom in this regard. Alternation means even less to children. They use in song their simple store of words with little making over from the natural spoken form. Their only "rule" seems to be that the fundamental orchestic *crests* which are marked by their bodily movements (in their rounds and other games) must each be provided with a syllable. The *troughs* may "shift for themselves."

Hort No. 2091 has added a row (cf. with the subclass of chain No. 6, p. 109, above):

a) Wer das Elend bauen will,

a') der mach sich auf und zieh dahin

b) wol auf Sankt Jakobs Strassen!

[1] Cf. M. Ettlinger, "Zur Grundlegung einer Ästhetik des Rhythmus," *Z. f. Psych. u. Physiol. der Sinnesorgane*, Bd. 22, p. 186.

Hort 548*b* has added two rows (perhaps under "art" influence):

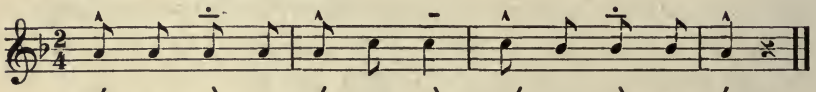
a) Ach wie ists möglich dann,

a') dass ich dich lassen kann!

a'') Hab dich von Herzen lieb,

b) das glaube mir.

No. 11. Hort No. 764.



(*a*) Mäd-chen, wa-rum wei-nest du, (*b*) wei-nest du so sehr?*

* Further examples are Hort Nos. 910*a*, 1532, and 1915.

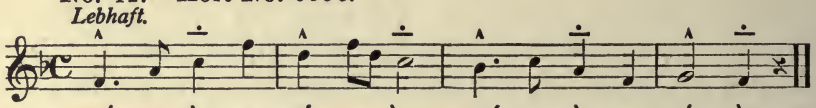
The first row has all four orchestic crests and all intervening troughs represented by syllables. The second row has but three crests and the intervening troughs.

The inserting of an upbeat between the two rows, as in the following example, is not uncommon:[1]

Hort No. 1694. Werden wir so traurig sein,
Gebt uns ein grössres Glas!

No. 12. Hort No. 959*b*.

Lebhaft.

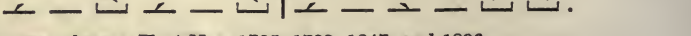


(*a*) Mor-gen woll'n wir Ha-fer mäh'n, (*b*) wer soll den uns bin-den?*

* About 30 songs in Hort have this chain. Among them are Nos. 334, 349*a*, 368, 435, 510*d*, 582, 669, 776, etc.

This is like No. 11 except for the presence here of the fourth crest syllable in the second row. Here as elsewhere the upbeat syllable tends to intrude at the beginning of the second row, as in Hort Nos. 1893, 2006, and 2020. Here also we have now and then that popular dropping of the second trough syllable in the first row, which has the effect of deepening the pause between the two bonds, thus dividing the row into two distinct halves. See for instance:[2]

Hort No. 1885. Grünes Gras, grünes Gras
Unter meinen Füssen!

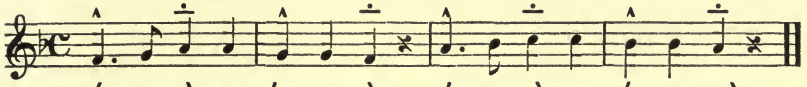


[1] Further examples are Hort Nos. 1705, 1723, 1847, and 1896.

[2] Another example, Hort No. 2041.

The meter of this chain, that is, as far as the text alone is concerned, will be recognized as being exactly like that at the beginning of the famous "Gaudeamus igitur."[1]

No. 13. Hort No. 2080.

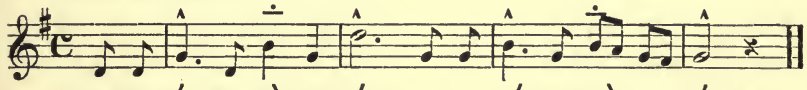


(*a*) O Ma-ri-a, jetzt ist's Zeit, (*b*) dass man von ein-an-der scheidt;

All four crest syllables and all three intervening trough syllables are present in both rows.

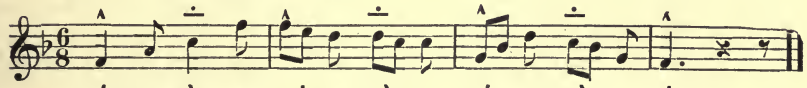
The chain in just the metric form of the foregoing example is not common. But chains which have this as their basic form, although varying from it in some particular, are of more frequent occurrence. The variations are caused by differing degrees of trough fulness.[2]

A peculiar way of fitting this chain to the melody is illustrated by

Hort No. 682.

(*a*) Ihr Ge-dan-ken hal-tet ein! (*b*) ihr ver-meh-ret mei-ne Pein.*

* See also Hort Nos. 835, 873, and 1795.

No. 14. Hort No. 712.



(*a*) Lin-chen ging ein-mal spa-zie-ren (*b*) in den Myr-ten-hain.

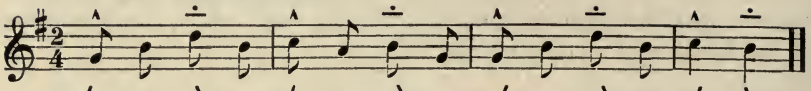
This recent and very rare form of *chain* hardly deserves to be called a "folk-song type." I shall give it a number (No. 15, p. 116), however, merely for the sake of completeness.[3]

[1] Cf. *Modern Philology*, XIV, No. 2, p. 92; cf. also p. 127.

[2] Examples having the upbeat or beginning trough in the second row are Hort Nos. 1262 and 1954. Hort No. 1817 drops the first *intervening* trough syllable in the first row. Other examples showing further aspects of trough emptiness are Hort Nos. 613, 614, 1276, 1457, 1720, and 1874.

[3] Further examples are Hort Nos. 830, 1168, 1331, and 1719. All these songs are from the nineteenth century.

No. 15. Hort No. 992.

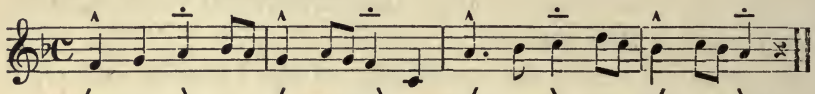


(*a*) Tanz mir 'mal die Sie - ben-sprün-ge, (*b*) tanz mir 'mal die Sie - ben!*

* Nos. 994 and 1833 are the only other songs which I have been able to find in Hort showing this chain.

Here the second row is longer than that of No. 14, by one (crest) syllable.

No. 16. Hort No. 1546.

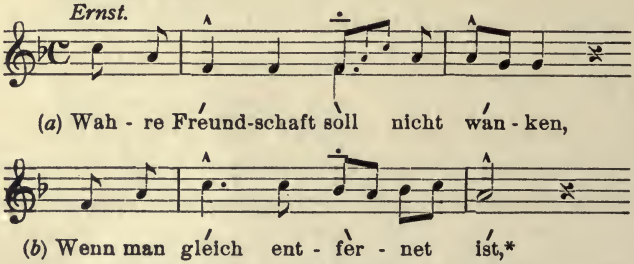


(*a*) Isch das nit än e - länds Lä - we (*b*) um än är - me Bü - re-stand*

* Further examples are Hort Nos. 347, 504, 514, 566, 568, 587, 645, 661, 681, 727, 773, and about 20 others.

The first row remains as in the preceding chain, but the second has four crests and their *three* intervening trough syllables. It is more widely used than No. 15.[1]

In some songs the melodic setting takes the chain out of the downbeat class by creating out of the first two syllables in each row a dissyllabic upbeat as follows:

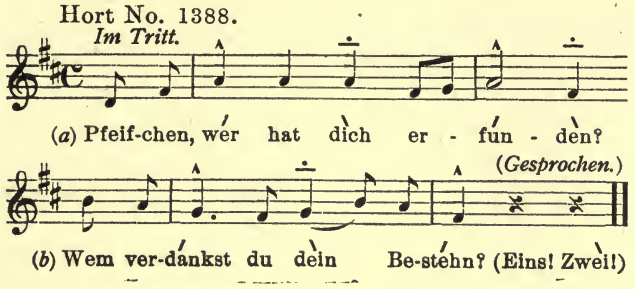
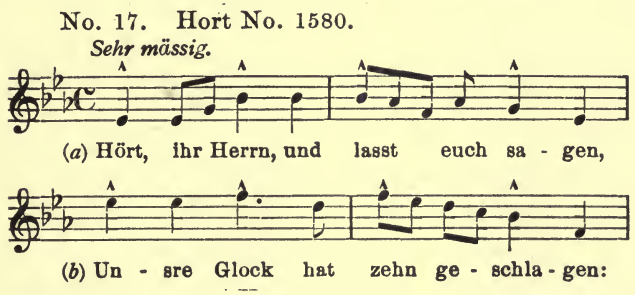
Hort No. 568.
Ernst.

(*a*) Wah - re Freund-schaft soll nicht wan - ken,

(*b*) Wenn man gleich ent - fer - net ist,*

* Further examples are Hort Nos. 347, 774, 793, 862, and 1388.

This sort of adjustment of the text to the melody sometimes leaves unduly long pauses at the ends of the rows, especially at the end of the second one. And inasmuch as the folk-songs seem to "abhor a vacuum," they strive to fill up such vacant places partially or in

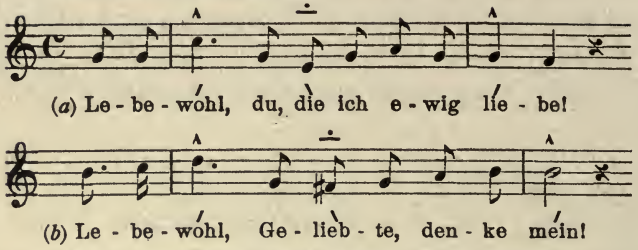
[1] Feise's statistics (cf. p. 104 above) show that this chain is the basis of 33.3 per cent of the trochaic four-beat poems in Avenarius; primarily an "art" chain?

such a degree as will make of them pauses of normal length. It is interesting to note, for instance, how a march song (in which genre, by the way, such holes in the melody are especially undesirable) has refilled one of these empty measures with spoken words:

Here we have the orchestic framework exactly filled by the text. And this very "exact filling" may be looked on as a defect; or better, it *would* be a defect in any song other than the above, for no opportunity is given the singer for effects like that, for instance, produced by the *klingender* rhyme, which we saw in connection with chain No. 2 above. This gives a jerky, commonplace, unmusical impression.

The metrical similarity of the two rows and the resulting feeling of incompleteness after they have been sung (cf. p. 105 above) invite a continuance of the text sentence, a sort of overflow. This overflow sometimes has the effect of adding another dissimilar row to the two similar ones, making a chain of three rows, as in Hort No. 1347:

a) Lustig ists Soldatenleben!
a') Für den Herzog wolln wir geben
b) Unsern letzten Tropfen Blut:

No. 18. Hort No. 761.



This type is composed of the longest of the downbeat rows. It is rare, and occurs only in songs which seem to be rather the productions of individuals than the accrued results of the *Zurechtsingen* of the masses.

The spoken text of this chain, considered alone, is a trochaic pentameter. But the melody, in taking it out of the downbeat class, changes the aspect of its metric scheme altogether.

Such a chain is, without some such melodic manipulation as we see above, impossible in the orchestic framework into which all chains have to be fitted. But manipulation of this sort is artificial and foreign to the real songs of the folk. See also Hort No. 672.

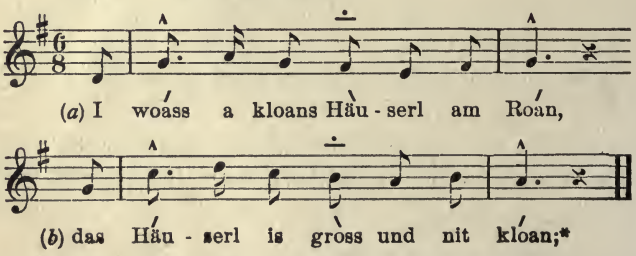
THE CHAIN OF SCANT THREE-PART MOVEMENT

COMPOSED OF ROWS BEGINNING WITH UPBEAT

Inasmuch as the difference between these scant three-part chains and the two-part ones is, in the main, simply one of "foot" structure, I shall be content to treat them with greater brevity than has been my practice in the previous section.

The component parts of these chains are the rows discussed in a previous article.[1]

No. 19. Hort No. 898.

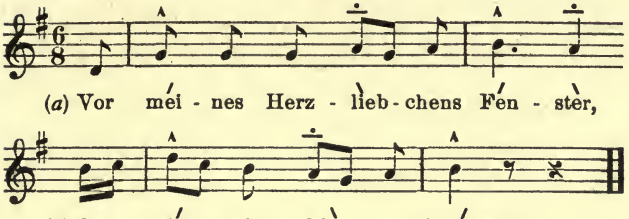


* Further examples are Hort Nos. 628, 629, 1425, 1493, and 1752.

This chain is closely related to No. 1 (p. 100 above).

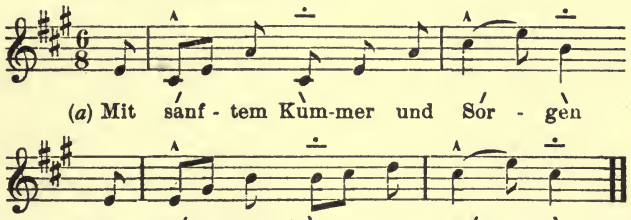
[1] *Modern Philology*, XIII, No. 10, pp. 576 ff.

No. 20. Hort No. 409 *b*.

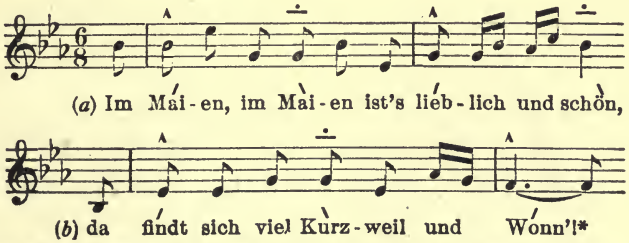


* Further examples are Hort Nos. 354, 408*a*, 591, 635, 714*a*, 739*a*, 1321, 1362, 1371, 1404, 1551, 1925, 2068, and 2087.

This type is, in the length of its rows, similar to chain No. 2 (p. 102 above), the one which we found to be the most singable and the most widely sung chain in the German folk-songs. This chain also is very popular.

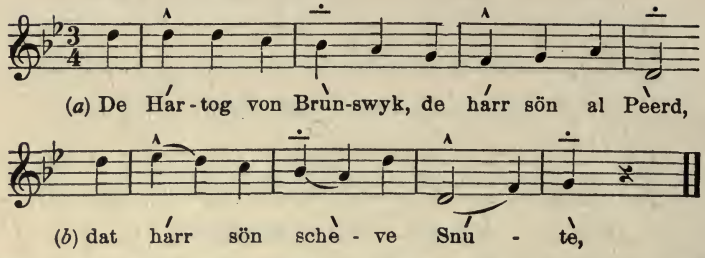
No. 21. Hort No. 542.

* Another example is Hort No. 1765.

This chain has the same general characteristics as has No. 3 (p. 105 above), to which it is closely related.

No. 22. Hort No. 394.

* Further examples are Hort Nos. 344, 584*a*, 1525, 1550, 1759, and 2069.

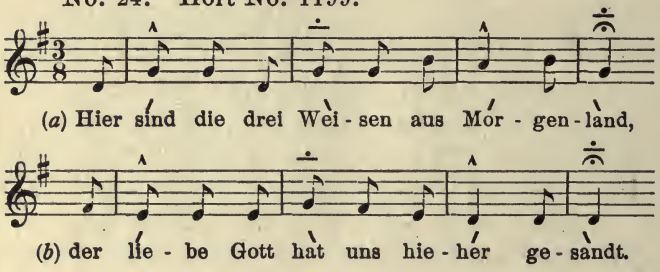
This corresponds to No. 4 (p. 106 above). Notice how the melody, in holding out the last note of the chain, seeks to correct the unusual shortness of the second row. A similar tendency may be seen in Hort No. 833.

No. 23. Hort No. 1164.



This type corresponds to No. 5 of the two-part chains. All the other examples of this chain which I have been able to find (Hort Nos. 563, 921*a*, 1157, 1540, 1595, 1604, and 1903) show much of the trough emptiness which we see in row (*b*) above. They are really songs of the "folk" too, though they are with one exception (No. 1540, from the sixteenth century) quite recent songs.

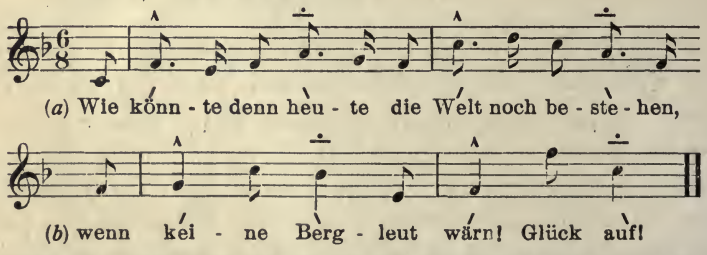
No. 24. Hort No. 1199.



In this type *both* rows have the structure of the *first* row of type No. 23. It is by far the most popular of all the scant three-part chains.[1]

The two-part chain which is most closely related to this type, is No. 6.

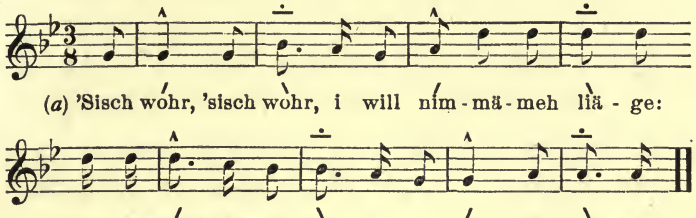
No. 25. Hort No. 1528.



[1] Other examples are Hort Nos. 335, 338, 501, 589, 944, 947, 995, 1071, 1186, 1194, 1196, 1503, 1742, 1859, 1899, 1939, 1944, 1959, etc.

This chain corresponds to No. 7 above. I have found but one other song showing this type, Hort No. 1526.

No. 26. Hort No. 1107.

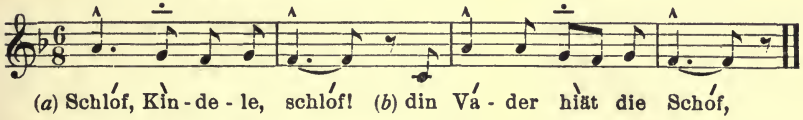


* Further examples are 1167, 1169, 1614, and 1747.

This has two long rows like (*a*) of No. 25. It corresponds to a chain of two-part meter which is found in Hort Nos. 650, 1764, and 1804. But neither this three-part chain nor its two-part cognate (see footnote of chain No. 7) is a chain of the *real* folk-songs; that is, if we may judge by the character of the songs in which it occurs.

COMPOSED OF ROWS BEGINNING WITH DOWNBEAT

Here we shall discuss chains which are composed of the various types of rows shown in a preceding part of this study.[1] And as those rows were rare, so must also be their combination into chains. The reason for their scarcity is probably that they embody just those two rhythmic characteristics—the downbeat beginning and the scant three-part movement—which seem to have appealed least to the "folk."

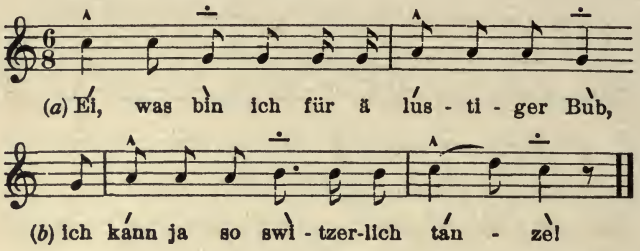
No. 27. Hort No. 1807.

This shortness of rows, which in most songs would be a detriment, does not seem offensive in the foregoing song. This is probably due to the tranquil nature of the song which allows the words *schlof* and *Schof* to be held out.

Another factor in making the long pauses of this particular song appropriate is the melodic cadence with which both words, *schlof* and *Schof* are provided. Each word has thus a strong closing effect.

[1] *Modern Philology*, XIV, No. 2, pp. 70 ff.

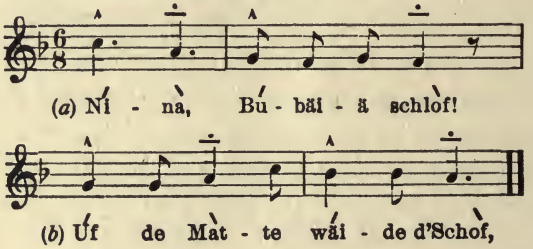
This type of chain is exactly analogous to two-part chain No. 8. Further examples are lacking.

No. 28. Hort No. 1002.



I have found but two examples of this chain in Hort, namely, No. 1164 and the above. They are really nothing more than hybrid forms leaning toward chains No. 23 and No. 5.

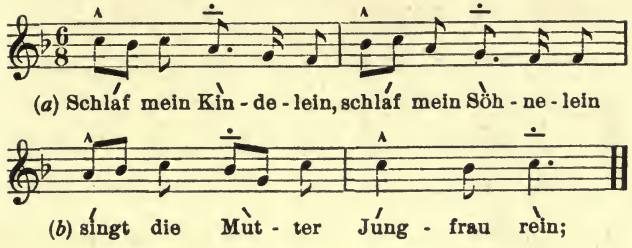
No. 29. Hort No. 1813.

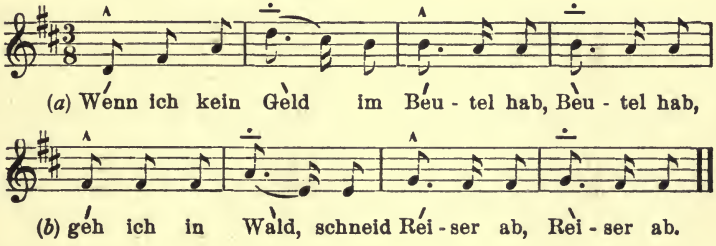


I have found this chain with its exactly similar (except, of course, in the matter of filling out) rows in only three other songs: Hort Nos. 616, 1651, and 1936. But in the face of the small number of these songs it is interesting to note that they are from the nineteenth, seventeenth, and fourteenth centuries, respectively. Another interesting fact is that No. 1936, from the fourteenth century, is, like the nineteenth-century example given above, a cradle song. I cite from the older songs:

Joseph, lieber neve min,
Hilf mir wiegen min kindelin.

So exactly the same slow three-part movement which is used today in songs which accompany the rocking of the cradle was used in the same way as long as six hundred years ago.

No. 30. Hort No. 1942.

Another song with this chain is the familiar "Du, du, leigst mir im Herzen" (Hort No. 578). I have found but two further examples, Hort Nos. 1455 and 1664.

No. 31. Hort No. 980*a*.

This is the famous "Besenbinderlied" of the eighteenth century which was in 1820 fitted to Uhland's "Es zogen drei Bursche wohl über den Rhein." I have found no further examples.

THE CHAIN OF FULL AND REDUNDANT THREE-PART MOVEMENT

A word as to my mode of classification. It will be remembered that in the chapters on full and redundant three-part rows I arranged the different types and considered them, not according to their length, for in this particular they varied but little, but rather according to their two most noticeable features—the presence or lack of upbeat and the varying degree of their syllabic fulness or redundancy. I shall use the same method of classification here.

COMPOSED OF ROWS BEGINNING WITH UPBEAT

No. 32. Hort No. 1048.

(*a*) Bald gras ich am Ne-ckar, (*b*) bald gras ich am Rhein,*

* Further examples are Hort Nos. 508, 636, 648, 654, 695*a*, 724, 735, 1015, 1040, 1041, 1053, 1055, 1056, 1429, 1614, 1946, 1947, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2034, 2037, 2038, 2062, 2078, and 2083.

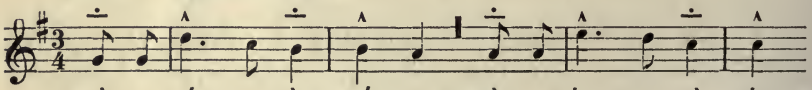
The "just full" chains are predominatingly of this type. Now and then we run across a chain *both* rows of which have the length of the *first* row in the "Bald gras ich" chain. An example is[1]

Hort No. 1793. Mein Herz ist so traurig,
Meine Augen voll Tränen.

It will be noticed in the citation immediately above that the upbeat of the second row, *mei-ne*, is dissyllabic. This is illustrative of what we run across continually. That is, we find, from chain to chain and strophe to strophe, variation in the internal aspect of those chains especially which have the "Bald gras ich" type as their foundation. Such variation, a division of the quarter notes so that they will accommodate two syllables instead of the normal one syllable, may occur at any point within either row except on the second quarter note of a measure and on the final quarter notes of the rows.

The difficulties which such a condition throws in the way of determining, in the case of some songs, the "type" of chain used must be evident. I shall, therefore, not attempt such a determination in detail, but shall simply append a list of songs where some such variation from the "Bald gras ich" type is found, but in which no other type is adhered to throughout the song.[2]

No. 33. Hort No. 603.



(*a*) Gor a wun-der-liebs Dien-dl (*b*) hab i heunt woa-nà sehn:*

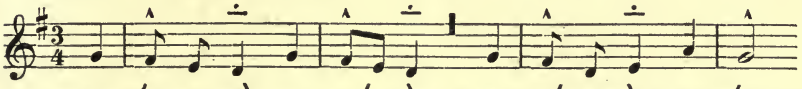
* Further examples are Hort Nos. 646, 1019, 1051, and 1052.

This type, however, one which starts both its rows with a dissyllabic upbeat, seems to possess the elements of stability; for we

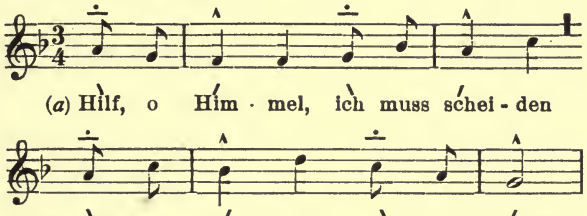
[1] Cf. also Hort Nos. 623, 634, 723, 1054, 1145, and 1614.

[2] Such are Hort Nos. 57*e*, 89*d* (2d mel.), 115*b*, 194*b*, 507, 604, 656, 869*a*, 999, 1039, 1561, 1624, and 2123.

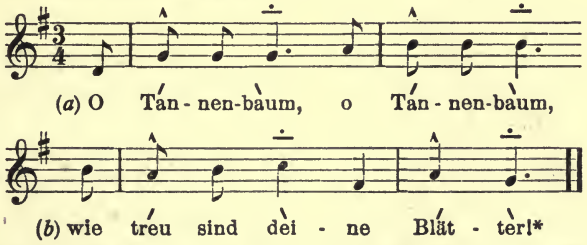
find it holding its form pretty steadily throughout all the strophes of the songs in which it occurs.

No. 34. Hort No. 71 *f*.

* Further examples are Hort Nos. 98*b*, 1332, 1732*a*, and 2154; cf. also the variant forms in Nos. 70*c*, 536, and 1571.

This is another fairly stable type.

No. 35. Hort No. 792 *a*.

* Further examples are Hort Nos. 112*a*, 190*a*, 220, 539, 564, 657, 660, 699*a*, 720, 779, 782*a*, 890*b*, 1375, 1376, 1382, 1386, 1465, 1468, 1600, 1605, 1623, 1732*b*, 1781, 1882, 1902, and 2016; cf. also the slightly variant forms in Nos. 721, 722*b*, 1099, 1599, 1600 (2d mel.), 637*a*, 731*a*, 783, 1427, and 1610.

This is by far the oftenest used of all the redundant chains. It is textually really none other than the popular *downbeat two-part* chain No. 15 above, which is here brought by the melodic setting into the *upbeat three-part* category.

No. 36. Hort No. 176.

* Further examples are Hort Nos. 18*a*, 52*a* (1st mel.), 61*c*, 61*f*, 73*a*, 110*c* (3d mel.), 119*c*, 171*b*, 173*e*, 174*c*, 200, 561, 813*a*, 1372, 1625, 2127, 2128, and 2174.

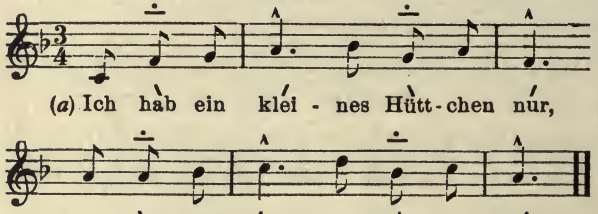
This "Tannenbaum" chain also is a favorite one. It corresponds to No. 5, a two-part chain.

A variant composed of three rows, *a a' b*, is exemplified by Hort No. 2114:

a) Es war ein König wol an dem Rhein,
a') der hatte auch ein Töchterlein,
b) der Name war Ottilia.

* Further examples of this and other minor variants are Hort Nos. 41*k*, 50*a* (1st mel.), 164*a*, 185*a*, 615, 816*a*, 1158, and 1953.

No. 37. Hort No. 516.



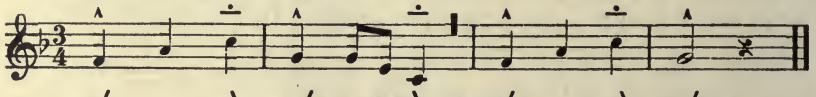
* Further examples are Hort Nos. 2*c*, 41*k*, 91*c*, 93*c*, 93*g*, 96*k*, 215*a*, 516, 766*a*, 858, 997, and 1426.

This is an awkward chain, or, rather, a good chain with an awkward melodic setting. I have spoken of its defect in connection with the discussion of its component rows.[1]

It corresponds to No. 6, a two-part chain.

COMPOSED OF ROWS BEGINNING WITH DOWNBEAT

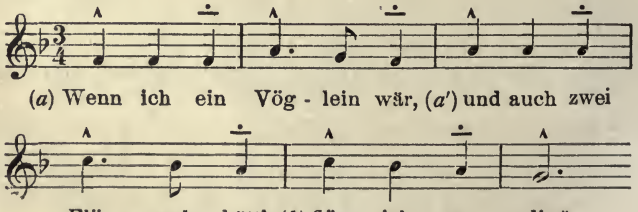
No. 38. Hort No. 824.



* See also Hort Nos. 1020 and 1461.

This is a very short chain. The tendency seems to be to lengthen it. Such lengthening by means of a restatement (sometimes in text idea, always in melody) of the first row is seen in

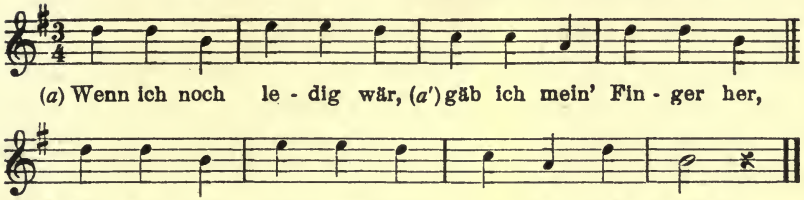
Hort No. 512*a*.



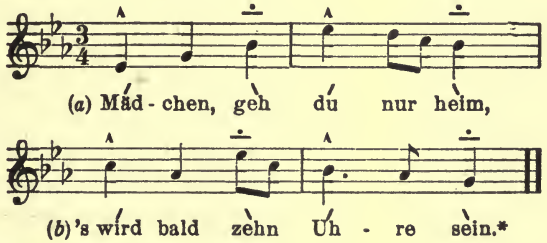
* Another example is in Hort No. 836.

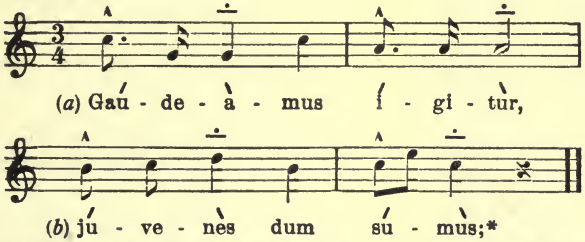
[1] *Modern Philology*, XIV, No. 2, pp. 88 ff.

A similar lengthening into *four* rows is seen in Hort No. 611.



* Further examples are Hort Nos. 704, 1016, and 2082.

Sometimes there is a more marked line of cleavage between the first two rows—of such complexes as the variants just above—and the part of the song which follows them. In such cases the two rows form in themselves a group which functions as a chain. Hort No. 633 is an example:

* Another example is Hort No. 2104.

No. 39. Hort No. 1688.

* Further somewhat variant examples are Nos. 411, 910c, 1460, and 1558.

This is not a very stable type.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents. By Leo Wiener. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. lxii +224.

The author of this book is evidently a man of great industry, with a wide range of reading, and a smattering of many languages. But all this is wasted. For the worse than puerile etymologizing, put forth with the air of a cocksure dogmatist, reveals, or rather displays, an incredible ignorance of language development. Here's a sample:

"The meanings of Goth. *teihan*, etc., are distinctly derived from the rubric '*testibus soniis*,' [which] was popularly pronounced *testibusonis*, *tehtibusonis*, and as such has survived in the AS. *tiht-bysig* 'infamatus et accusationibus ingravatus,' a back formation from *tiht-bysignis*, *testibusonis*. . . . . Now, the long rubric *testibusonis* has survived in Old French in the abbreviated form *busun*, *busuigne* 'legal necessity, important affair,' which has ultimately produced *besoin*. . . . . Thus French *besoin* and English *business* go back to *testibusonis*, but, while the whole has produced the AS. *tihtbysig*, the first part *tiht*, OHG. *ziht*, means 'accusation, crime,' and from this has come by a back formation Goth. *teihan*, and so forth." Now even a pupil in a grammar school ought to know that *busy* is not a "back formation" from *business*, and every beginner in Germanic philology knows that OE. *tiht*, OHG. *ziht* are verbal nouns from OE. *tēon*, OHG. *zīhan*, Goth. *teihan*, and that these have no more connection with *testibus* than *sauerkraut* with *surculus*. As for *besoin*, I leave it to my Romance colleagues to rescue it from its criminal surroundings.

In the same way the author "derives" *treu*, *Trost* from Lat. *extrudere; dienen*, *Dirne*, OHG. *diu* 'female servant,' *diot* 'people,' etc., from Lat. *devotus; shield*, *Schild* from Lat. *scutum; guilt* from Welsh *gwyliad* 'a watching' (which isn't so bad if it means 'watchful waiting'); *aware*, *war*, *warn*, *warrant*, *guarantee*, *garnish*, *garrison*, *bewahren*, *wehren*, *Krieg* from Lat. *gerere; ward*, *guard* from Lat. *cortis*, *cohortis; walten*, *Wald*, *wild* from Lat. *ex squalido; Wüste*, *Forst*, *frisch* from Lat. *vasta; Schatz* from Lat. *excoctum;* and many others, all preposterously wrong.

Thus page after page, without one glimmer of linguistic sense, the author rolls out his "derivations" *ex squalido* and his "back formations" *ad nauseam*, appealing only to the ignorant for a hearing and to smatterers for support. But though the book is worthless as a scientific production and harmless as an iconoclastic effort, yet because it issues from an old university its influence may be pestiferous. For it can only cast discredit on American scholarship and bring philology into disrepute. Was that perhaps the reason the book was written? Have we here another Cervantes with a philological Don Quixote going forth on a mock campaign to make all linguistic study ridiculous? If so, then the reviewer has wasted his time and the valuable space of *Modern Philology*. He must cry *peccavi* (a "back formation" from *peek-a-boo*, indicative of the great light that has dawned upon him), and can only regret that his eyes were holden that he could not recognize the colossal humor of this all too cruel satirist.

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FROM CAULDRON OF PLENTY TO GRAIL

No one who is conversant with the way in which men's minds operated in the Middle Ages ought to find any difficulty in thinking of the Grail as a Christianization of a heathen vessel of plenty. Numerous analogies show what a common thing it was for men in the earlier Middle Ages to Christianize heathen customs and talismans, and to incorporate into legends of saints, stories that belonged to heathen deities. Josaphat in the mediaeval legend of St. Barlaam and St. Josaphat is certainly a Christianization of the Buddha.[1] Everyone knows that the Parthenon and the Pantheon were turned into Christian churches; Pope Boniface consecrated the Pantheon as a church of the martyrs, i.e., of all saints. It is generally thought that Christmas was fixed at December 25 in order to coincide with the feast of the return of the sun; and that in the ninth century All Saints' Day was transposed from May 13 to November 1,[2] in order to supplant a pagan feast of the dead (Irish *Samhain*). Various saints' legends were spun out of stories about pagan gods whom the saints resembled in name or in some other particular. This Christianization of pagan deities and pagan marvels is believed to have been especially prevalent in Ireland, where the first missionaries

[1] Kuhn, *Barlaam und Joasaph*, 1893.

[2] For references see Saintyves, *Les Saints successeurs des Dieux*, pp. 93 f., a book which carries its argument too far. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, Eng. trans., p. 181, disagrees.

showed a generous indulgence[1] toward such popular beliefs as were not positively inimical to Christianity, and where monks copied down and preserved stories of the older pagan time. A transparent instance is the adoption in the legend of St. Bridget of stories concerning the goddess Brig or Brigit.[2]

More than twenty-five years have elapsed since Nutt sought to explain the Grail[3] as a development and a Christianization of a Celtic vessel of plenty, and during the quarter of a century that has elapsed the researches of numerous scholars have succeeded in alleging little positive evidence against Nutt's general position.[4] Yet despite the almost universal analogy of development from heathen to Christian, various writers continue to express doubt concerning any fundamental connection between the plenty-giving objects of fairy lore and the Holy Grail.[5] It is clear, also, that other students of the Grail, who may perhaps regard Nutt's hypothesis as probable, attach a great deal of importance to the difficulty of transition from pagan to Christian, which they think interferes with the connection that he postulated.

Under these circumstances it seems as if a step forward toward a solution of this problem of origin would be made by showing, as it is possible to show, that on Irish soil, previous to the time of Chrétien, a plenty-giving cauldron with its surroundings had been Christianized

[1] Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, pp. 57–58 (a work which has the *imprimatur*), objects to statements of Nutt, Rhŷs, and others, concerning the conciliatory spirit of the first missionaries in Ireland, but his objection is, I think, chiefly directed against the hazardous idea that the doctrines of the early church of Ireland were modified by survivals of paganism. In another place, pp. 61–62, Gougaud seems to admit the well-known tendency of Irish legends to preserve marvels, whether or not of pagan origin: "En tout lieu les imaginations furent, au moyen âge, friandes de merveilleux. Mais il n'est peut-être pas de peuple chez qui le goût de l'extraordinaire et du bizarre ait été aussi vif que chez les Celtes d'outre-mer. Toute leur littérature, la religieuse comme la profane est là pour attester ce trait vraiment caractéristique de leur génie. L'auteur d'une vie de saint était donc tout naturellement amené," etc.

[2] Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, cxxxvi, n. 3; Cormac's *Glossary*, section 150, testifies that Brigit was called a "goddess" by all Irishmen.

[3] *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, 1888. Reasons for seeking the sources of the Grail in Celtic story were collected by me in *MLN*, XXVIII, 21–26. Notable are (1) the connection with Arthur, (2) the identity of atmosphere between the Grail episodes and other portions of Chrétien's romances.

[4] E.g., Brugger, *ZFSL*, XXXVI², 187.

[5] E.g., Sterzenbach, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der Sage vom heiligen Gral*, 1908; Iselin, *Der morgenländische Ursprung der Grallegende*, 1909; von Schroeder, "*Die Wurzeln der Sage vom heiligen Gral*," Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, 1910; Miss Peebles, *Legend of Longinus*, pp. 170 f., 1911; Foerster, *Wörterbuch zu Kristian*, Einleitung, 1914, p. 184; Golther, in a review of Foerster, *ZFSL*, XLIII² (1915), 147.

and ecclesiasticized into something that closely resembled the eucharistic service.

This transition from a fairy abode with its cauldron of plenty to a church with food supplied by angels can be traced in the Irish *imrama* or "oversea voyages." The *imrama* form a definite kind of Irish story-telling which is becoming in recent years pretty well known. They developed in Ireland before the eleventh century and gave rise to the famous *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*. The *Voyage of St. Brendan* is nothing more than an *imram* retold by a monk[1] who has dressed up the pagan marvels of his original in orthodox ecclesiastical costume. It met with wonderful success and entered into the literature of most of the countries of Western Europe.[2] The time at which the legend of St. Brendan passed from Celtic into Latin was not very far from that time at which one may suppose that the kernel of the Grail legend emerged from similar insular sources. In short, the history of the St. Brendan legend would be a close parallel, in origin, in development, and in success, to the origin and development of the Grail story.

The *imrama* are of great antiquity. The oldest is the *Imram Brain* or "Voyage of Bran," which was originally written down in the seventh century.[3] A fairy abode with marvelous food is here pictured as a heathen wonderland of purely sensual delights. The marvelous food episode is found in section 62 of the story:

> Bran, with twenty-seven men, after leaving the "Island of Joy," reached the Land of Women, where he was welcomed by twenty-seven damsels. . . . . Thereupon they went into a large house, in which was a bed for every couple, even thrice nine beds. The food that was put on every dish vanished not from them. It seemed a year to them that they were there—it chanced to be many years. No savour was wanting to them.[4]

The last phrase which occurs in varying forms in similar stories means that each man tasted the food that he liked best.

[1] Of course, he may have made additions from classic or oriental story. For different views on the Brendan legend see Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio Evo*, p. 186, n. 62. A hint of the concrete way in which the *Navigatio* rests upon Irish story is seen in the name of Brendan's big fish *Jasconius*, which is simply a Latinization of the Irish word for fish, *iasc;* see Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, p. 239.

[2] The *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* exists in a tenth-century manuscript which is a copy of something still older (Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, xli, n. 2). The Anglo-Norman Brendan poem dates from *ca.* 1120 (Plummer, I, xlii).

[3] Kuno Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, I, xvi.

[4] Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 30.

The *Imram Maelduin* must have been originally written down at the latest in the early eighth century,[1] but in the version that we have additions and interpolations may have been made down to the end of the tenth century.[2] As was pointed out by me some twelve years ago[3] and by Nutt before that,[4] this *imram* consists of four or five versions of the same theme of a visit to *Mag Mell* or the earthly paradise, which have been illogically attached one after the other in order to make up a long saga. Thus, each incident is told over and over again in slightly varying versions. The earthly paradise episode is, of course, especially favored, and the different variations on the same theme range from a tone almost if not quite pagan to one highly ecclesiastical. In what follows, the order of the saga is disregarded and the versions which have the most pagan coloring are placed first. Section 28 of the *Imram Maelduin*[5] puts the marvelous food in a land of purely sensual delight, which seems as thoroughly pagan as the picture just given from the *Imram Brain:*

They came to an island "in which was a great house with seventeen grown-up girls." At noon the queen of the island arrived and invited Mailduin and his men into the house. She took her seat on one side of the house with her seventeen girls about her. "Mailduin sat on the other side over against the queen, with his seventeen men around him. Then a platter with good food thereon was brought to Mailduin, and along with it a vessel of glass full of good liquor and a platter for every three and a vessel for every three of his people."

That night the eighteen couples paired off, Mailduin sleeping with the queen. In the morning the queen urged the men to stay, saying: "Lasting life shall ye have always, and what came to you last night shall come to you every night without any labour." Mailduin and his men remained in this island for more than three months, enjoying the perpetual banquet, and they finally had considerable difficulty in escaping from the amorous damsels.[6]

[1] Zimmer, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 148. [2] Nutt, *op. cit.*, I, 163, n. 1.

[3] "Iwain," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 67–68.

[4] *Voyage of Bran*, I, (1895) 166. Nutt's words are (in part): "We are justified in making use of the three versions (sections 16, 17, 28) to reconstruct the idea of damsel-land as it existed in the minds of the original author of Maelduin and of the continuators."

[5] Edition and translation by Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, X, 62.

[6] Zimmer, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 328, urged with little plausibility that this and later *imrama* grew up under the influence of Vergil's *Aeneid*. He even thought that the episode just quoted was shaped by the story of Aeneas and Dido. The admission of Vergilian influence would not interfere with the present argument. The episode in *Mailduin* resembles closely that in *Bran*, which Zimmer admitted to be free from Vergilian echoes. Most of the details in the episode, including the marvelous food, as any study of older

An obvious variant of this damsel-land is in section 16:

They came to an island where "a maiden went to meet them, and brought them on land, and gave them food. They likened it to cheese, and whatever taste was pleasing to anyone he would find it therein; and she dealt [liquor] to them out of a little vessel, so that they slept an intoxication of three days and three nights. All this time the maiden was tending them. When they awoke on the third day, they were in their boat at sea. Nowhere did they see their island or their maiden."

Section 17 tells almost the same story as section 16 and gives additional details:

"Thereafter they found another island which was not large. Therein was a fortress with a brazen door and brazen fastenings thereon. A bridge of glass [rose] by the portal. When they used to go upon the bridge, they would fall down backwards. With that they espy a woman coming out of the fortress with a pail in her hand. . . . . After this they were striking the brazen fastenings and the brazen net that was before them and then the sound which they made was a sweet and soothing music which sent them to sleep till the morrow morning." . . . . When they awoke they saw the woman coming as before but the same melody laid them low till the morrow.

"Three days and three nights were they in that wise. On the fourth day thereafter the woman went to them. . . . . 'My welcome to thee, O Mailduin,' saith she. And she named each man [of the crew] apart, by his own name. 'It is long since your coming here hath been known and understood.'

"Then she takes [them] with her into a great house that stood near the sea. . . . . She brought them in one pannier food like unto cheese or *táth*. She gave a share to every three. Every savour that each desired, this he would find therein. There she tended Mailduin apart. And she filled her pail . . . . and dealt liquor to them. . . . . Then she went away from them with her one vessel and with her pail. . . . . She comes on the morrow. They said to her, 'Wilt thou show affection to Mailduin, and sleep with him? and why not stay here tonight?' She said she knew not, and had never known what sin was. Then she went from them to her house; and on the morrow, at the same hour, she comes with her tendance to them. And when they were drunken and sated, they say the same words to her.

"'Tomorrow,' saith she, 'an answer concerning that will be given to you.' Then she went to her house, and they sleep on their couches. When they awoke they were in their boat on a crag; and they saw not the island, nor the fortress, nor the lady, nor the place wherein they had been."

Irish fairy stories will show, belong to pagan Irish belief about fairyland. Cf. Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 144 f.; Saalbach, *Entstehungsgeschichte der schottischen Volksballade T. Rymer*, 1913, pp. 17 f.

The statement of the woman that she "knew not what sin was" may be an insertion made by a Christian redactor.[1] Other details, however, such as the sleep-bringing music, the disappearance of the island overnight, and in particular the food which affords each man the taste that he desires, belong to pagan fairy lore.[2]

In another episode which is contained in section 11 a treasure-house with marvelous food is described. This island and treasure-house are empty of inhabitants and are guarded only by a small cat.

A still different and perhaps ruder conception of the other world is given in the Island of the Fish Weir in section 6:

"They discovered a great high island with a great house therein on the seashore, and a doorway of the house into the plain of the island, and another door [opening] into the sea, and against that door there was a valve of stone. That valve was pierced by an aperture, through which the sea waves were flinging the salmon into the midst of that house. Mailduin and his men entered that house, and therein they found no one. After this they beheld a testered bed for the chief of the house alone, and a bed for every three of his household, and the food for three before every bed, and a vessel of glass with good liquor before every bed, and a cup of glass on every vessel. So they dined off that food and liquor, and they give thanks to Almighty God who had helped them from the hunger."

This episode is not to be sharply differentiated from those already quoted, because a palace where food and tending are supplied by invisible hands, or a house of plenty, apparently uninhabited, is one of the well-known traditional forms of the Irish other world.[3]

An obvious variant of this story of never-failing fish occurs in the Island of the Salmon, section 25:

"A great stream rose up out of the strand of the island and went like a rainbow, over the whole island, and descended . . . . on the other side thereof. . . . . And they were piercing [with their spears] the stream above; and [then] great, enormous salmon were tumbling from above out of the stream down upon the soil of the island."

In section 33, the marvelous food is again, at least in part, fish, an indication that one of the underlying ideas is the same as that set forth more rudely in the paragraphs last quoted. But here an

[1] Nutt suggests a pagan chastity-taboo, *op.cit.*, I, 167.

[2] That the woman had but one vessel could be explained as the surviving trace of an original belief that this was no ordinary vessel, but a talisman which of itself supplied food.

[3] See *Echtra Cormaic, Irische Texte*, III, 1, 195, 214; *Echtra Airt, Eriu*, III, 156; cf. also Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 238.

unmistakably Christian element enters in the person of the "cleric" who has possession of this marvelous food:

"They see far off among the waves a shape like a white bird. . . . . When they had drawn near it in rowing they saw that it was a human being and that he was clothed only with the white hair of his body." This "cleric" told Mailduin that he was an evil cook for the monastery at Torach. Once when he was digging in the churchyard, he spared a corpse which begged not to be disturbed. The buried man then promised, if spared being dug up, to grant to the evil cook "to abide in eternal life along with God." After this the cleric set out in a new boat on the sea and a great wind blew him into the ocean. "And as I looked round me on every side I beheld on my right hand the man [i.e., the man whose corpse he had spared] sitting upon the wave, who said to me, 'Whither goest thou?' 'Pleasant to me,' say I, 'is the direction in which I am gazing over the sea.'" The man on the wave pointed out a crowd of demons and told the evil cook to fling everything into the sea.

"Then I fling everything into the sea save a little wooden cup. 'Go now,' saith he to me, 'and in the stead in which thy boat will pause stay therein.' And then he gave me for provision a cup of whey-water and seven cakes."

The cleric told how he went on without oars or rudder until the boat cast him upon the rock where he now stood. "'Seven years am I here,' saith he, 'living on the seven cakes and on the cup of whey-water, which was given me by the man who sent me from him. And I had no provision save only my cup of whey-water. This still remained there. After that I was in a three days fast,' saith he. 'Now after three days, at the hour of none an otter brought me a salmon out of the sea.'" Then the cleric went on to tell how another otter brought him flaming firewood. Thus he cooked the salmon and ate, and the otters continued to bring him salmon and firewood every day for seven more years. At the end of the second seven years no salmon was brought, so he fasted for three days. "'At the third none of the three days, there half a cake of wheat and a piece of fish were cast up. Then my cup of whey-water escapes from me, and there came to me a cup of the same size filled with good liquor which is on the crag here, and it is full every day. And neither wind, nor wet, nor heat, nor cold, affects me in this place. This is my story,' saith the ancient man."

Mailduin and his men landed on the island. "Now when the hour of none arrived half a cake and a piece of fish come to each of them all, and in the cup, which stood before the cleric on the rock, was found their fill of good liquor."

This is the last marvelous island visited by Mailduin, and as such has some claim to be regarded as the land that he especially sought.

At first glance it might seem possible to explain this island by purely ecclesiastical conceptions. The otter, as purveyor of the marvelous food, may have been suggested to the redactor by the miracle of Elijah fed by ravens,[1] the cake of wheat and cup of liquor by the angel that fed Elijah with a baked cake and a cruse of water.[2]

But a more careful consideration shows that the redactor is using some pagan Irish ideas. The cleric who "abides in eternal life" is not in purgatory. There can be no question of heaven here. He is in the happy other world of pagan belief.[3] No purely ecclesiastical source explains all the ideas. The redactor is syncretizing pagan and Christian material. The rudderless boat is certainly a traditional device for reaching the other world.[4] We may conjecture that the notion of fish as a supernatural food is, in this *imram*, a pagan Irish idea which has developed out of ruder forms, such as can be seen in sections 6 and 25.

The mysterious man sitting upon the wave, who gives the hermit a cup of whey-water, seems to be a Christianization of Manannán, who in the *Imram Brain* drove in his chariot over the sea to meet Bran and

[1] I Kings 17:6. [2] *Ibid.*, 19:5–6.

[3] Zimmer, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 286 f., has argued that the Irish fourfold division of the human race after death arose by the preservation in Ireland of a pagan happy other world alongside of the Christian purgatory, heaven, and hell. Nutt, *V. of B.*, I, 225, expressed a doubt. The decision whether this fourfold division could possibly be a purely Christian development must be left to eschatologists. But it strikes me that this division could hardly come from the Book of Enoch, as Boswell (*An Irish Precursor of Dante*, p. 172, n. 1) believed. The fourfold division of the Book of Enoch, c. 22, into (1) martyrs, (2) the rest of the righteous, (3) sinners who were punished in this life, (4) sinners not yet punished, seems to me decidedly different. Besides, Charles, the latest editor, does not understand (*Book of Enoch* [Oxford, 1912], p. 46) the Book of Enoch to intend a fourfold division of the dead. He doubts if it means to separate the martyrs from the rest of the righteous.

The name *Tír Tairngiri* ("Land of Promise"), given to Manannán's land in the *Echtra Cormaic* (*Irische Texte*, III, i, 185), and elsewhere proves that the Irish identified their *Mag Mell* with the Canaan of Old Testament promise (*LL.* 168*b* 3, says *Mag Mell* is in *Tír Tairngiri;* cf. K. Meyer, *Cath Finntrága*, p. xiii), and this shows, I think, that the earthly paradise, even if it existed already in Christian thought, became for the Irish a different and more definite thing.

[4] Originally, a rudderless boat, or a boat not directed by oars or sails, was a gift from a fairy goddess, and returned of itself with the hero to fairyland. See *Serglige Conçulaind* (*Irische Texte*, I, 210); *Doel Dermat, ibid.*, II, 178, 196; and Manannán's ship used by the children of Tuirenn in *Aoidhe Chloinne Tuireann*, O'Curry's trans., *Atlantis*, IV, 158 f. A boat left to drift occurs in *Mailduin*, *Húi Corra*, and *Snedgus* at the beginning of the voyage, also in the *Navigatio*, section 2, where Barintus journeys through a thick mist, and again, section 6, when Brendan sets out. For references see Plummer, I, xcix, n. 5; Miss Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, II, 371 f.; my *Iwain*, p. 79, n. 1; and compare the marvelous boats in *Guigemar* and *Partenopeus*. Miss Schoepperle is inclined to think that the rudderless boat in *Tristan* is of Irish origin (p. 390). Nobody would claim that the idea is exclusively Irish (cf. the self-moving boats of the Phaeacians, *Odyss.* viii. 558), but when it occurs in an *imram* it is pretty safe to regard it as traditionally Irish.

sang about the salmon leaping in the waves.[1] The sea-god appears in similar fashion in the story of Ciabán,[2] and elsewhere. Indeed, this meeting with Manannán on the sea was a stock *imram*-incident which became Christianized in various ways. A ninth-century Irish martyrology relates that St. Bairre when on ship met St. Scuithin walking on the waves. Bairre picked up a salmon from the sea and handed it to Scuithin.[3] The Latin life of St. David tells how St. Bairre, while traveling over the sea, met St. Brendan on his whale.[4] Scuithin and Brendan have in these legends been put into the place of Manannán. Barintus, who in the *Navigatio*, section 2, suggests to St. Brendan the idea of a voyage, and in Geoffrey's *Vita Merlini* acts as pilot for Arthur to the Fortunate Isles, is merely a name for Manannán.[5]

Similarly, the redactor of the *Imram Maelduin* in this episode is syncretizing what we may provisionally call pagan elements and ecclesiastical notions. In an earlier form of the story it was, no doubt, Manannán, the sea-fairy or sea-god, who gave to the cleric the cup of plenty. The redactor has kept the mysterious figure, although he has struck out the pagan name and leaves us to imagine him to be the soul of the dead man and doubtless some powerful saint.

In section 20 the island of supernatural food is not only in charge of a hermit, but it contains an ecclesiastical fountain which yields milk on Sundays, etc.:

They came to an island with a golden rampart around it, and the floor of it white like down. Here they saw a man whose raiment was the hair of his own body. They inquired what sustenance he found, and he told them that in the island was a fountain which yielded whey or water on Friday and on Wednesday, but milk on Sunday, and ale and wine on the greater feasts. In this island they were miraculously fed. "At none there came to every man of them half a cake and a piece of fish; and they drank their fill of the liquor, which was yielded to them out of the fountain of the island, and it cast them into a heavy sleep from that hour till the morrow."

[1] This was suggested by Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, p. 156.

[2] *Irische Texte*, IV, 1, 106 ff.

[3] *Félire Oengusso*, ed. Stokes, p. 41; cf. Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, cxxxii, "The story of Bairre and Scuithin meeting on the sea is only an ecclesiastical version of the meeting of Bran and Manannán."

[4] Ed. Wade-Evans, *Y Cymmrodor*, XXIV, pp. 18, 55–56; cf. Plummer, I, xxxi.

[5] This I venture to suppose that I have proved in *Rev. Celt.*, XXII, 339.

This sleep-giving food connects this episode with sections 17 and 18 above.

In section 19 much the same story is told, but the episode of marvelous food is thoroughly ecclesiasticized, and definite mention is made of the ministry of angels:

They came to an island of birds where there was a man whose clothing was his hair. He told the travelers, "'The birds which thou beholdest in the trees' saith he, 'are the souls of my children and my kindred, both men and women, who are yonder awaiting doomsday.[1] Half a cake and a slice of fish and the liquor of the well [in the island] God hath given me. That cometh to me daily,' saith he, 'by the ministry of angels.' 'At the hour of none, moreover, another half-cake and slice of fish come to every man yonder, and every woman, and the liquor of the well as is enough for every one.' When their three nights of guesting were complete, they bade farewell."

For this episode the redactor is apparently borrowing from the story of the angel that fed Elijah, and the mention of fish has suggested to him the miracle of the multitude fed by loaves and fishes.[2] From this miracle it is an easy step to the Eucharist, of which the miracle of the loaves and fishes was regarded as a symbol.[3]

In point of fact, the tenth-century *Imram Snedgusa ocus maic Ríagala* has corresponding to these ecclesiastical islands of the *Imram Mailduin* an episode in which the place of the marvelous food is taken by the Christian eucharistic feast. This episode, which comes at the end of the *Imram Snedgusa* in section 25, is as follows:[4]

"And they beheld a great, lofty island, and all therein was delightful and hallowed. Good was the King that abode in the island, and he was holy and righteous: and great was his host, and noble was the dwelling of that King, for there were a hundred doors in that house, and an altar at every door, and a priest at every altar offering Christ's body. So the clerics [i.e., Snedgus and his companions] entered that house and each of them [host and guests] blessed the other; and thereafter the whole of that great

[1] According to Zimmer, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 217, this idea of souls in bird shape came from an old Irish text (*LU.* 17*a*, 1 f.; *LL.* 280*a*, 43 f.) which describes Elias under the tree of life. This story is also in the *Fis Adamnáin*, c. 33.

[2] Matt. 14:14 f.; John 6:1 f.

[3] *Dict. de Théologie Catholique*, V, cols. 989, 1187; cf. Dölger, *Römische Quartalschrift*, XXIII, 41–42.

[4] I follow the translation of Stokes, *R.C.*, IX, 14 ff. Zimmer dates this *imram* in the ninth or tenth century (*ZFDA*, XXXIII, 216–18). Another version of this *Imram Snedgusa*, printed and translated by Stokes, *R.C.*, XXVI, 130 ff., under the title "The Adventure of St. Columba's Clerics," refers to the same incident. See sections 51–56, where the dwellers in the great house are made to say: "We are here without age, without decay upon us, and we shall abide till Doom." The story is also contained in the Irish verses of section 57.

host, both woman and man, went to communion at the Mass. Then wine is dealt out to them, and the king saith to the clerics, 'Tell the men of Ireland that a great vengeance is about to fall.'" [The king then predicted that Ireland was to be invaded by foreigners and that the voyagers should safely return to Ireland. This is the end of the saga.][1]

Even in this strikingly ecclesiastical episode one may perceive as in the other paragraphs traces of syncretism. The "great house" with one hundred doors is obviously not derived from church or Latin sources. It is an Irish palace like the *Bruiden Dá Derga:* "There are seven doorways into the house . . . . and seventeen of Conaire's chariots at every door";[2] or the *Tech Midchuarta* at Tara, "It had fourteen doors,"[3] or the palace of Mac Datho, "There were seven doors to that palace and seven roads ran through it."[4]

In the culminating episode of the *Imram Curaig húa Corra,* which was written in the eleventh century but has perhaps suffered addition and alteration at some time not later than the thirteenth century,[5] may be seen the episode of marvelous food transformed into something thoroughly ecclesiastical and something, moreover, which is reminiscent of the Bible, and perhaps of the Eucharist.

Although the *Imram Curaig húa Corra* may have been retouched in the thirteenth century, it is probable that this thoroughly ecclesiastical story goes back to the eleventh century—that is, to a time earlier than the appearance of the Grail legend. That it is reasonable

[1] The *Imram Snedgusa* contains in section 15 a variant of the fish-weir episode (cf. *Mailduin,* sections 6 and 25) in regular pagan form: "Then they are sent to another island, with a fence of silver over the midst thereof, and a fish-weir therein; and that weir was a . . . . plank of silver, and against the weir huge salmon were leaping. Bigger than a bull calf was each of these salmon, and thereof they were satisfied."

[2] *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga,* ed. Stokes, *R.C.,* XXII, 36.

[3] Keating, *Irish Texts Soc.,* VIII, 305.

[4] *Irische Texte,* I, 96 (from *LL.*). For this comparison to Irish palaces and for other assistance, I am indebted to my friend, Professor T. P. Cross.

Most readers will probably see in the phrases about the great house and the noble dwelling reminiscences of biblical imagery. But I cannot help thinking that they owe something to the stock descriptions of *Mag Mell* and its king, which they much resemble. I have in mind such passages as the description of Manannán's palace in the *Echtra Cormaic* (*Irische Texte,* III, 1, 213): "Then he sees another fortress vast and royal. . . . . He sees the vast palace. . . . . The warrior's face was distinguished owing to the beauty of his shape and the comeliness of his form, and the wondrousness of his countenance [the warrior is Manannán]": and of the palace in the *Baile an Scail* (O'Curry, *MS Materials,* p. 621 [the Irish text is in *ZFCP,* III, 458]): "A kingly rath. . . . . A splendid house in it. The champion himself in the house before them in his king's seat. There was never found in Tara a man of his great size, nor of his comeliness for the beauty of his form, the wonderfulness of his face."

[5] Stokes says that the language is of the eleventh century (*R.C.,* XIV, 25). Zimmer thinks that it was not written earlier than the twelfth century (*op. cit.,* XXXIII, 198 ff.). Nutt believes that the present form is a rewriting of the thirteenth century (*Voyage of Bran,* I, 162).

to hold that this extreme ecclesiastical coloring had been developed at least as early as the eleventh century appears by comparing it with the corresponding episode just quoted from the tenth-century *Imram Snedgusa*.

The episode under discussion from the *Húi Corra* occurs at the end of the story, in section 73, and is as follows:[1]

"They came to an island wherein dwelt one of Christ's disciples. Marvelous, moreover, was the island. A cell and a church were therein." The disciple or elder who was in the church told them that he fled from Christ and voyaged on the sea. He continued: "I chanced upon this island, and I ate some of the herbs of the island, and also of its fruit, till an angel came to me from heaven and said to me, 'Not rightly hast thou done,' quoth he, 'howbeit thou shalt abide in this life without death till Doomsday.' So I stand in that wise till today, and through him there comes not to me a meal at every none." [The text implies that the disciple was fed daily by the angel and so needed no earthly meal.]

"Thereafter they [all] went into one house and besought food from heaven for them. When they had prayed that a meal should be given to them [all] at the same time, the angel comes to them and leaves their meal on a flagstone before them on the strand, to wit, a cake for each man of them and upon it a piece of fish wherein was every savour that each of them severally would desire.

"Thereafter they bade farewell, and the old man related to them their [future] wanderings and their order of life."[2]

The author of this episode is plainly drawing from legends and ecclesiastical sources, but the fish which was eaten as food connects it with the more heathen episodes. As before, the disciple seems to be in the earthly paradise and not in any purely Christian abode. The phrase "every savour that each of them severally would desire" goes back to the *Imram Brain*.

It is probable that the redactor had in mind the sixth chapter of John where Jesus said that he was the bread of life: "Not as your

[1] Ed. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XIV, 26–63.

[2] Section 54 of the *Húi Corra* contains a variant of the damsel-land episode of *Mailduin*, sections 28, 16, and 17, and in a form untouched by ecclesiasticism: "After that there appeared to them another island, wonderful, shining, with a brazen palisade around it, and a brazen net spread on its spikes outside. . . . . When they heard the music of the wind against the net, they cast themselves into sleep till the end of three days and three nights.

"A certain woman went to them out of the garth. . . . . A pitcher of brass was in one of her hands, a drinking cup of silver in the other hand. She distributed to them food which seemed to them like soft cheeses. She dealt out to them the water of the well that was in the strand, and there was no savour that they did not find therein."

The sleep-bringing music and the food that affords to each man his favorite taste are well-known tokens of fairyland.

fathers did eat manna and are dead; he that eateth of this bread shall live forever." The way in which the disciples pray before the coming of the angel seems reminiscent of the words which the Bible uses concerning the disciples on the occasions of the descent of the Holy Ghost: "And when they had prayed the place was shaken where they were assembled together."[1] "They were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven," etc.[2] It is possible, though one cannot be sure, that the redactor of this episode thought of the disciples, on these occasions when the Holy Ghost descended, as met to celebrate the "breaking of bread." Anyhow, the coming of marvelous food after meeting together and after prayer is like the "in breaking of bread and in prayers,"[3] of the Bible. The analogy of the *Snedgus* episode already pointed out makes a reference to the Eucharist here not improbable. All of the biblical miracles of plenty, from the manna in the wilderness to the turning of water into wine at Cana,[4] and to the meal by the Sea of Galilee,[5] were regarded as symbols of the Eucharist. Moreover, numerous early Christian monuments figure a fish on the communion table as a symbol of Christ.[6]

Boron in his *Joseph* certainly had in mind this explanation of the fish that was put upon the table with the Grail;[7] evidently Chrétien did not, but perhaps the redactors of the various episodes in the *imrama,* which describe a cleric living on a fish and a cup of water, did have it in mind.

Those who advocate the hypothesis of an exclusively Christian origin for the Grail legend of course deny all syncretism in Boron's *Joseph.* They will have to explain the fish in this and other episodes of the *imrama*[8] where a hermit or a cleric enters, as due entirely to a distorted reminiscence of Christian symbolism, the fish being a symbol

[1] Acts 4:31. [2] Acts 2:1, 2. [3] Acts 2:42.

[4] John 2:1 ff. See *Dict. d'arch. Chrétienne,* II, col. 1802.

[5] John 21:9. See *Dict. de Théo. Catholique,* V, cols. 1187–88.

[6] Dölger, Ιχθυς *Das Fischsymbol in frühchristlicher Zeit,* I (1910). For the remarkable inscription at least as old as the fourth century at Autun in France: "Eat with delight, holding the fish in your hands," see I, 12, and 177, and cf. *Dict. d'arch. Chrétienne,* I, col. 3196.

[7] See below, p. 84. For references, see Professor Nitze's valuable article on the "Fisher King," *PMLA,* XXIV, 368 *f.*, which calls attention to the presence of syncretism in Chrétien and in Boron. The life-cult analogies of this article I am not prepared to follow.

[8] *Mailduin,* sections 19, 20, 33; *Húi Corra,* section 73; *Snedgus,* section 25.

of Christ and the Eucharist. Looking at the matter with the best will in the world I do not see that this is a possible hypothesis for the *imrama*. The fish-weir episodes[1] cannot be explained by Christian symbolism. They are too plainly pagan and present too rude conceptions of plenty. One would have to assume that in the *Imram Mailduin* and in the *Imram Snedgusa* there happened to be, of entirely diverse origin, two sets of stories presenting fish as marvelous food: the fish-weir episodes where the fish comes from the peasant's gross idea of plenty; and the "hermit" episodes where the fish comes, according to this hypothesis, entirely from Christian symbolism, and that the second set of conceptions depended in no way upon the first. This is very unlikely. It is clearly reasonable to hold that the fish-weir episodes contributed to the development of the idea of the "hermit" episodes. The association with the Eucharist must have come at the end of a long development and was possible chiefly because the idea of the marvelous food as fish was already present. In other words, syncretism of heathen and Christian ideas must be admitted in the "hermit" episodes of the *imrama*. This being so, it is almost certain that syncretism has shaped the Grail story of Boron's *Joseph*. Syncretism is even more apparent in Chrétien's *Perceval*.

The sea fairies Manannán and his congener Bran would naturally be euhemerized into either sailors or fishermen. We know that Manannán was early rationalized into a mariner.[2] But when connected with marvelous food (and a sea-god's food is, of course, fish), they would be euhemerized into fishermen. This is the origin, I believe, of the Fisher King (Brons=Bran) of Boron's *Joseph*.[3]

It is instructive to compare what the Latin *Navigatio Sancti Brandani*, which goes back to the tenth century, makes of the marvelous food episodes in the *Imram Mailduin*. Section 20 of the

[1] *Mailduin*, sections 6, 25; *Snedgus*, section 15.

[2] In Cormac's *Glossary*, which is generally assigned to the ninth or tenth century, occurs the following entry (O'Donovan's translation, ed. Stokes, p. 114): "Manannán mac lir, a celebrated merchant who was in the Isle of Mann. He was the best pilot that was in the west of Europe. He used to know by studying the heavens, i.e., by using the sky, the period which would be the fine weather and the bad weather, and when each of these two times would change. Inde Scoti [the Irish of course] et Brittones eum deum vocaverunt maris, et inde filium maris esse dixerunt [i.e., Mac Lir, "son of sea"] et de nomine Manannán [the Isle of Mann] dictus est."

[3] This identification was proposed by Nutt, *Studies on the Legend*, etc., p. 211.

Mailduin, which was quoted above, evidently gave the monkish transcriber the basis for section 11 of the *Navigatio*:[1]

St. Brendan and his companions came to an island where there was a monastery kept by a band of monks, whose rules enjoined almost complete silence. The monks received St. Brendan's company into the house and washed their feet, keeping silent all the while. Then a brother served a marvelously white bread, giving one loaf to every two men, also herbs which had a wonderful savour. At length the abbot spoke:

"Panes vero quos videtis ubi preparantur ignotum est nobis aut quis portat ad nostrum celarium, sed tamen notum est nobis quod ex Dei magna elemosina ministratur servis suis per aliquam creaturam subjectam. Nos sumus hic XXIV fratres, omni die habemus XII panes ad nostram refectionem, inter duos singulos panes: in festivitatibus et in dominicis diebus integros panes singulis fratribus addidit Deus ut cenam habeant ex fragmentis; modo in adventu vestro duplicem annonam habemus; et ita nutrivit nos Deus a tempore sancti Patricii et sancti Ailbei patris nostri usque modo per LXXX annos. At tamen senectus et languor in menbris nostris minime amplificatur. In hac insula nichil ad comedendum indigemus quod igni paratur, neque frigus aut estus superat nos umquam. Sed cum tempus missarum venit aut vigiliarum, incenduntur luminaria nostra in ecclesia que duximus de terra nostra: divina predestinacione ardent usque diem et non minuitur ullum ex illis luminaribus."

The bread of unknown origin and the lights which kindle of themselves and are never exhausted seem to be surviving traces of fairyland. Notable also is the perpetual youth of the monks.

Section 33 of the *Mailduin*, quoted above, becomes as follows in section 23 of the *Navigatio*:[2]

St. Brendan and his company reached an island where they found two caves. In one of them was an old man, whose only clothing was his hair. He told St. Brendan that he had once spared to dig up the corpse of a dead man. In return the man had told him to put to sea, and the wind had driven him to this isle:

"Ego vero mansi hic. Circa horam nonam luter portavit michi prandium de mari, id est piscem unum, in ore suo et fasciculum de sarminibus ad focum faciendum inter suos anteriores pedes, ambulans super duobus posterioribus. Cum posuisset ante me piscem et cremina, reversus est unde venerat. Ego vero accepto ferro silicem percussi fecique ignem de creminibus et paravi michi cibum de illo pisce. Ita per XXX annos semper tercia die idem minister easdem escas attulit, id est unum piscem ad tres dies: terciam partem

[1] Quoted from Schröder's edition, 1871, pp. 14–17. Schröder does not number his paragraphs. I borrow the numbers from Wahlund's edition, *Brendan's Meerfahrt*, Upsala and Leipzig, 1900.

[2] Ed. Schröder, pp. 32–34.

piscis manducavi omni die et ex gratia Dei nulla inerat michi sitis, sed in die dominico egrediebatur foras paxillum de ista petra atque inde potui sumere potum et vasculum meum implere ad opus manuum. Post quoque XXX annos inveni istas duas speluncas et istum fontem vivum, et postea vixi per LX annos sine nutrimento alterius cibi nisi de hoc fonte. Nonagenarius etenim sum in hac insula: XXX annos in victu piscium et LX in pastu illius fontis et L in patria mea, omnes anni vite mee usque modo CXL sunt."

This episode in the *Navigatio* clearly suggests that the hermit was able to live on one-third of a fish a day, because of his austerity and holiness. Now the only passage in Chrétien's *Perceval* which ascribes any sanctity to the Grail or to the rulers of the Grail castle contains a similar idea. The father of the Grail king is so spiritual a person and the Grail so hóly a thing that he needs no elaborate fish diet but only a single "oiste" that is brought to him in the Grail. Could not Chrétien have easily arrived at this statement if he had found in his original something resembling the story we have just read in the *Navigatio?* And could not such a story have easily been attached to a miracle of supernatural food before the time of Chrétien by Irish story-tellers? Two strands are twisted together, I think, in the Grail legend, one pagan and the other Christian.[1] The Christian element had begun to enter in our text of Chrétien, but does not the analogy of the St. Brendan story show that the pagan element going back to a cauldron of plenty was more fundamental?

The objection will be made that the different forms of the supernatural food episode in *Mailduin* have different origins and were based on different conceptions. It will be said that the episodes where a cleric or a hermit is in charge of the supernatural food[2] are Christian and are kept apart from the others, which are purely pagan.

But the various episodes are not kept apart by the Irish redactor; still less would they be by his hearers and readers. There is syncretism in all the more Christian episodes. The "great house of the king" where the Eucharist is celebrated is an Irish palace; traits of the Irish happy other world are present; the cup of plenty comes from a man sitting on the waves, who cannot well be other than Manannán. Service by invisible hands is a stock *imram* incident.

[1] That the Grail stories were always regarded by the church as somewhat heterodox seems a hint that they were of syncretic origin.

[2] *Mailduin*, sections 19, 20, 33; *Húi Corra*, section 73, and *Snedgus*, section 25.

It does not matter that the episodes grew up from different materials, partly from legends and from the Bible, partly from pagan Irish belief, perhaps partly from the *Aeneid* or the *Odyssey*. The point is that all the materials were fused together, confused together, if you like, by Celtic fancy, all passed through the crucible of Celtic imagination, and all this happened before the appearance of the Grail story.

If syncretism altered the episode of supernatural food into something resembling the Eucharist in the *Imram Mailduin*, the process could occur again in the Grail story. If Chrétien came into contact along with a heathen grail story with another version in which the vessel of plenty was partly ecclesiasticized, it would explain his calling the Fisher King's father a holy man.

The oldest account of the Grail, as is well known, occurs in Chrétien's unfinished *Perceval*, written about 1175. Chrétien's first and most important description of the Grail (vss. 2960–3573)[1] does not connect it with anything sacred or ecclesiastical. Some three thousand verses later in the story, Perceval's uncle, who was a hermit, is made to say that the father of "le roi Pesceour" is fed by a "seule oiste," brought to him in the Grail, which he calls a "sainte chose." So far as we can see, the entire connection of the Grail with the eucharistic feast and its later identification with the cup of the Last Supper sprang from these few lines of Chrétien (vss. 6379–93),[2] which contain the substance of this description by the hermit:[3]

(Le) riche pescheor roi
Qui filz est a celui, ce croi,
Qui del graal servir se fait;
E ne cuidez pas que il ait
Luz ne lamproie ne saumons:
D'une seule oiste, ce savons,
Que l'an an ce graal aporte
Sa vie sostient e conforte:
Tant sainte chose est li graax
E tant par est esperitax
Qu'a sa vie plus ne covient

[1] Edited by Baist, Freiburg, privately printed; cf. Potvin's edition, vss. 4175–4788.

[2] Ed. Baist; in Potvin's edition, vss. 7791–7805.

[3] According to Wolfram's *Parzival*, 470, 5, the Grail owed its power to an "oblât" which every year on Good Friday a white dove laid upon it.

6390 Que l'oiste qui el graal vient.
Quinze anz a ja esté ensi
Que hors de la chanbre n'issi
Ou le graal veïs antrer.[1]

Chrétien seems to regard the Fisher King's father as a kind of ascetic who practices austerity, "tant par est esperitax." All that we have here in Chrétien might easily have been suggested to him if his original had contained some story like section 73 of the *Húi Corra* or section 23 of the *Navigatio*. In both occurs the idea of long periods of time during which the hermit has subsisted on the supernatural food, fifteen years in Chrétien,[2] thirty years, and afterward sixty, in the *Navigatio*.

Chrétien expressly says that his Grail did not supply fish, "neither luce nor lamprey nor salmon." But since he gives no reason in the world why it should, his mention of fish seems inconsequential. Did not his original contain the same notion that the marvelous food of the hermit was fish which we observe in the *Navigatio?* And did not Chrétien blur over this mention of fish because it would not suit the taste of the French chivalric society for which he was writing? He has kept, however, what was doubtless the old title, "Fisher King," although in his narrative it has become almost meaningless. He explains that the king, on account of his lameness, sought recreation in fishing.

Robert de Boron's *Joseph* is important in this connection because, although he almost certainly wrote later than Chrétien, probably about 1198,[3] yet he seems to have had access to a Grail book older than Chrétien, which was perhaps Chrétien's source or something like it. Boron says of his source:

929 Ge n'ose conter ne retreire
Ne je ne le pourroie feire,

[1] If in place of the word *oiste* (vss. 6384, 6390) one could read the Irish word *iasc* (gen. *eisc*), "fish," it would fit the context extremely well. Did Chrétien write *iasc*, and did some copyist change the unknown word to *oiste*, helped perhaps by a mistaken reading? Or did Chrétien's presumably Latin original have the word *hostiam* which had been substituted for *iasc* by its monkish author who was guided by his knowledge that a fish might be a symbol for the consecrated host? These are mere guesses which derive a certain plausibility from the fact that all Celtic vessels of plenty which resemble the grail belong to the water-world (*Kittredge Anniversary Volume*, pp. 235 ff.), and therefore might easily be thought to supply fish as food.

[2] Twenty years, according to Potvin, vs. 7803.

[3] Nitze, *PMLA*, XXIV, 370, n. 1.

Neis se je feire le voloie,
Se je le grant livre n'avoie
Ou les estoires sont escrites
Par les granz clers feites et dites:
Là sunt li grant secré escrit
Qu'en numme le Graal et dit.[1]

Boron seems to give evidence of an original association between the Grail and fish in a passage probably important, like that just quoted from Chrétien, because it is the first and only place in which Boron calls his sacred vessel the Grail.[2] It seems possible that at this place Boron's eye may have been on the "book" from which he got the strange word "Grail"[3] and that just here some trace of his source may be preserved. He has doubtless modified his original to make it fit with his identification of the Grail and the cup of Joseph of Arimathea. The passage is as follows:

2659 Par droit Graal l'apelera;
Car nus le Graal ne verra,
Ce croi-je, qu'il ne li agrée:
A touz ceus pleist de la contrée,
A touz agrée et abelist.
En li veoir hunt cil delist
Qui avec lui pueent durer
Et de sa compeignie user;
Autant unt d'eise cum poisson
Quant en sa mein le tient uns hon,
Et de sa mein puet eschaper
Et en grant iaue aler noer.

This description is put into the mouth of "Petrus" probably because Boron remembered that St. Peter was a fisherman. Yet even so the simile, "those who see the Grail have as much pleasure as a fish has, which a man holds in his hand, when it can escape from his hand and go swimming in the open water," seems queer and

[1] Quoted from Furnivall, *Seynt Graal*, Roxburghe Club, appendix to Vol. I.

[2] To make his *Joseph*, I suppose that Boron cobbled together, (1) a legend connected with Joseph of Arimathea, and (2) a Grail book which pictured the Grail as a cup that supplied a hermit daily with fish. This passage, vss. 2659–87, in which the word *graa-* is repeated seven times, comes just after Boron has taken up (2). Elsewhere the word occurs only in vss. 936, 3336, 3432, 3487, and 3493, and is not applied to Joseph's *veissel precieus et grant*, except by inference in vss. 3431–32:

"Seisiz fu li riches Peschierres
Dou Graal et touz commanderes."

[3] On the word *graal*, see Nitze, *Mod. Phil.* XIII, 681–84.

uncalled for by anything in the context. May it not be a surviving trace of some inherent connection in Boron's source between the Grail and fish?

Boron does not make Petrus or anyone appointed by him the keeper of the Grail. Brons, the nephew of Joseph of Arimathea, is the Grail-keeper. Boron explains that Brons was called the "rich fisher" because he caught a fish at the command of Christ and placed it on a table beside the Grail.[1] This explanation of the title "Rich Fisher" seems almost as strained and unoriginal as Chrétien's of the title "Fisher King." Did not both Chrétien and Boron have a source in which the keeper of the Grail was an island hermit living on fish, or an ascetic who was fed by fish supplied from the Grail?—some incident, I mean, like that in section 33 of the *Navigatio*.

Doubtless it is a far cry from a *Wunschding* to the Holy Grail, and it is often objected that intermediate steps between *Tischlein-deckdich* and Grail are lacking. In the paragraphs above it has been shown that within the *Imrama* a large number of connecting steps may be pointed out in what seems to be a gradual development of a fairy abode with a cauldron of plenty into a monastery of psalm-singing saints who are fed by angels. In view of the parallels set forth above, no one can assert that such intervening steps in the development of the Grail are difficult to imagine. It is clear that in Irish a story of a fairy abode with magic cup might have taken on a form which to Chrétien and his contemporaries would be likely to suggest an assimilation to the eucharist feast, and that it might have taken on this form before the time of Chrétien. It is useless to make a difficulty over how the story got from Ireland to France, or to delay to inquire whether Chrétien's intermediate originals were Latin or Welsh. Nobody can deny the possibility of the Grail story having made its way from Ireland to Chrétien, because we know that the St. Brendan story at about that same period got across from Ireland to France.

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[1] See vss. 2497 *f.*, 3312 *f.*, 3345 *f.*

THE AUTHORSHIP OF CERTAIN PROSE WORKS ASCRIBED TO ANTOINE DE LA SALE[1]

I. Les Quinze Joies de Mariage

For a long time before the authorship of this work was discussed its date was the subject of considerable dispute. The only reliable manuscript (Rouen, 1464) is not original; the historical allusions are very vague; and the assertion in the "Avertissement" that the work was written "vers le milieu du 15e siècle" is scarcely less so. In

[1] It may be convenient here to set out a list of the authentic works of La Sale with their dates, so far as these can be ascertained: (1) *La Salade, ca.* 1440; (2) *La Salle, ca.* 1451; (3) *Le Réconfort de Mme de Fresne*, 1458; (4) *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*, 1459; (5) *La Journée d'Onneur et de Prouesse*, 1459; (6) *Des Anciens Tournois et Faictz d'Armes*, 1459. Raynaud makes the date of *Saintré* 1454–56.

EDITIONS. *Les Quinze Joies de Mariage:* ed. Techener, 1837; ed. Jannet (Bibl. Elzév.), 1853; ed. Heuckenkamp, 1901; ed. Dressler, 1903; ed. Fleig, 1903.

Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles: ed. Le Roux de Lincy, 1841; ed. Thos. Wright (Bibl. Elzév.), 1858; ed. Lacroix, 1884; also *Les Dix Dixaines des C.N.N.*, 1874.

BOOKS AND REVIEWS: J. Nève, *Antoine de la Sale, Vie et Ouvrages*, 1903 (cf. review by Foerster, *Literaturblatt für germ. u. rom. Philologie*, 1903, No. 12); L. H. Labande, "Antoine de la Sale, Nouveaux Documents sur sa vie," *Bibl. de l'Ecole de Chartes*, 1904; Carl Haag, "Antoine de la Sale und die ihm zugeschriebenen Werke," Herrig's *Archiv*, 1904, Vol. 113; *Une Enigme d'histoire littéraire: l'auteur des* 15 *joies de mariage*, Paris, 1903; Pietro Toldo, *Contributo allo studio della novella francese del 15 e 16 secolo*, Rome, 1895; Gaston Paris, "La Nouvelle Française au 15e et 16e Siècle," a review of Toldo in the *Journal des Savants*, 1895; H. Helleny, *Introduction to "Le Petit Jehan de Saintré,"* Paris, 1890; Marcel Lecourt, "Antoine de la Sale et Simon de Hesdin," pp. 341–53 of *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Chatelain*, Paris, 1910 (discusses *Q. J. M.* and maintains that Hesdin was drawn upon by La Sale); W. P. Shepard, "The Syntax of Antoine de la Sale," *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, XX (1905), 405–501 (cf. the treatise *Zur Syntax des Verbums bei A. de la Sale*, etc., Erlangen, 1907); J. W. Söderhjelm, *La Nouvelle française au* 15e *Siècle*, 1910 (in this book the works in question and their authorship are discussed in some detail; Söderhjelm's other works on La Sale, *Notes sur Antoine de la Sale et ses Œuvres* [1908], on the authentic works, and *Les Inspirateurs des Quinze Joies de Mariage* [1909], are so useful for reference that they must be included in any bibliography of La Sale or his works); Georges Doutrepont, *La Littérature française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1909, pp. 339 ff. (on the *C.N.N.*); Gaston Paris, *Légendes du Moyen Age*, 1903 (see beginning of chapter on "Le Paradis de la Reine Sybille"), pp. 66 ff.; W. von Wurzbach, *Geschichte des französischen Romans*, 1912; Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, 1895; Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, 1151–54; Ernest Gossart, *La Sale, sa Vie et ses Œuvres*, Brussels, 1902 (a reprint of an article in the *Publications de la Société des Bibliophiles de Belgique*, 1871); W. Küchler, "Die Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles—Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der französischen Novelle" *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 1906, pp. 264–331; G. Raynaud in *Romania*, XXXI, 527 ff., and XXXIII, 101 ff.; J. Bédier in *Romania*, XXXIII, 438 ff.; J. Stecher, "Les Deux La Salle," in *Athenaeum Belge*, 1883, p. 167; M. Magnin, in *Journal des Savants* 1856; P. Lacroix in *Bulletin du Bouquiniste*, 1859; L. Stern "Versuch über Antoine de la Sale des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Vol. XLVI, 1870; O. Grojean, Review of Raynaud's *Romania* article in *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique*, 1902.

the early eighteenth century, one La Monnoye proposed 1450, and this has been generally accepted, though some—e.g., Le Duchat, 1726, who still has followers—would ascribe an earlier date for the work by twenty or thirty years.

The arguments in favor of La Sale's authorship may be presented as follows:

1. In 1830, André Pottier, a librarian of Rouen, discovered that some riddling lines at the end of the book might be explained as a declaration by La Sale of his authorship.[1] The theory was supported by Antoine's known fondness for punning on his name—cf. *La Salade* —and by considerations of time—his treatise *La Salle* being assigned to the year 1451—which would apply either to 1450 or to the earlier date.

The theory was opposed by Magnin (*Journal des Savants*, 1856); by Lacroix (*Bulletin du Bouquiniste*, 1859), who suggested Lemonde, the supposed author of the *Grand Jubilé de Milan*, and by Nève, in 1881. The latter objected (1) that the last four lines of the charade are unexplained, (2) that the second part of each word to be decapitated is supplied quite arbitrarily. The second objection, which would apply to many such enigmas, has not been taken seriously. The first was answered by Génin's discovery of the word *semond* (=*enseigne*) in the concluding part of the verse, so that the whole solution reads "La Sale semond."

Pottier's conjecture was supported strongly by Jannet (1853), Stern (1870), and Gossart (1871); the last-named also adduced other proofs of La Sale's authorship. Pottier's, however, remains the strongest, no other explanation of the charade having been seriously opposed to it.

2. Gossart (*Bibliophile Belge*, 1871) found a passage in *La Salle* which is not only paralleled by several quotations from the *Quinze Joies*, but which has clearly been inspired by a fragment from the

[1] They are:

De *la*belle la teste oustez
Tresvistement devant le monde
Et *sa*mere decapitez
Tantost et apres *le*seconde
Toutes trois a m*ese* vendront
Sans teste bien chantée et dicte
Le *monde* avec elle tendront
Sur deux piez qui le tout acquite.

A note after this says: "En ces huyt lignes trouverez le nom de celui qui a dictes les XV joies de mariage. . . . " The italics in the verse quotation are, of course, my own.

Contra Jovinianum of St. Jerome, one of La Sale's favorite authors. Gossart's argument, convincingly put forward, is that in *La Salle* the author was treating themes which he afterward developed in the *Quinze Joies*. Stern (*Archiv f. N.S. u. L.*, 1870), also draws striking conclusions from comparisons between the *Quinze Joies*, St. Jerome, a passage in *Jehan de Saintré*. On the other side it is urged (and quite rightly so) that the *Quinze Joies* is almost certainly earlier than *La Salle* (though most critics agree, both in view of Gossart's collation and for other reasons, that the difference of time between them is but slight), and further that Antoine, in the latter work, may just as possibly have been borrowing from someone else as quoting from his own work. Söderhjelm adds that La Sale's touch is much lighter, and his art less sure in the *Joies* than in *La Salle;* if he had been copying from himself in the latter work he would surely have done it a great deal better!

3. La Sale is known to have spent a large part of his life in the south of France, and there occur in the *Quinze Joies* many expressions which are used only in the South. The influence of the Picard dialect can also be traced in the *Joies*, and La Sale was in the service of René d'Anjou, a courtier of Philippe le Bon, and an ornament of the court of the Dauphin (afterward Louis XI) at Genappe; therefore he probably passed much time in the Low Countries.

4. Stylistic evidence has been brought forward on both sides of the question.[1] Stern (*op. cit.*) collates passages from *Saintré* and the doubtful works, but Nève rejects these, saying that the same phrases occur again and again in *Maître Pierre Pathelin* and in the works of Villon. He also invokes similarity of language, ideas, and spirit between the *Quinze Joies* and La Sale's known writings. Chivalry and knightly courage, he says, are praised as much as in *Saintré;* the humorous appearance of the monk in the *Quinze Joies* reminds us of Damp Abbé; the satire on women recalls the ending of *Saintré*. "Darum," concludes Stern, after quoting numerous passages, "wird hinfort niemand mehr mit Billigkeit zweifeln können, ob La Sale der Autor der fünfzehn Ehefreuden sei; denn er ist es so

[1] Among other students, Mr. W. P. Shepard has studied La Sale's syntax (see Bibliography). But his results sometimes disagree with known facts and have not gained general acceptance (cf. e.g., Söderhjelm, *op. cit.*, p. 34). Further and more detailed syntactical study is badly needed.

gewiss, wie er der des kleinen Hans von Saintré ist." Nève, on the other hand asserts (1903), that in his five authentic works La Sale is a typical man of the Middle Ages, unaffected by his travels in Italy, untroubled by skepticism, an aristocrat, an altruist, an optimist. In the *Quinze Joies*—as also in the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*—he is "sensuel, sceptique, bourgeois et ricaneur." Nève cites in support of this the words of Gaston Paris.[1] To ascribe this double personality, so clearly revealed, to a versatile temperament with which we endow La Sale for the purpose, says Nève, is simply begging the question.[2] He carries on the attack by citing that, while La Sale's style in the authentic works is neither incisive nor alert, the two doubtful works, "écrites d'une plume vive et mordante, font éclater à chaque ligne une verve impitoyable, un incorrigible scepticisme" (*op. cit.*, p. 78).

It is clear that we must either leave stylistic evidence out of the question altogether or collect it in a much more methodical and impartial way than has been done up to the present. Söderhjelm seems to think the former alternative the safer; he passes lightly over "le ton général," "les tendances de l'auteur," and "la façon de raconter," because he finds in these things so many undoubted resemblances and equally undoubted differences between the *Quinze Joies de Mariage* and the authentic writings, that a judgment is impossible. Sufficient stress does not seem to have been laid on La Sale's dramatic nature, which led him to adopt many points of view and to write in many different tones. But when the *Quinze Joies* has been more carefully collated with the other works, the resemblances may prove too strong to be thus accounted for.

The argument against La Sale's authorship may be stated thus:

1. In the Prologue to the *Quinze Joies* the author declares that he is not married, but that "il a plu à Dieu le mettre en un autre servage, hors de franchise qu'il ne peut plus recouvrer." This, say several critics, certainly refers to the service of the church; but La Sale was

[1] "Où ce voyageur, ce lettré, ce familier des princes, avait-il appris à connaître par le menu la vie bourgeoise, telle qu'il la peint avec une si consciencieuse et si amusante minutie dans ces quinze petits tableaux d'intérieur?"—*Poésie du Moyen Age*, 1895.

[2] But in another passage, too long to quote (*Légendes du Moyen Age*, pp. 67–69), Gaston Paris makes no doubt that La Sale was really possessed of this remarkable versatility, and, treating as authentic both the works here under discussion, draws a most interesting literary portrait of the supposed author.

a layman. Stern, however, well remarks that it may refer to the house of Anjou, of which La Sale was for many years a devoted servant.

2. Söderhjelm attaches importance to the mention of the *Quinze Joies* as "old" in the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (*ca.* 1462); to the allusions in the *Quinze Joies* to costume of a much earlier date than 1450; and to the reference in chaps. v and viii to the "Dauphin du Viennois," a fourteenth-century title. Each of these facts, on the other hand, can be explained satisfactorily, and no critic considers them of other than collective significance.

II. Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles

The date of this collection is usually considered to be 1461, the stories having been told between 1456 and 1461. Stern, from internal evidence, with considerable probability, puts the date a year later (1462).

I first present the arguments in favor of La Sale's authorship:[1]

1. The attribution of the *Nouvelles* to La Sale, first made by Le Roux de Lincy (1841), appears to have gathered most weight from evidence as ingenious as Pottier's solution of the charade just mentioned. On the face of it, La Sale, who figures by name only as relating the fiftieth story, is no more likely to have been the author of the collection than any of the thirty-four other persons to whom individual stories are assigned. But the stories numbered 51, 91, 92, 98, and 99 are attributed to *l'acteur* (=*l'auteur*). Now, it is argued (Wright, 1853), that if this author were La Sale, the tales which he attributes to himself would be arranged in groups of two, and how appropriate that would be!

A somewhat slender piece of evidence! But no one who has studied the controversy can doubt that it has had great influence with the critics. The reply of those who will not accept this theory of La Sale's authorship is that, though curious, it is not sufficient to warrant such an assumption, especially as No. 50 is admittedly one of the worst of the tales, and not one which the editor would choose

[1] By "authorship" is meant here the fashioning and editing of the tales in general, and the composition of those not borrowed from other sources. How much of each story—if any—we owe to the person whose name appears at its head must always be a matter of doubt.

for the purpose of declaring himself—though, again, some of La Sale's partisans attribute this to his modesty!

2. About sixteen of the tales are inspired by Poggio's *Facetiae*, and La Sale may easily have come under Poggio's influence when he was in Rome. But this is pure guesswork; and, further, the *Facetiae* was not published until 1450, whereas the meeting, if there was one, would have taken place in 1422 (Nève).

3. The subject of the ninety-eighth tale is the same as that of the romance of *Floridam and Eluide*, of which Rasse de Brunhamel, (also called Brinchamel), had dedicated a translation to La Sale (Stern). But why, it may be asked in reply, should not another editor have taken it? At best this would be only a small coincidence.

4. Doutrepont (see Bibliography) considers that of all the writers who are known to have been at or near Philip's court about 1460, La Sale is the only one capable of having edited the collection. To this argument may be added a general probability in favor of La Sale. He was a well-known and generally esteemed writer (cf. Brunhamel's dedication, quoted below), stood in cordial relations to the court of Burgundy, and was actually at Genappe at the time in question, since he dated *Saintré* from Genappe in 1459. It would therefore be quite natural that the collection should be given to him to edit. Against this it cannot be too forcibly urged that in 1462 La Sale was an old man of seventy-four, and that the fashioning of such a collection as the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* would be a considerable task.

5. Here, too, stylistic evidence is adduced both for and against La Sale. Stern cites similarities between the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* and La Sale's authentic works; Gaston Paris adds that they might be multiplied. Söderhjelm points out resemblances between the collection and *Saintré;* while Shepard, comparing the *Nouvelles* and *Saintré*, thinks it impossible that they can have had the same author. Doutrepont, in speaking of these contradictions (*op. cit.*, p. 340), remarks that more thorough investigation of the works in question is necessary before any authoritative stylistic evidence can be adduced.

The tone of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* differs considerably from that of La Sale's authentic works. The variety, which exists

in these works themselves, however, would lead one to expect a change of tone in a work of the character of the *Nouvelles*. Söderhjelm claims that "La Sale est sans doute plus artiste, plus psychologue, plus fin que l'auteur de la plupart des 'Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles.'" But a falling off in literary quality—which is what this amounts to—might reasonably be expected in a man of seventy-four, if once it be granted that such a man was capable of making the collection at all.

A great deal more has been written on the style of the *Nouvelles*, but, as it tends to be rhetorical rather than critical in nature, it seems unnecessary to summarize it.

III. Summary

The present state of the controversy may be summarized thus:

When the two works which have been discussed were first attributed to La Sale, the theory of his authorship took root at once, nobody before Nève seriously disputing it. Stern's attitude toward the question in 1870 may be taken as typical. The *Quinze Joies* he describes as La Sale's *chef-d'œuvre;* he considers the authorship of both works certain; and only stays in his exposition of the *Nouvelles* to drive home "a few striking reasons."

Besides crediting La Sale with these two works, over and above those known to be his, critics now began to ascribe others to him, with the result that, whereas at the beginning of the nineteenth century he was hardly known, he had to his credit at its close practically all the French prose of any note dating from the late Middle Ages.

Génin and others attributed to La Sale the farce of Pathelin. Raynaud (*Romania*, Vol. XXXI) would have made him author of the *Livre des Faits de Jacques de Lalaing*,[1] comparing it with *Saintré*, and finding in it references to that work. Kervyn de Lettenhove wished to give La Sale the prose chronicle of *Duguesclin*. No doubt the merit and variety of La Sale's authentic works, and Rasse de Brunhamel's dedicatory tribute to him—"dès le temps de votre fleurie jeunesse vous estes délecté à lire aussi à écrire histoires honorables"—account largely for our author's popularity at this time. At all events, the process went on until the end of the nineteenth

[1] The *Livre des Faits* is more commonly attributed to Georges Chastellain. Opposed to this theory of Raynaud's are M. Bayot and M. Oscar Grojean.

century, and in spite of the reaction—led by Joseph Nève—Raynaud, Stern, Gaston Paris,[1] and others held fast to La Sale as the author both of the *Quinze Joies* and of the *Nouvelles*.

In the early years of the present century the reaction set in in earnest. Not only did M. Bayot, M. Oscar Grojean, and others oppose the attribution to La Sale of the less likely works, with the result that some of the theories came to be discredited, but many critics began to doubt whether La Sale had indeed written the *Quinze Joies*, and had had more than a hand in the *Nouvelles*. It was about this time that the syntactical and other stylistic researches were made. Küchler (1906) considered that Shepard and Nève had shattered all the claims made for La Sale as the compiler of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, and recommended that we waste no more time in ascribing works to Antoine which he could not have written.[2]

The works of Doutrepont and Söderhjelm in the *Bibliothèque du 15e Siècle* (1909 and 1910, respectively), show the effect of the reaction. Both writers display an unwillingness to dogmatize which is quite a new feature in the controversy, both remark on the need for further illumination, and Söderhjelm leaves the question of authorship quite open.[3]

Critical opinion is then in a suitable state to receive the results of further careful investigations. Probably a thorough stylistic and syntactical study of La Sale's authentic works and a comparison with them of the doubtful works will before long be undertaken, leading eventually to that *travail d'ensemble* for which Raynaud was hoping in 1906. Until we have this evidence it is of little use to dogmatize.

E. Allison Peers

Cambridge, England

[1] Cf. *Légendes du Moyen Age*, p. 67, where the authorship is taken for granted.

[2] "Wer noch länger die Diskussion fortsetzen will, muss unumstösslich beweisen können, dass Antoine de la Sale ganz gewiss der Verfasser auch der "Quinze Joies de Mariage" oder der "Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles" war. Wer nicht an die Verfasserschaft la Sales glaubt, kann fürderhin Zeit und Papier sparen, und sich positiveren Dingen zuwenden."—*Op. cit.*, p. 265. Küchler is followed by Wurzbach (1913), who does not, however, do more than mention the controversy.

[3] The present writer's opinion may here be stated. It is that Pottier's solution of the charade, though not in itself absolutely conclusive, is made practically so by the remainder of the evidence, while, on the other hand, the case for La Sale's authorship of the *Nouvelles*, though demanding consideration, is not yet established. No attempt has been made in this article, however, to enforce these views.

END CONSONANTS AND BREATH-CONTROL IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH

In this article I desire to point out one essential and fundamental characteristic of French pronunciation.

If the phenomena of pronunciation were thoroughly understood, it would be possible for us to eradicate all traces of English accent in speaking French. The science of phonetics has usually failed, however, when applied to the teaching of French *l* and *r*. In my own experience, after years of work, faulty *l* and *r* remained. The manuals of Viëtor, Rousselot, and others had been assiduously studied and conscientiously followed, but even after long private instruction the incorrect pronunciation of *l* and *r* persisted when either of these consonants stood before another consonant or was final.

Especially had I tried to follow Abbé Rousselot in my efforts to correct my pronunciation of *l*. He describes *l* as follows: French *l*—

> s'articule avec la langue appuyée par la pointe sur le palais dans la région des dents et vibrant par les côtés sous l'effort de l'air aspiré. Elle est sonore dès le début.
>
> Il ne semble pas que les variétés qu'on observe dans les points d'appui aient une valeur acoustique sensible, à moins que la pointe de la langue ne vienne s'appliquer trop en arrière, comme cela se produit chez les Anglais et surtout chez les Américains. . . . L'*l* française n'est jamais vocalique comme en Anglais.[1]

Abbé Rousselot ascribes the distinctive quality of French *l* to the position of the tongue during its production. I had experimented with the artificial palate[2] and in experiment the position of the tongue seemed correct; but as the sound of *l* was not satisfactory in reading and conversation, I assumed that for some reason the position was still faulty. While trying to correct the position, it occurred to me that as I had never been corrected for *l* at the beginning of a word or syllable all that would be necessary to obtain the correct position would be to make of final *l* an initial *l*. With this in mind, I practiced *fil* as follows: I said *fi*, then held the tongue and jaw in the position of *i* for some time after I had stopped all expulsion of air from the

[1] Rousselot, *Précis de prononciation française*, p. 58. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

lungs, and, consequently, all production of sound; then, putting the tongue in position for *l*, I said *le*. After practicing for half an hour, I had acquired a muscular feeling for the movements involved; I pronounced *fi l'* rapidly, the space indicating a momentary stoppage of breath, and the apostrophe the explosion of the consonant. After a month's practice and care, I was no longer corrected for *l* by anyone. Using the false palate, I found too that I could now pronounce French *l* in the English position and English *l* in the French position. This seemed to indicate that the difference of position was not fundamental, but only incidental, and that the acoustic difference must be largely due to something else.

Similarly, I had never succeeded in pronouncing French *r* at the end of a word or before a consonant. Some months after correcting *l*, it occurred to me that there would be no harm in practicing *r* in the same manner. I chose (*je*) *parle* for this purpose, pronouncing slowly and carefully *pa r' le*, the space indicating a momentary stoppage of breath and the apostrophe the explosion of the consonant, while the *e* was "mute" *e*. The results were immediate and satisfactory, as in the case of *l*.

In these experiences with *r* and *l*, movement seemed of greater importance than position, and, believing that a comparative study of the mechanism of English and French pronunciation would give better results than an isolated study of either language, I began the following and other experiments with the *appareil inscripteur*[1] at the laboratory of experimental phonetics directed by Abbé Rousselot at the Collège de France.

In the experiments here described, the upper line, *N*, gives the vibrations of the larynx taken through the nose; the second line, *M*, the vibrations from the mouth; the lower line, *T*, the movement of the tongue. The vibrations from the nose, collected by means of a glass olive placed in one nostril (the other being left free), passed through a rubber tube into a shallow brass drum covered with india rubber, to which was attached a long lever bearing a gold pen that inscribed the vibrations on the smoked-paper surface of the cylinder of the apparatus. The vibrations from the mouth were obtained similarly, by speaking into a mouthpiece; and the movement of the

[1] For a description of the *appareil inscripteur*, see Rousselot, *Principes de Phonétique*, I, 61–101, or *Précis de prononciation française*, p. 14.

tongue was obtained by placing a small rubber bulb in the mouth at the point where the tongue approaches the hard palate, a perforation in the mouthpiece permitting it to be connected with the drum carrying the inscribing lever. The ascent of the line *T* corresponds

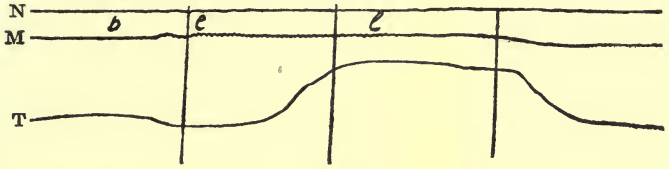

Fig. I*a*

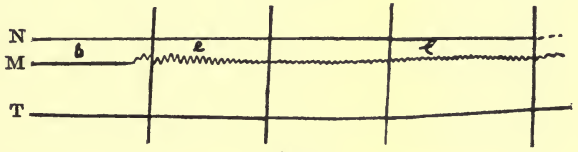

Fig. I*b*

to the upward movement of the tongue toward the hard palate. To make the record permanent, the smoked paper was removed from the cylinder and varnished.

Fig. I*a* presents a curve for French *l* (in *bel*) of considerable magnitude; the curve ascends rapidly, is held a moment, then descends rapidly. Fig. I*b* offers a curve for English *l* (in *bell*) of little magnitude and of long, slow ascent.

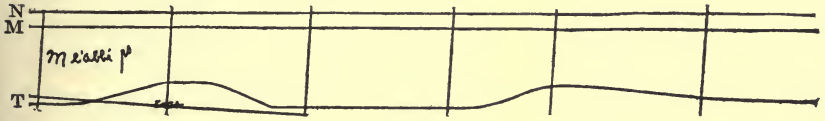

Fig. II*a*

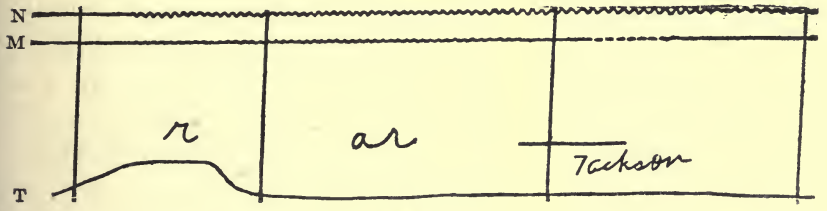

Fig. II*b*

Fig. II*a* represents Abbé Rousselot's pronunciation of the French word *rare;* and Fig. II*b*, Mr. Jackson's (American) pronunciation of the English word *rare.*

Abbé Rousselot describes French *r* as follows:

L'*r* est un son vibrant qui peut se produire tout le long du canal vocal, des lèvres à l'isthme du gosier: de là ses nombreuses variétés. Elle est sonore en français dès le début. L'*r* traditionnelle se prononce avec la pointe de la langue redressée vers le palais.

Cette *r* est encore très commune. C'est celle que les professeurs du Conservatoire ont enseignée jusqu'à ces derniers temps aux Parisiens qui se destinent au théâtre.

Elle est, suivant les régions, plus ou moins roulée; mais elle doit l'être modérément.

L'*r grasseyée* ou *parisienne* se prononce la langue étendue sur le plancher de la bouche, la pointe raidie et arc-boutée contre les dents d'en-bas, la luette projetée en avant. Les vibrations sont celles du dos de la langue et des bords de l'isthme du gosier.[1]

As French *r* is usually trilled and as there are many varieties, it would seem that in order to escape unfavorable criticism an American would need but to trill *r*, either with the tip of the tongue or in the throat. Abbé Rousselot pronounces *r* with the tip of the tongue, and his *r* in no way offends Parisians; but trill *r* as he will, an American's *r* before a consonant or at the end of a word is rarely satisfactory.

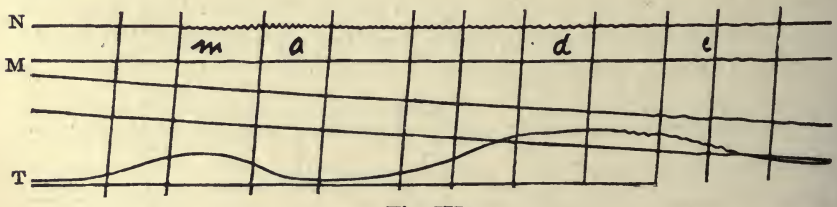

Fig. III*a*

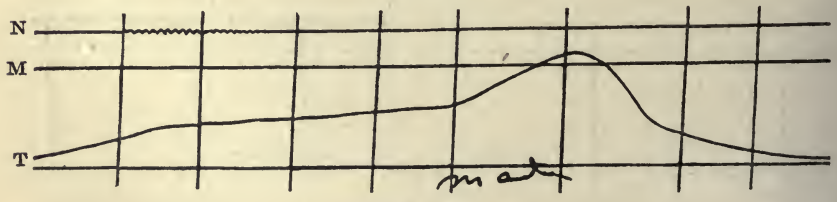

Fig. III*b*

The American subject for III*a* pronounced *made;* III*b* is the Abbé Rousselot's pronunciation of the same word. Here, as for

[1] Rousselot, *Précis de prononciation française*, pp. 56, 57.

l and *r*, the characteristic English and French curves occur at the end of the word.

Why have these final consonants in the English words less amplitude of curve than in the corresponding French words? The upward movement of the tongue begins earlier in the English sounds and continues through a greater period of time than in the French. English subjects move the tongue through the position of the various vowels, pronouncing continuously; French subjects take the position of the vowel definitely and with precision, hold that position during the duration of the vowel, then shift quickly, and pronounce the following consonant by means of an explosion, voiced for the voiced consonants, unvoiced for the mute consonants, but always following the consonant (cf. the *d* of English *and*, and the final *t* of *ant*, *contact*). The movement of the tongue in French, being sudden, as shown by the curve of the line *T* in Figs. I*a*, II*a*, and III*b*, imparts sufficient momentum to the inscribing lever to produce a curve of considerable amplitude; the movement of the tongue in English, beginning early and being slow and gradual, produces a curve of slight amplitude. This becomes clearer if one considers the analogous action of a camera shutter: if the camera bulb is compressed slowly, the shutter more often than not will not open, the air having had time to escape through the joints of the apparatus; on the contrary, if the bulb is compressed quickly, the shutter will open wide. That the difference of amplitude in the curves is not due to a difference of energy in the pronunciation of the two languages appears from a comparison of the curves of beginning consonants (cf. the initial *k*'s in Figs. IV*a* and IV*b*),[1]

[1] Ordinarily it has been thought that French possessed implosive (final) consonants; and the difference between implosive (final) and explosive (initial) consonants has been explained as follows: "On dit que la tension est forte lorsque les organes se contractent fortement; on dit qu'elle est faible dans le cas contraire. . . .

"Lorsqu'une voyelle est suivie d'une consonne: *ap*, *af*, *am*, etc., la détente de la voyelle se confond avec la tension de la consonne. La tension ou l'implosion de la consonne est forte, sa détente ou explosion est faible. Elle peut même manquer si le souffle ou la voix s'arrêtent avant que les organes aient quitté leur position d'articulation. En français, avant une pause, la détente manque souvent dans les constrictives: *hôtel*, *fils*. Il en est de même dans les occlusives nasales: *madame*, *bonne*."—Roudet, *Eléments de Phonétique Générale*, p. 168. See also Rousselot, *Phonétique expérimentale*, I, 348, and Sievers, *Phonétik*, pp. 34, 174. If this explanation were true, in Fig. IV*a* the movement of the tongue would produce a greater curve for *n* in *contact* (English) than for *t* (Fig. IV*b*) in *contact* (French), as *n* is implosive and *t* explosive, and, in reality, owing to the slight difference in position, the tongue travels through a greater space in English than in French. But this is neither true here nor in similar cases elsewhere. Also, no experiment has offered an implosive (final) consonant in French.

where the movement of the tongue is as sudden in English as in French, and of the end *t* pronounced initially in *contact* (Figs. IV*a* and IV*b*).

And and *ant* (no figure) present curves very similar to the curve for medial *nt* in English *contact* (Fig. IV*b*). In *and* and *ant*, *n* is a final consonant, the sound being produced while the tongue is taking and holding the position; but, as the position of the tongue for *n* and *t* and *d* is the same, in taking the position for *n* the tongue interrupts

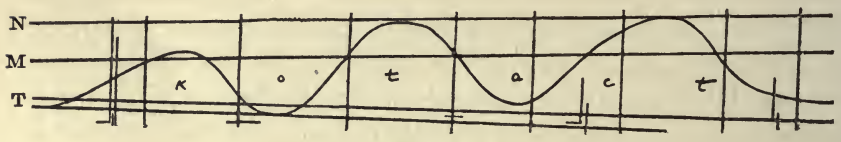

Fig. IV*a*

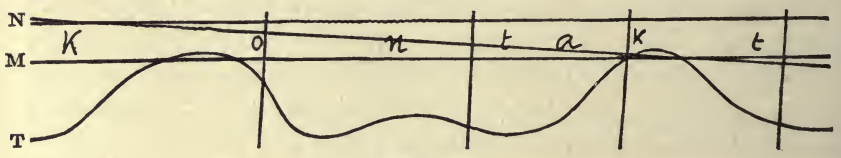

Fig. IV*b*

the current of air where it would otherwise be interrupted to produce the following *t* or *d*. *N* is produced while taking the position, and *t* or *d* while leaving the same position. The explosion of the *t* or *d* may be distinctly heard when the words are pronounced. If an attempt is made to suppress the explosion, the *t* or *d* will be suppressed at the same time. In English *contact*, the tongue does not intercept the current of air for *k* at the point where it would be intercepted for *t*, but farther back in the mouth, and, in this and similar cases, one may not only hear the explosion after the *t*, but note the large curve of the line *T* characteristic of initial consonants (Fig. IV*b*).

Medial *t* in the French word *contact* presents a curve (Fig. IV*a*) similar in amplitude to that of *k* at the beginning of the word, or of *t* at the end of it; in the English word the medial *nt* presents a very slight curve, but the final *t* offers a curve of great amplitude, thus presenting a seeming exception to the rule, as shown in the previous experiments. In view of the slight amplitude of the medial *nt* in English *contact* (Fig. IV*b*) and of the slight amplitude of the end

consonants in the first experiments, how is this large amplitude of the final *t* in English *contact* to be explained? In pronouncing English *contact*, one will observe the following process: while pronouncing the vowel *o*, the tongue is gradually moved into position back of the upper front teeth for *n;* *n* is produced while the tongue is taking and holding this position; on leaving this same position, *t* is pronounced. The final *t* of English *contact* (Fig. IV*b*), however, is not produced like medial *n*, while the tongue is taking and maintaining the required position, but while the tongue is maintaining and leaving the position; Fig. IV*b* offers an accident in English pronunciation: *k* preceding the end *t* is pronounced with the usual mechanism—while taking and holding the position; but incident to its production there is the shutting off of the whole current of air, thus rendering impossible the production of the end *t* in the same manner as the medial *n*, that is, by means of the preceding vowel and while taking and maintaining the required position; the final *t* must be pronounced, if at all, by means of a following explosion. For *t* and voiceless consonants this explosion is voiceless; for *d* in *and*, *cold*, and for voiced consonants in general the explosion is voiced.

In the manner of their production, the end *t* of *contact* (English) and the *d* of *and*, *cold*, are not final consonants at all, but initial. In this connection it is interesting to observe that many pronounce *contac* instead of *contact*, *an* instead of *and*. The pronunciation of an end consonant with the mechanism of a beginning consonant is contrary to the habits of English speech.

All end consonants in French, if analyzed with respect to the manner of their production, are not final at all, but initial, that is, produced by means of a following explosion. If this explosion occurs voiced, with the lips slightly advanced, it is mute *e;* if it takes place with the lips in a neutral position or unvoiced, it is heard as part of the consonant in the same manner as the explosion of *d*, *t*, in English *and*, *ant*. In English words the end consonants are normally final or produced by means of the preceding vowel while the vocal organs are assuming and maintaining the position characteristic of the consonant; initial consonants occur in English at the end of a word as the result of a phonetic necessity only, brought about by an accidental combination of consonants.

In the middle or at the end of a word does a Frenchman pronounce a double consonant? Is it not necessary that he produce a consonant while taking and maintaining the position as well as while maintaining and leaving the position? For instance, in pronouncing French *fat*, the tongue on assuming the *t* position stops the passage

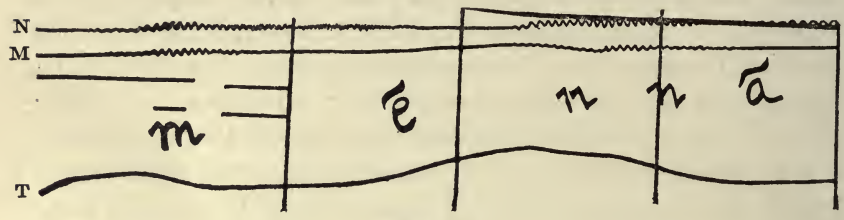

Fig. V*a*

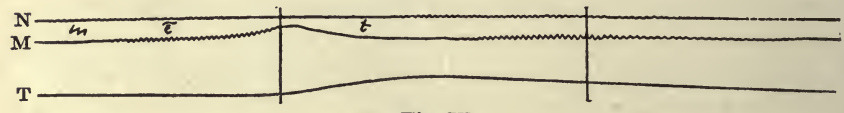

Fig. V*b*

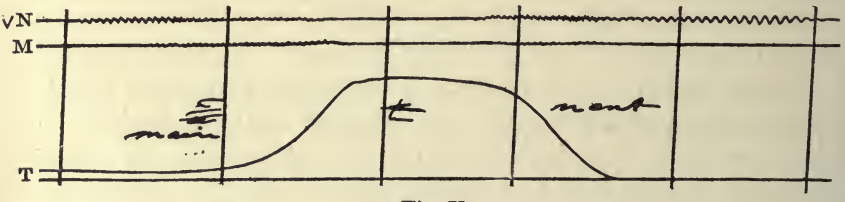

Fig. V*c*

through the mouth, and, if the breath is not stopped from the lungs while the *t* position is being taken, final *t* is produced unavoidably. Does the Frenchman say *fa*, then stop the expulsion of air from the lungs while shifting the tongue into the *t* position, then produce pressure back of the tongue by expelling the air from the lungs again, and then release that pressure by withdrawing the tongue from the *t* position? Does the Englishman pronounce while shifting the position of tongue, jaw, etc., and while expelling the air from the lungs continuously?

This problem of breath-control is difficult of solution, as there are no instruments of sufficient delicacy and rapidity of action to register such a momentary stoppage of breath. This becomes

especially evident when it is recalled that any movement imparted to the apparatus tends to persist for a time after the exciting cause has ceased to operate. In Figs. V*a*, V*b*, and V*c*, however, the difficulty is avoided. Fig. V*a* is an example of a very frequent English pronunciation of *maintenant* and of all English words containing a nasal vowel followed by *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *p*, *b*. The slight curve of the line *T* indicates that *t* was pronounced by means of the preceding vowel while the tongue was assuming the *t* position, that is, the *t* is a final *t*. At the moment when the tongue reached the *t* position the soft palate was still lowered, permitting the air to pass through the nose for nasal *è;* but, since the difference between *n* and *t* is first that *n* is voiced, *t* mute, and then that for *t* the air passes through the mouth and for *n* through the nose, the English habit of pronunciation produces mechanically an *n* not intended by the speaker; this *n* may be seen in the large vibrations of the line *N*.

The expulsion of air could have been continuous (English mechanism of breath-control) and the *n* still avoided had the speaker closed the passage to the nose by means of the soft palate an instant before the closure made by the tongue was complete. Fig. V*b* is an example of this; the upward curve of the line *M* is due to increased pressure on the rubber membrane over the drum at the moment when the tongue passes into the *t* position; in line *N* the vibrations stop at the moment of closure of the soft palate, but continue in line *M* until the tongue has taken position for *t*.

Fig. V*c* offers the only other means possible of avoiding an *n* after a nasal vowel and before *t*. The large amplitude of the curve of the line *T* for *t* indicates that the *t* is initial. The slight downward tendency of the line *M* as the tongue assumes the *t* position indicates a decrease in air pressure (contrast with upward movement in Figs. V*a* and V*b*), and the vibrations are seen to persist longer in the nose than in the mouth. This latter phenomenon is due to the fact that though the air has been stopped from the lungs, the vibrations already set up tend to persist longer in the comparatively closed passage of the nose than in the more open passage of the mouth.

Thus, in English, the expulsion of breath is continuous, transitions are long and gradual, and final consonants are the rule at the end of words; in French, an end consonant is preceded by a momentary

stoppage of breath and followed by an explosion, and transitions are made rapidly during this momentary stoppage of breath. In other words, *English possesses "initial" and "final" consonants; French, "initial" consonants only, even at the end of a word.*

Experiments would seem to indicate that what appeared true of *r* and *l* in the exercises for their correction (*fil, parle*) is true not only of *r* and *l*, and of all other French consonants, but that it is true also of all consonants of the Romance and Slav languages, and that what has been said of English consonants is characteristic of the Germanic group of languages.

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TWO NOTES OF MADAME DE STAËL

Madame de Staël owed much of her achievement to her environment and associations. The Revolution and the Empire stimulated into sharp activity her talents for diplomacy and intrigue. Benjamin Constant's love brought inspiration which the financial genius of her Genevan father could not give. The intellectual companionship of Crabb Robinson and A. W. Schlegel contributed to her *Germany* almost all of such of its ideas as she did not receive directly, in more or less confusion, from the greater minds of Goethe and Schiller. The friendship of Sir James Mackintosh gave her monumental book a considerable part of its vogue in England. And the hostility of Napoleon made Madame de Staël famous all over Europe.

Because the men whom she knew did in many cases have an influence upon her literary works and reputation, the advent of a new figure in even the outermost circle of her acquaintance assumes importance for the student of the significance of Madame de Staël. Therefore the two notes printed below seem worth preserving. They are two messages from Madame de Staël, one to a French enemy and the other to an English friend.

The first, evidently an inclosure in a letter to an intimate acquaintance, Benjamin Constant perhaps, represents an indignant note sent by the great lady to a literary poltroon who had betrayed her confidence. The false listener, M. Charles François Philibert Masson, was a man of letters of no mean repute at the turn of the century. His epic concerning the rebellion of the Swiss against the power of Charles the Bold was brought to the attention of the Emperor at a meeting of the Academy on January 4, 1800. This epic, *Les Helvétiens*, Madame de Staël mentions. His ode on the foundation of the Republic was crowned by the Institut on October 7, 1801. Even more generally known, though probably less worthy of popularity, were his *Secret Memoirs* of the Russian court, which indeed have been widely circulated in English translation.[1] Varying

[1] For a concise statement of facts concerning the literary career of Masson see: *Tableau de la littérature française* 1800–1815, par Gustave Merlet. Première partie: *Mouvement religieux, philosophique et poétique* (3d ed., Paris, Didier), pp. 168, 520.

critical estimates of Masson give a fair notion of his real significance. The writer of the preface to the first English edition of his translated *Secret Memoirs of the Court of Petersburg* declares that the portraits of the principal personages are "drawn by the hand of a master," and finds the delineation of the various characters "marked by a superior degree of accuracy and judgment."[1] The biographer for *La grande Encyclopédie* comments upon Charles François Philibert Masson and his elder brother André Pierre in a single paragraph, the only critical statement of which is, "ils ont écrit de mauvais poèmes"; he adds, however, the remark that the younger brother published memoirs of Russia, "très sujets à caution." The biographical notice of Masson in the *Biographie universelle* opens with the characterization of its subject as "littérateur auquel il n'a peut-être manqué que des circonstances plus favorables pour obtenir un réputation durable."

The principal facts in the life of Charles François Philibert Masson can be summed up very briefly.[2] He was born at Blamont in 1762. His birth year has been recorded as 1761 also, or 1764.[3] He was early apprenticed to a clockmaker, and at the age of seventeen went to Switzerland to perfect himself in his craft. There, being tormented by the demon of poetry, he published in the *Mercure helvétique* during 1780 poems which, his biographer thinks, deserved encouragement. In 1786 he went to Russia, where his brother André had already earned prestige as a soldier. Through princely patronage, Charles Masson rose rapidly, until in 1795 he was senior major of the grenadiers of the Grand Duke Alexander and husband of a court lady, the Baroness Rosen. Then, with the accession of Paul I, came the fall of the house of Masson. In December, 1796, the two brothers were exiled from Russia. As *émigrés*, they dared not go home to France; Charles therefore took advantage of the asylum which his protector, the Count of Lehndorf, offered him in Poland. There the disgraced courtier busied himself with writing memoirs;

[1] *Secret Memoirs of the Court of Petersburg: Particularly toward the End of the Reign of Catharine II and the Commencement of That of Paul I, Serving as a Supplement to the Life of Catharine II* (translation from the French, 2d ed., London, 1801), p. iii.

[2] Michaud, *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, etc. (2d ed.), XXVII, 237–38.

[3] *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1865), Vol. XXXIV.

and when, in 1799, his patron, Louis Bonaparte, made it safe for him to enter Paris, he immediately set about publishing the book, declaring in its preface: "La proscription, dont j'ai été victime en Russie, ne m'a point inspiré ces mémoires; mais c'est peut-être l'indignation qui me donne le courage de les publier."[1]

Inaccuracies and insults in Masson's book roused the resentment of August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue, a German dramatist who was actively loyal to his adopted country, Russia. Some passages in the controversy between Masson and Kotzebue are interesting for the light which they throw upon the character of the former. Two quotations from Masson's preface to his memoirs fairly represent his general tone: "Je n'écris que ce que j'ai vu, entendu, senti ou éprouvé moi-même. . . . . J'ai déja publié quelques petits ouvrages, où je ne me suis pas nommé, parce qu'ils étoient purement littéraires, et n'intéressoient que ma vanité."[2]

Kotzebue published as an appendix to his *Une Année mémorable* an *Examen de l'ouvrage intitulé: Mémoires secrets sur la Russie.* In it he declares that Masson's book made more noise than it deserved to make, and, further, "C'est donc son indignation qui éclate seule dans ses Mémoires."[3] For Masson's literary achievements, Kotzebue says, "Il a fait petits vers." And he derides Masson's annoyance at having "sa personne importante comme homme de lettres" confounded with that of his brother. The Prussian brings his *examen* to a climax with the assertion: "On serait tenté de croire que M. de M^{xx} est sorti de l'école de M. Schlegel, tant son extravagance est ridicule, et sa ridiculité extravagante."

In the following year Masson replied to Kotzebue in a series of letters which served also to supplement his memoirs. Here the Frenchman gave a bright account of his own importance in the Russian court and belittled the "jérémiade de Kotzebue" to which he was replying. His boasting tempts one to apply here Kotzebue's declaration concerning the earlier book: "Il saisit avec un amour-propre ridicule chaque occasion de parler de soi."[4]

[1] *Mémoires secrets sur la Russie, et particulièrement sur la fin du règne de Catherine II et le commencement de celui de Paul I* (Paris, An. VIII [1800]), I, vi.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. ii–iii.

[3] *Une Année mémorable de ma vie* (Paris, 1802), Appendice, pp. i, iii, xiii, xxxi.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

Masson definitely calls himself "un écrivain qui sent l'importance et la dignité de sa vocation" and hints that in his *Memoirs* he spoke "a plus d'un peuple" and even "a plus d'un siècle."[1]

Such was the minor man of letters whose betrayal of her confidence induced Madame de Staël to send him the message printed below. The exact nature of the personal facts which he had put unceremoniously into writing is not clear. It seems likely that, upon reception of Madame de Staël's note, he suppressed the passage which had offended her. The date of the note is August 3, 1800. Madame de Staël was at Coppet from April till November of that year,[2] and, since she mentions Masson's epic as a means of identifying him, the note must have been written in the interval between the publication of that poem and that of the much better known *Mémoires* which appeared in the same year.

There need be no doubt of the authenticity of the manuscript. In comparing it with facsimiles of other letters of Madame de Staël I have observed a convincing resemblance.[3] Mr. C. A. Carroll of Cornell University, who has made special study of Madame de Staël, assures me that the handwriting is hers. When Mr. W. R. Benjamin, the well-known authority on autographs, sold me the letter, which is now in my possession, he wrote: "As to Staël letter I guarantee it positively to be all in her hand,—as I am familiar with her writing." The single sheet of note-paper is, to be sure, unsigned; but the unique looped *d* of her script is unmistakably present throughout the page and a half of cramped and slanted penmanship. Further proof is given by the words "Mde. de Stael" written in the upper left-hand corner of the page in ink as brown and faded as that of the note itself; apparently the preserver of the letter treasured it as from the hand of the author of *De l'Allemagne*. The text is as follows:

[1] *Lettres d'un Français à un Allemand, servant de réponse à M. de Kotzebue, et de supplément aux Mémoires secrets sur la Russie suivies d'un précis historique de la déportation et de l'exil de l'auteur*, par C. F. Ph. Mason (cidevant major en premier, au service de Russie, et secrétaire des commandemens du Grand Duc Alexandre-Pauloïde), *Basel and Coblenz, An. XI* [–1802], p. 103.

[2] *Life and Times of Madame de Staël*, by Maria Norris (London, 1853), pp. 231, 234.

[3] See for example the reduced facsimile, facing p. 32, of *Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant*, edited by Baroness Elizabeth de Nolde (translation from the French by Charlotte Harwood, Putnam, New York and London, 1907).

COPPET le 3 août v. style

je crois Monsieur, que vous avez senti comme moi combien il y avait de désaccord entre les sentiments que vous m'aviez témoigné et l'extrait que vous avez cru devoir insérer—il y a dans votre manière de vous exprimer en général quelque chose d'extrèmement flatteur, mais cette manière même vous oblige à une conduite analogue à vos paroles—la critique, la satyre meme *personnelle*, (et tel est le genre de l'extrait) peut être parfaitement permise, mais l'est il de surprendre au point où j'ai du [*sic*] être surprise quand je comparais vos discours avec l'action que vous étiez appellé à faire, et que vous avez fait—je n'en ai point de ressentiment, je ne changerai pas de conduite envers vous, parce que ce sont vos vertus et vos malheurs que j'honore mais à l'avenir je jouirai avec moins de confiance d'une bienveillance que je me flattais de posséder invariablement.

voulez-vous bien faire remettre cette lettre au cit. masson auteur du poème des helvétiens. j'ignore son adresse.

The other note is less important. It does present, however, evidence concerning Madame de Staël's knowledge of the English language before her second visit to England, in 1813–14. Her "my dear sir" shows that she had not entirely forgotten the English she learned twenty years earlier, at the time when, during her brief sojourn among the *émigrés* at Juniper Hall in Surrey, she wrote affectionately to Miss Burney: "When do you come spend a large week in that house?"[1]

More significantly, the billet bears witness to Madame de Staël's friendship for a noted British general and so, one might think, adds one more to the list of her notable British friends who helped to make her personally popular in England before her *Germany* was published there. In this case, however, Madame de Staël's fame in England was probably increased but slightly. As late as July, 1807, Madame de Staël was quite unknown to Sir Robert Wilson. An entry in his diary under heading of July 30 reads in part: "This reminds me of Princess Radzivil's recommendation to read a new novel by Madame de Genlis called 'Corinna, of Italy.' She describes it as interesting and clever. I have not been able to procure it," etc.[2]

In her *Dix années* Mme. de Staël records among the list of her new friends "ceux que la conformité des sentimens avoit rapprochés de

[1] *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay* (London, 1891), III, 483.

[2] *Life of General Sir Robert Wilson from Autobiographical Memoirs, Journals, Narratives, Correspondence, etc.* Edited by his Nephew, Rev. Herbert Randolph (London, 1862), II, 333.

moi, ... Sir Robert Wilson qui va chercher partout une occasion de se battre, et d'enflammer ses amis par son esprit."[1] But Sir Robert Wilson remained with the Russian armies till 1814.

The letter, one sentence of which is quoted by Lady Blennerhassett,[2] is preserved in the British Museum; it is addressed on the back of a folded double sheet of note-paper: "Sir robert wilson to the army."

The text is as follows:

STOCKHOLM ce 12
décembre, 1812

je remets avec plaisir à votre aide de camp my dear sir un mot qui vs rappelle combien je vs aime et vs admire—toutes les nations vs ont donné l'ordre de la bravoure moi je vs donne tout ce dont je puis disposer la plus haute estime et l'intérêt le plus sincère—il me semble que les russes ont triomphé à cause de vous—tachez qu'il en soit de même de la délivrance de l'europe—et ménagez vous pour conserver l'exemple de la plus parfaite union de l'esprit de chevalerie et de l'amour de la liberté—quand nous reverrons nous? donnez-moi de vos nouvelles, et comtez à jamais sur

moi— NECKER DE STAËL HOLSTEIN

ROBERT CALVIN WHITFORD

URBANA, ILL.

[1] *Oeuvres inédites de Mme la Baronne de Staël, publiée par son fils*, Tome premier (Paris, 1821); *Dix années d'exil; fragmens d'un ouvrage inédit composé dans les années* 1810 à 1813, p. 349.

[2] *Frau von Staël, ihre Freunde und ihre Bedeutung in Politik und Literatur*, von Lady Blennerhassett, geb. gräfin Leyden (Berlin, 1889), III, 343.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

An Italian Dictionary. By Alfred Hoare. Cambridge: The University Press, 1915.

This is the first and only large modern Italian-English and English-Italian dictionary. It has been greatly needed, as a multitude of disconsolate searchers in Baretti could testify; its excellence in quality makes it doubly welcome. For the town or college library it will be indispensable, and it has its special values even for the student accustomed to use Petrocchi and Rigutini. The real utility of the book is, however, greatly limited by its price—twelve dollars. It is to be hoped that the second edition may be brought within reach of the teacher's purse.

The Italian-English vocabulary constitutes the main part of the work. It occupies 663 pages, and treats some fifty thousand words. The English-Italian vocabulary, in 132 pages, has some twenty-five thousand entries.

The typographical arrangement of the Italian-English vocabulary is new, interesting, and successful. It consists of a single alphabetical series of words; but in that series about one-third of the entries are printed in relatively large type (eight-point Cushing), and the rest in relatively small type (six-point Cushing). The basis of the differentiation is purely practical. The words which, in the judgment of the compiler, are most likely to be looked up have the heavier type; those which interest few readers—obsolete, local, and technical words, for instance—and those that are virtually identical in meaning with obviously corresponding English words have the lighter type. This scheme works well. It is much simpler than Petrocchi's horizontal division of the page; and the eye recovers quickly from the first shock of strangeness, thanks to the beauty of the fonts and the excellence of the presswork.

Many minor devices are used in the interests of common-sense and brevity. Abbreviations abound; he that is puzzled for the moment by *bootm.* or *com.*, *leg.* or *hatm.*, *mlt.* or *pegg.*, *priv.* or *prov.*, *rep.* or *repet.*, *spreg.* or *unkn.* or *vezz.* or *vit.* or *Wtbch.*, has but to turn to the imposing prefatory array. When an Italian word closely approaches an English word, both in form and meaning, the formula "as E." replaces a translation. Groups of words for which some common statement holds true bear that statement in visible community. So the *in-* pages are all headed "For derivation of compounds beginning with *In* see the simple word"; and a similar statement for *sovra-* runs up the side of a half-column.

In all words except those classed as obsolete, indication is given as to the position of the stress, the quality of a stressed *e* or *o*, and the voiced or voiceless character of an intervocalic *s* or a *z*. Similar diacritic signs should certainly have been supplied for the obsolete words as well. Such words often occur in passages of verse or prose that one desires to read aloud, and they are the very words most apt to bother a man whose general acquaintance with Italian is already good.

Etymologies are given for the more important words. This part of the work is by no means satisfactory, but that is not the fault of Mr. Hoare. He has reported faithfully the best opinions accessible to him, relying chiefly on Skeat and Pianigiani.

The definitions, based in general on Petrocchi and Tommaseo-Bellini, are very good indeed—accurate, and remarkably idiomatic; and there is more illustrative material, taken chiefly from Petrocchi, than is usually to be found in inter-language dictionaries. The specifically Tuscan quality of Rigutini should perhaps have entitled him to rather more consideration.

Every now and then one finds an unexpected little discourse, quite in the good old style—as under the headings *latinità*, *ordine*, and *punteggiare*. Dantesque words and phrases are, properly, treated with special care. *Pape* is left undefined; scholars are now pretty well agreed that Guerri is right both for this and for the *aleppe*, the *pape* being mediaeval Latin *papae* <Greek *παπαί*, and meaning simply "oh," while the *aleppe* is *aleph*, and means "Alas!" Recent words are well represented. *Automobile*, queerly enough, gets in only among the addenda. The Italian Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls are not recognized. They are, delightfully, *I Giovani Esploratori* and *Le Giovani Esploratrici*.

The two pages of stray "Notes on the Italian Language" should have been omitted. They are quite irrelevant and contain glaring errors.

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The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances. Edited, from Manuscripts in the British Museum, by H. OSCAR SOMMER. Volume VII. Supplement: *Le Livre d'Artus*, with Glossary (A unique fragment from MS No. 337 at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, from folio 115 A to 294 D). Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1913.

Le Livre d'Artus is a valuable document for the student of the French language. Sommer, in his all-too-short preface, tells us that the manuscript is of the last quarter of the thirteenth century and that he has reproduced it faithfully, "except where indicated in footnotes"; that he has, however,

expanded the abbreviations,[1] and, contrary to the practice of the scribe of MS No. 337, "uniformly spelled with capitals the names of persons and places, and such terms as Table Roonde," etc. Letters and words are inserted in the text where they have supposedly been omitted by the scribe, often without remark in the notes; these are included in parentheses.

The language of the author was evidently the standard literary French of the latter half of the thirteenth century, with scarcely more dialectic forms than the invariable *iau* for *eau*, while the last scribe was distinctly of the Northeast: *iaue*, the common form for "water," is often written *eve*, 138, 5; *eive*, 149, 27; *aive*, 115, 2; and sometimes *aigue*, 220, 24. *An* stands occasionally for *en;* more rarely, vice versa. In verbal forms, but rarely elsewhere, the editor corrects these in the text. *Anuiz*, 110, 39, for for *ennuiz*, 143, 46; *anor*, 63, 9, by the side of *ennor*, 133, 29, *onor*,[2] 160, 31; *anemi*, 128, 31, the common form of *ennemi*, and *tans*, 127, 37, sometimes found for *tens*, etc., are unnoted.

Such occasional forms as *amoine*, 118, 43, <*amener; poines*, 260, 39; and verbal endings in *-ient*,[3] attest likewise the Northeastern dialect of the scribe. Three forms in *-omes* have been noted: *seromes*, 171, 29, and 213, 18; *partomes*, 290, 47; and the interesting *fonmes* (=*faisons*) 235, 20, which Sommer has changed in the text to *faesmes*.[4] Exceptionally we find *li solauz*, 185, 4, by the side of *li soleuz*, 252, 27; *vermauz*, 103, 47, for *vermeuz*, 286, 30; we find *les euz*, 119, 35; *elz*, 223, 5; *iolz*, 31, 1; *eilz*, 195, 35, but never *iauz*, as in Chrétien; *il voilt*, 77, 13; *vielt*, 77, 15; *vuelt*, 266, 21; *velt*, 217, 17, but never *viaut; buen* for *bon* has been noted twice, 226, 4 and 204, 6. In the latter instance, *ce que buen li fu*, it is called in the Glossary an adverb=*bien*. Not only is *femme* written *fame*, but *amer* (=*aimer*) is not infrequently *emmer*, 271, 9, etc., usually corrected by the editor.

There are not a few forms in the long manuscript that are interesting from the standpoint of the phonetic development of the language: *oi*, *ei*, and *ai* are sometimes confounded; as in *ensaigne* for *ensoigne*,[5] 124, 12; *saient*, 116, 12 (=*soient*); *oient*, 160, 8 (=*aient*); *metroi* for *metrai*, 277, 21, etc. In *oissir*, *oissu*, 73, 17; 90, 9, etc., and *aissir*, *aissu*, 113, 49, etc., *ei* is systematically replaced in the text. There are evidences that the vowel in hiatus was shifting: *poor* is the most common form of *peur*, but as many times as it occurs Sommer faithfully replaces it by *paor*, 7, 40, etc.; *foon* is once noted for *feon*, 217, 46; but *ronde*, 289, 39, *roonde*, 191, 34,

[1] The sign & is only exceptionally expanded. It stands not only for *et* but for *es*<*ecce*, 306, 20, etc. No modern punctuation nor apostrophe is used; we have supplied these in quoting the text.

[2] But never *onneur*, the form which Sommer introduces, 228, 18.

[3] 58, 10; 65, 28; 95, 6; 262, 43; 316, 7.

[4] Sommer enters his substitute in the Glossary. L. 1 is an error for l. 20.

[5] The first reference to this word in the Glossary is an error: p. 35, l. 35, *ensaigne* = *enseigne*.

reonde, 178, 7, *vooir* for *veoir*, 245, 22, etc., *cheoir*, 315, 15, for the ordinary manuscript form *chaoir*,[1] are unnoted. The habit "de dire chouse au lieu de chose," at which Henri Estienne mocked in the sixteenth century, was apparently already forming: *chouse*, 284, 43, is replaced in the text by *chose*, but *arousa*, 255, 12, *fousse*, 205, 42, for *fosse*, are unnoted.

From what has already been said, it might justly be concluded that Sommer has not attempted to make the orthography of the text uniform; but there are a few words for which this has been done. On what principle they have been selected it is difficult to decide. Attention has been called to *paor* above. The others, with mention of the manuscript form in the text, are *aist*<*aidier*, and *sest* (=*il sait*). In both cases an analogical *s* in Ps. 3 before a final *t* is so common that it would scarcely seem to call for repeated remark, when such forms as *aisda*, 115, 1; *deisde*=*d'aide*, 104, 5; *eisdast*, 219, 32, as well as numerous words in which an excrescent *s* appears, even to so unusual a form as *quielxst*<*colligit*, remain unnoted: *lors se departent si quielxst chascuns sa voie*, 270, 36. In the preposition *soz*, frequently found by the side of *souz*, and in *crope*, both of which seem to us good OFr forms, a *u* is always introduced in the text: *so*[*u*]*z*, 105, 7, etc., *cro*[*u*]*pe*, 105, 14, etc., while in other words, such as *tot* by the side of *tout*, no insertion is made. The *s* in *mesage*, *aseoir*, and *ausi* of the manuscript is regularly doubled by the editor, as it is occasionally in other words.

The flexion of substantives and adjectives is in general intact in the manuscript.[2] Besides the analogical *s*, often found (*freres*, *sires*, etc.), there are occasional lapses. There are also a few[3] cases of new formations worthy of note if the manuscript dates from the last quarter of the thirteenth century: 218, 46; *& cil hausse un bociau de cuir;* 218, 47: *le bocel s'en passe outre.* None of these are noted by the editor, although the form *apiau* in *si apiau de vostre foi*, which he remarks by *sic* in the notes, is due to the same influences, as well as the frequent *au* for *as* (<*à*+*les*): *au fenestres*, 96, 18, 44, etc. Some of these Sommer notes and changes to the regular *as*. Occasionally an *x* is added: 292, 31: *si vint au*[*x*] *deus serors;* 102, 35: *au*[*x*] *fers aguz*—making a form that never appears in the manuscript, but the coming of which the manuscript form *au* predicts.[4]

The form *orrez* for *aurez* is interesting: according to Nyrop,[5] the "graphie de Cauchie (1570) *orey*" is the earliest example of the modern *aurai*. Merlin has just come to see Niniane, who *avoit ja fait un acointement novel dont ele ne pot onques joïr en la fin. & Merlins le sot si la rampo*[*s*]*na . . . mais ne*

[1] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. fr. hist.*, 2d 6d., § 114.

[2] The examples cited throughout the paper will be sufficient proof of this. That it is as much respected is remarkable at this later period. (Cf. Nyrop, II, § 276.)

[3] 213, 43; 236, 49; 222, 46, etc.

[4] The form *diseset*, 242, 11, for *dix-sept* is, of course, *dis e set; gn*×*n:* e.g., *la plaigne*=*la plaine*, 44, 20; *seinnier*, 178, 42, =*saignier;* exceptionally, *dreice*, 67, 4, =*dresse.*

[5] II, § 208.

me chaut, fait il, que mal en i orrez en la fin.[1] The context shows that we do not have here the future of *oïr*, as the editor thinks.

Evidently the desire of the editor was to make his text as intelligible as possible to readers unfamiliar with the older language. Still, even on this supposition, there is no consistency in his treatment; he has: 34, 36: *li rossignol chantoit*, for the manuscript form *rossignos;* 281, 14: *estoit molt pensif*, MS *pensis* (cf. 284, 30; 146, 30, and 33, where the same change is made). 250, 30, *uns hom juif*, MS *guis;* so 251, 13 (the forms with *j* correctly used are just above, 248, 48: *si dist a toz les juis*, and 249, 3).

In the case of 244, 43: *une croix . . . plus vermeille que fins sanc*, MS *sans*, note that *fins* has still its nominative *s* and that *li sans* is elsewhere in the text unchanged. In the case of 209, 35, *Giflez fu venuz a la rescosse de Kex*, MS has *de Quieu*, cf. 212, 46; 212, 1, etc. One notes 145, 23: *ne nestoit mie restif*, MS *restis;* 147, 9: *au comencement que foi comenca*, etc., MS *foiz;* 159, 30: *& li demanda quele figure ce puet estre*, MS *quels*. An analogical *e* is rarely found in the manuscript for the feminine of *tel* and *quel* (157, 17; cf. 134, 1). In other adjectives of the same declension I have noted none. These forms occur: 306, 45: *li soleil raia qui l'isle enlumina de sa clarté*, MS *li soleuz;* 318, 25: *a mon fill Oriolz*, MS *Oriost*.

Either to make the old writer consistent or to make the text clearer, words of the manuscript are changed, nouns are supplied for pronouns, and very often these changes are made with little regard for the language of the author: 39, 14: *qui fu filleul au roi*, MS *filz au roi*. The correct nominative of *filleul* is found in the manuscript: 242, 10: *li filleus* (cf. 138, 39); 208, 2: *Ge m'en vois en plus* [granz] *besoigne;* 80, 38: *tout seürs en furent il*, MS *fust il;* 134, 5: *des clerc qui . . . vint li plus sages*, MS *li clerc qui;* 238, 20: *si fu si granz la noise que toz li chastel en retentist*, MS *chastelez* (it would seem as though Sommer recognized here neither the correct nominative nor the diminutive given as late as Cotgrave: "*Chastelet*, A little Castle, Fort or Hould," etc.); 231, 34: *lors vint Sadoines qui molt bien le fist . . . quar tot les rens perça*, MS *toz;* 166, 8; *por ce si envoie querre son fils*, MS *fill;* 138, 28: *& dona molt* [*grans dons*] *as barons*. There are comparatively few cases of *s* for *z* in the 323 folio pages of about forty-eight unbroken lines to a page—a beautiful page to look at, but tiring to the modern eye, accustomed to a short line.

172, 15: *la lune . . . car* [*el*] *decors estoit: en+le* before a consonant is regularly *u* in the manuscript. 269, 31: *si reboute l'espee* [*a*]*u fuerre:* this *a* should not have been inserted. 185, 19: *&* [*lhome*] *li dit;* 187, 42: *& Sagremor dit que*, etc., MS *il:* the nominative *Sagremors* is in the preceding line. It is noteworthy perhaps that, of proper names of persons, *Gauvain* alone is very frequently written without a nominative *s*. 302, 18: *tant que* [*le*] *fis Uterpandragon i vendroit:* the nominative masculine article is regularly *li*. Only here have I noted the form *fis*.

[1] 164, 9 ff.

The pronouns show the greatest deviation from classic OFr. *Lui* might be called the tonic form of the feminine as well as of the masculine. Cf. 276, 32: *s'amie l'embrace & le baise & il lui.* So far does it prevail over *li* that Nyrop's statement[1] as to the prevalence of this usage seems inadequate. One might expect therefore to find occasionally *li* for *lui: & quant vint que li hermites ot chanté si apela le chevalier & li dit que or parlera il a li* (247, 16). *Il* is occasionally found for *elle*, and this is usually corrected by the editor, as in 135, 42: *Un jor se porpensa Morganz que ele corroceroit la roïne & la Table Roonde & feroit tant qu'ele rauroit son ami*, MS *tant quil le rauroit.* The atonic indirect object *lui* has not been noted.

The most striking feature of the pronoun forms in the manuscript is the frequency with which *il*, both singular and plural, is reduced in subordinate sentences to *i* before a consonant. Sommer regularly introduces *l* in the text: 119, 2: *dit qui[l] li aura bien mestier.* So 104, 14; 114, 36; 141, 18. After a co-ordinate conjunction the same reduction of *il* is found: 108, 20: *& se dex m'aït i me fu bel*—in this case unnoted by the editor. An *l* after such a subject pronoun might represent an object pronoun: 128, 2: *si tost com il [l]ot ocis;* 107, 46: *quant il [l]ot oïe;* 111, 31: *& il [l]i vont a l'encontre.* Naturally, therefore, an *l* is found sometimes where it does not belong: 148, 42: *que nus qui venist*, MS *quil;* 150, 24: *Ge vos demant . . . chevalier quel que il soit*, MS *quil que il soit.* I should have changed to *qui*, equally good French. When the writer pronounced before a vowel the *l* of *il*, he consequently often doubled the *l:* 306, 40: *avant que Merlins entrast onques en l'isle ne qu'il i aportast la fille au duc*, MS *li;* 185, 20: *que tuit cil qui l'oient*, MS *tuit quil loient;* 267, 43: *si les conreerent il si malement a l'aisde de lui*, MS *is.* Here the *i* of *is* represents the subject pronoun and the *s* probably anticipates the *s* following, as in *lassale*, 193, 43, which occurs at least twice for *la sale.*

Some of the old contractions are found in this manuscript, often resolved by the editor: 126, 27: *& l[i] en amenast les chevals;* 119, 47: *G[el] vos vieng chalangier;* cf. 119, 48; 181, 36, etc. It may be worthy of note that the first person singular pronoun is regularly *ge*, but only once (199, 2), have I noted the emphatic form *gié*, familiar in Chrétien. In *s'en ot les paroles*, it would seem that the editor failed to understand that *sen* is for *se+en*, the *en* being the ordinary atonic form of *on*, and he has substituted in the text: 253, 47: *se la gent oient*, etc. (cf. 92, 50); 213, 41: *puis li fist son lit sel cocha*, MS *sil*, the correct form of *si+le;* 94, 36: *or alez donc, fait il, s[il]es i menez.*

Direct-object pronouns, frequently omitted in OFr, are usually inserted by the editor, and subject pronouns, even in subordinate sentences where there is no ambiguity, are often supplied. One inevitably thinks of Malherbe correcting Desportes: 156, 29: *& tant vos di ge bien que se [ge]*

[1] II, § 528, R. *Lui* is frequently used for tonic modern *elle* in the other volumes of this publication: "*i ala ma dame et me mena avoeques lui*," etc.—"*L'Estoire del Saint Graal*," p. 67, l. 14.

peusse, etc.; 156, 37: *einsi voirement m'aït dex ge* [*le*] *li dirai*, MS *maist;* 126, 43: *Lunete manda Niniane qu'e*[*le*] *la venist veoir;* 167, 4: *tant com* [*il*] *poent;* 120, 5: [*il*] *ne covient mie*, etc. Although OFr omitted the reflexive pronoun more often than Sommer would allow, it is probably the subject pronoun that is unexpressed in many cases which he thus corrects: 168, 19: *Se vos me creantez, fait ele, que vos vos combatrez a un meillor chevalier que cist n'est a cui vos* [*vos*] *estes orendroit combatuz*, etc.

The tonic form of the pronoun, especially with the infinitive, is found and sometimes noted: 297, 11: *por se refreschir*, MS *soi;* 171,16: *& quant la pucele vit que . . . ne qu'ele ne le pooit metre arriers de sa fole emprise*, MS *ne que lui ne pooit*, etc.; 118, 2: *& avoient X chevaliers en lor compaignie por els aidier.*

The tonic form of the personal pronoun is also found for the reflexive, as still so frequently in Middle French. Sometimes this also is changed: 104, 48: *de se desfendre*, MS *de lui desfendre;* 143,24: *li trencheroit la teste & puis soi apres*, MS *lui.*

The demonstrative pronouns are treated by the editor in the same manner as substantives and adjectives. No changes are made systematically, and faults in flexion in the manuscript are very rarely noticed: 162, 3: *veez sire* [*ce*] *que ge ai puis gaaigné;* 173, 33: *& lors regarde la damoisele cele qui l'avoit aidié a desarmer & li dist*, MS *celi;* 132, 30: *come* [*celui*] *a cui li cuers* [*s*]*en aloit auques eschaufant;* 79, 8: *Ales fist armer une partie de cels de la cité pour faire entendre a cil defors*, etc., MS *a els;* 228, 39: *entre moi & ce*[*lui*] *mien compaignon;* 41, 33: *le cheval*, MS *celui cheval.*

The principal point of interest in regard to relative pronouns is the repeated use of *que* for *quoi*. *Que* before a vowel with the prepositions *par* and *por* has already been noted in Chrétien, but here *que* is used with other prepositions also and before a consonant: 284, 33: *A quoi pensez vos*, MS *que;* 189, 6: *de quoi vos meslez vos*, MS *que;* 255, 17: *le sidoine de que je lenvelopai;* 281, 11: *por oir porquoi cil duels*, etc.; MS *por que;* 213, 48: *au roi Artus par qui vos seriez*, etc., MS *quoi* (*quoi* was used referring even to persons[1] up to the seventeenth century); 218, 9: *a son feon por qui ele avoit*, etc., MS *quoi;* 219, 18: *les tables sor que*[2] *il orent mengié;* 133,14: *une chaaire sor quoi il sist;* 282, 26: *car li chevals sor lequel il seoit*, MS *sor que*, etc. We are all familiar with *que ne* for *pourquoi pas*, still living in Modern French. In this document we find: 16, 23: *Franc chevalier, que demorez vos, querez le roi*, etc. *Cui* is found in all the OFr acceptations, but often written *qui:* 201, 20: *qui chaut;* 32, 10, etc.: *cui chaut.* Naturally therefore *cui* is written at times for *qui*, and with *cui* Sommer sometimes supplies a preposition: 163, 8: *le merveilleus liepart . . . par cui la terre de Bretaigne seroit desfendue du merveilleux dragon volant de*[*s*] *Longtaignes Isles* [*& a*] *cui la serpent*[*e*] *au chief d'or enclineroit*, etc. *Cui* is found rarely

[1] Cf. Maupas' *Grammar*, ed. 1607, p. 163.

[2] This and the following example are left in the text, unnoted.

for *quoi:* 18, 2: *por deu, sire, montez tant com loisir avez. coi, fait li rois, biaus niés, qu'est ce que tu as,* MS *cui.* But this is purely graphic; *ui* is occasionally elsewhere confounded with *oi:* 140, 9: *refruidoit=refroidoit;* 144, 20: *coivre=cuivre.*

We should often read with the old writer rather than with the editor: 296, 20: *Come fel chevaliers & mal ense[i]ngniez qui vos estes,* MS *que;* so 234, 3.

The OFr conjugations are practically intact. No analogical *e* is yet found in Ps. 1 of conjugation I, though the editor thinks sometimes that there should be one: 215, 12: *si men retor[ne] dolente.* Nor are there as yet any certain traces of the ending-accented forms driving out the stem-accented forms, or vice versa: 295, 20: *ou il joe as eschés,* MS *geue;* 198,13: *si se despoillent & lavent,* MS *levent;* 315, 19: *& lave ses meins u ru,* MS *leve.* In Ps. 3 of *oïr,* an *i* is introduced, needlessly, though with admirable regularity, the form occurring scores of times: 114, 1: *quant messire G- l'o[i]t si regarde A-.* The Ps. 2 receives the same treatment, but this form occurs rarely: 249, 3: *dont n'o[i]s tu que tuit li juif dient.* Other correct OFr verb forms are altered in the text: 186, 24: *que mot n'en seu,* MS *soi;* so 141, 37. It is undoubtedly also *soi* that we should see in *se:* 70, 37: *Ge seu bien, fait Raolais, que a ce vendroie ge,* MS *se.* Verbal endings in *-ai* are not infrequently written *-e;* and *ai,* as we have seen above, is sometimes confounded with *oi.* 134, 18: *ne li rois Bans ne li rois Bohorz qui pres d'ilec estont ou ge la trovai,* etc., is supplied with a note "as above for *estent.*" But *estont* is the regular OFr Ps. 6 of *ester.*

For 196, 38: *un si grant bret qu'il n'ot home ne femme qui clerement ne l'oïst & jambete molt longuement avant que li cors s'estent en pais,* the manuscript has *esteust en paiss.* Again, the manuscript form (Impf. Sbj. 3 of *ester*) is perfectly correct, because the sentence was first conceived in the past. In 282, 33: *dame ge voi merveilles de ce chevalier qui se combati durement,* etc., MS *combast,* the analogical *s* in a Ps. 3 is easily explained. In 307, 48: *& quant vint au parhurter si fu P- estordiz que a la terre l'estu[e]t venir,* the past definite of the manuscript is correct. In 118, 11: *commande a Eliezer qu'il pense de l'errer,* MS *pent;* 120, 18: *& dist a Elyezer qu'il pense,* MS *pent;* the subjunctive in both cases is good usage.

322, 14: *menra,* MS *merra: merroit* also is in the manuscript, 311, 37. 293, 23: *il sentrenpaignent,* MS *sentrespaignent;* 113, 18: *sentrenpaintrent,* MS *sentrespaintrent:* Godefroy enters the verb *entrespaindre* with two citations, both from *Artur* (*Richel*), but no *entrenpaindre.* Godefroy gives also both *espaindre* and *espoindre,* of which the latter is the proper form, and it is undoubtedly a compound of this that we have here. For 98, 45: *volt,* MS *vost,* cf. 100, 37: *il volst & dona.* In 77, 10: *si li besoigne* [*i est*], the insertion is gratuitous. We have here the well-known verb *besoignier,* used impersonally; cf. *Troie,* 1655:

"Or m'est mestiers, or me besoigne
Que de mei penseiz sens aloigne."

261, 34: *lors ne dist plus, ainz se cois tot & pensa une molt grant piece,* MS *ainz cois se;* the verb *coisier,* entered in the Glossary with reference to this line, would not have *cois* in Ps. 3, nor in the past definite; better read *coisse.* The verb is found in OFr written with single or double *s* and used as a neuter verb as well as a reflexive: *Renart le nouvel,* 5054: "Crient li vif, coisent li mort."

148, 41: *fist faire une haute tor perrine . . . & quant il l'ot tote asovie,* MS *asivie:* this past part. form <*ad*+*sequere,* "to complete," is not without example. The Glossary gives this reference under "*asovir*=pleinement satisfaire," etc., as well as *asovir,* "to finish."

110, 19: *lors venoit li arbres qui de lui estoit issue:* for *issue,* MS *outre;* we should certainly not want a perfect participle feminine here; rather, we should read *outrez.* This passage occurs in the account of a vision of a tree springing from the navel of a woman. In the miracle plays the word is used several times in speaking of something coming down from heaven: the semasiology of the word is plain. Cf. *Miracles de Nôtre Dame,* XXVIII, 1600 ff.:

"Ha! sire, quant je me recors.
Que des cieulx vous estes *oultré*
Et a moy vous estes moustré, . . . "

93, 49: *ses oncles s'en estoit alez rescorre la proie que li Saisne avoient acuillie,* MS *acuilliee: acueillier* as well as *acueillir* existed in OFr and lived on into the fourteenth century. In *Meliador* 11514 of Froissart we read, "Il ont leur voiage acueilliet." For 180, 44: *se li chevaliers du lit le veïst ja n'eüssiez le pooir de moi enmener avant vos fuisse chierement comparé,* MS *comparee* is certainly the correct form; so also, 189, 11. 132, 34: *G. a cui ele avoit s'amor promise & l'ama molt volentiers s'il i volsist entendre,* MS *la amast:* the scribe quite frequently repeats a letter or a syllable which the editor generally very helpfully divines, but here *amast* should have been kept, as we have a regular condition contrary to fact and the past definite would be inacceptable. 136, 16: *ne s'en issent james s'il i entrassent,* MS *sil i entrast james ne sen issist:* why the appropriate imperfect subjunctive should be changed to the present indicative is inexplicable. The subject, *tuit li chevalier,* is, to be sure, plural, but so far removed from the verb that the writer thought of each individually when he reached the verb; *issist* might have been changed to *eissist.*

The old forms of the imperfect and future of *estre* are occasionally found. The future of *ester, estera,* Sommer replaces by *sera,* on p. 159, l. 40. Once I have noted *esseroient,* 281, 1. For 295, 34: *por deu aie pitié,* the manuscript has *aies,* which is the regular OFr imperative singular of *avoir.* It would seem that the editor was unaware that *j* was used in OFr before *a* and *o* terminations in the conjugation of verbs in *-gier,* where in Modern French *ge* is written. The *i*'s and *j*'s not being distinguished in the manuscript, *menja,* for example, was read *menia,* and consequently doublet forms of these verbs are put in the Glossary: *songier, sonier; rengier, renier; plunger*

(*sic*), *plunier*, etc. 79, 26: *challengions*, MS *challanjons;* 197, 8: *rechangoient*, are the editor's forms, where the manuscript in the use of a similar verb gives *menjoit* (313, 42); *menjoient* (96, 18).

Occasionally the infinitive is found as a substantive, once at least noted by the editor: 104, 4: *qui molt se painent de le remonter*, MS *du monter;* cf. 105, 21. Once I have noted the infinitive after the preposition *en*, to which Sommer objects: 54, 29: *vos n'avez nul droit de vos sevrer de vostre oncle*, MS *droit en sevrer de.* Twice I have noted the historical infinitive: 182, 46: *or du blasmer le chevalier*, perhaps not understood by the editor; cf. 207, 43. *Aler* is frequently conjugated with *avoir* and this sometimes does not please the editor: 263,19: *estoient alé*, MS *avoient.* There are a few cases of confusion of auxiliaries (139, 21; 123, 29, etc.) and of now unused or little-used tenses. One of the latter, corrected by Sommer, would still pass muster[1] in Modern French: 242, 9: *avoit amée*, MS *avoit eu amee.* Two similar tenses with reflexives are interesting because they show that even at that time the auxiliary *estre* with such verbs was felt to be used for *avoir:* 310, 20: *s'estoient assaié*, MS *sestoient eu essaie;* 129, 47: *s'estoient entramé*, MS *sestoient entrame eu.*

Passages in the manuscript are changed for no apparent reason, unless it be that the OFr forms were unfamiliar:

286, 4: *& corne un* [*cor d*]*olifant.* cf. *Troie*, 16068 f.,

"Sonent tant cor, tant meienel
E tant olifant grant e bel."

110, 32: *& a parler d'unes* [*choses*] *et d'autres;* cf. *Hist. de Ch. VI, par J. Lefevre*, p. 124 in Lacurne: "Le duc de Bourgogne . . . leur remonstra tant d'unes et d'autres que les chiefs lui promirent," etc.

105, 37: *si que il le fait flatir a paumetons*, MS *il li fait flatir les deus paumes;* cf. *Troie*, 24026:

"Des dous paumes le fist ferir
A la terre . . ."

113, 33: *cil li rent & paie au*[*tre*]*telz; autel* is used elsewhere in the manuscript: 124, 29; 125, 12, etc.

157, 17: *de*[*s*] *quele hore que vos devroiz movoir; de* for *dès* is not uncommon in OFr: *Troie*, 23634: "De cel jor n'en ot puis saisine." But here *de* simply expresses an ablative of time: *Troie*, 10991: "Onc de nule hore n'avillierent."

138, 2: *Car il estoit li plus granz chevaliers que l'en seüst*, MS *ce* (for *il*).

81, 12: *au tentes du roi Urien*, MS *au* (for *du*). But the dative of possession is still often used in the manuscript; cf. 91, 9; 164, 6, etc.

139, 30; *biau païs plenteureus & riche de viles & de bestes aumaille*, MS *bestes & daumaille:* "Bestes aumaille=bêtes cornues." But all *bestes* are not *cornues. Aumaille*, as a substantive is still in Cotgrave,="Great cattell; or any kind of Neat, as Oxen, Kine." If used adjectively, *aumaille* should be plural.

[1] Cf. Girault-Duvivier, I, 478, and n. 331.

241, 26: *& se fierent en la mellée [o]u plus espes [estoit]*: *Espes* would then have been feminine. "U plus *espes*" for "into the thickest" is in the *Roland*, l. 3529: "El plus espes sis rumpent e partissent."

It was late in the history of the language that the article was obligatory to express the relative superlative:[1] 149, 7: *i fist faire la plus riche sale*, MS *faire sale plus riche;* so 178, 50. In the case of 129, 44: *ses compainz que tant ja [dis] avoit amé*, cf. *Florence de Rome*, l. 14: "Seignors, ja fut uns tens." In 184, 6: *un molz preuz chevaliers*, MS *de chevaliers*, cf. 188, 12: *ce sire de chevaliers*, and note the nominative *s* in both cases. In *Troie*, 18382, is the correct OFr form: "Proz d'ome ne deit doter mort." In 300, 4: *quant il ot le ciel netoié de totes pesantes choses si come de ferrume[e] & de la roële de l'eive*, the manuscript reading, *de ferrume & de nuille & deive* should be kept; *ferrume* is in as good standing as *ferrumee; nuille* may very well be another variant form of *niule*, to add to the eighteen given by Godefroy, = "brouillard, nuage." The meaning is also better served.

Sommer seems to be unaware that in OFr *en* with verbs of motion was much used without the reflexive[2]: 113, 11: *ill n[e s]en puet aler;* 165, 32: *des icel jor quil [s]en estoient entré;* 317, 21: *or si gart donc qui a garder i saura*, MS *si aura* (cf. p. 322, l. 46, where there is the same correct manuscript reading but there unchanged).

63, 9: *voire, fait Raolais, es tu donc icil qui mon oncle m'as deserité de s'anor & receue sa terre desor son gré*, has the note: "MS: *sic.*" The use of *desor* for *contre* is not without example: *Troie*, 20395 f.:

"Desor mon cuer e sor mon peis
En menreiz mes Mirmidoneis."

In 287, 37: *rassazier*, MS *resazier* is the correct form, and, again, 270, 12: *parfinir*, MS *parfenir*. For 133, 24: *& content notes & fabliaus*, the note reads: "MS *cantent.*" As Picard *c* before *a* is only found in the manuscript in the proper noun *Escauz* (only once have I noted that the editor gives the manuscript form *eschauz* for the *Escauz* of the text, 200, 17) we should prefer to read *content* and interpret *notes* = "choses notables," comparing its use here to "nota" in *Le Viel Testament*, IV, l. 34913:

"Je vous diray
Ung nota et relateray, . . . "

30, 39: *et fiert B— parmi les narilles du heaume*, MS *narines:* Cotgrave still gives the three forms, *narine, narille*, and *nareau* for a "narrell or nosethrill."

In 40, 13: *& s'en avint molt bien au genz lou roi*, MS *estut. Estut* is perfectly correct. Cf. *Troie*, 9975 f.

"Quant Nez d'Amors vit e conut
Qu'a son frere si mal estut
Eslaisse sei . . . "

[1] Nyrop, II, § 464.

[2] Cf. the excellent note on *en* and its uses in OFr in the Glossary to Béroul's *Tristan*, ed. E. Muret.

For 281, 38: *que la lance i passe plus de demi* [*pi*]*e,* cf. 322, 47; *lespee i entre plus que demie.*

284, 31: *est o liu remes,* MS *sest o lui remes.* 307, 26: *en pres que,* MS *enps ce* ——?: *enpres ce* (*que*) is good OFr; cf. "par ce que."

Thus we cannot always agree with the editor in his rectifications of the manuscript, and some passages which we think need rectification are unchanged:

233, 46: *car bien se porront prover en essoier,* MS *trover,* which seems to us correct. The idea is: "they will be able to find therewith opportunity to test themselves."

48, 29: *Estez, biaus sire, atendez moi: sanz moi n'iroiz vos mie,* MS *entendez.*

135, 7: *c'est une charneure que l'en dit os genz alise,* "MS *os=od*": the preposition *o* was obsolescent for the author, judging by the comparatively few examples found in the manuscript, and *od* was the form used before a vowel. Besides, it is not *o* (=*avec*) which is needed here, but rather *as.*

314, 21: *une voie si estroite que son cheval ne pot retorner car li bois estoit si pres & si espes & les ortieres si hautes & la voie si parfonde que neis ses jambes li covenoit oster des estrés,* MS *ornieres,* which seems to me what is meant here, as well as 315, 21.

148, 2: *& s'il avient chose que auques i soiez vos seroiz tuit tué,* MS *onques.*

302, 13: *lors fist par laienz tel enchantement & telx trieges qu'il n'estoit nus chevaliers u monde tant fust de grant proësce qu'il* [*ne*] *poïst mie achever le disme des aventures,* etc.; the *ne* should not have been inserted.

205, 43: *& cil ne vostrent car preudome estoient si assaillirent les genz Arrant molt durement,* MS *sis,* which is certainly needed.

186, 33: *que a tant ne s'en tendroit il mie ainz me covendroit ce dist se je voloie estre quite a querre un chevalier,* MS *quite quil me covendroit un chevalier querre:* Sommer repeatedly confounds the peculiar OFr *convenir*+infinitive without sign and the accusative of the person with *convenir*+infinitive with sign and the dative of the person, both constructions being found in the manuscript: 302, 20: *a autant de chevaliers le covendroit* [*a*] *combatre;* so 302, 21. 312, 4: *si lor covient* [*a*] *combatre,* MS *les;* 192, 27: *vos covendroit a laissier,* etc.

The OFr word-order is unwarrantedly changed: 103, 30: *qui li dist que uns chevaliers s'estoit meslez a sa gent,* MS *quil sestoit un chevaliers meslez;* 240, 37: *si dient a Agloval que por deu il s'en voise,* MS *por deu voise sen;* 245, 19: *donez moi tant vivre si*[*l*] *vos plaist,* MS *me dones vos tant;* 174, 31: *que il eüst veüe mais piece a,* MS *que mais eust piece a veue;* 233, 34: *en i avez vos plus reconeüz,* MS *avez en i vos plus.* The author must not use pleonastic words, nor omit particles needed today: 113, 47: *si les envoient,* MS *si les en envoient;* 139, 16: *et sanz faille il* [*en*] *enmenoient molt grant partie.* He must not mix his numbers, and when speaking of a hero and his companions use now the singular and now the plural (106, 39, etc.), nor must he make

his verb agree with the nearest subject when there is more than one: 200, 5: *menerent li sire des Mares & cil de B—*, MS *mena*. Nor will Sommer allow a singular verb with a collective subject: 267, 46: *sa gent qui molt mis[en]t grant paine*, etc. Why this dialectic *misent* should be used, if the form is to be corrected, is not plain; cf. 321, 33: *& se mistrent a la voie*, and so regularly. Words are inserted which are unnecessary: 150, 3: *& comença sa raison en tel maniere: Rois Artus, sires dex vos saut [je salue] & vos & vostre compaignie.*

The editor seems to think that the rule for the repetition of certain prepositions was as fixed as it is today; cf. 129, 25. The distinction between the use of *en* and *a* with place names was not entirely established even in the seventeenth century: 126, 24: *en Breceliande*, MS *a*. So 121, 32, etc.

I have noted only a few cases of the accusative and infinitive, and there is little Latin influence upon the orthography: 248, 49: *que ele conoist cest home molt estre juste* (cf. 256, 44); 190, 23: *& la damoisele desvoie le chevalier tot a escient por plus eslongier la voie*, MS *por plus estre longue la voie;* 205, 4: *qui cumques*, etc.

Probably some irregularities are purely typographical (30, 6; 237, 13; 230, 1, etc.). But enough has been said doubtless to substantiate the statement that the text which Sommer offers is a hybrid product, the French of no one period.

Outside of the translation of the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus (p. 247, n.), and the mention of Judas Macchabeus,[1] there are only five references to Gautier Map *qui de latin translata* the stories of Merlin's master, Blaise, *en langue francoise par la proiere au roi Henri*,[2] which can be properly called of historical interest. *Li Contes des Patures* (222, 47) and *Li Contes de la Loisne* (69, 22) are mentioned, however. Of these the editor says he knows nothing. On the latter there is a note to the effect that Paul Meyer, when appealed to, said that the *Loisne* was the *licorne*, but that he, the editor, could find no confirmation of this; that he was at a loss how to divide the manuscript form *laloisne*, and suggests that it might be for *l'alaisne* (=*l'alène*) and refers to p. 66, l. 15, where an awl is mentioned. Another suggestion might be offered: we might have here the animal cited by du Cange from a Latin-Italian glossary: "linxia=la dea bestiarum e splendore."

In a Note prefacing the Glossary, Sommer says that the manuscript "has never been read in its entirety for lexicographical purposes," and that he has considered it part of his task to compile a list of the uncommon words and phrases occurring in the romance and to give their equivalents in modern French. Sommer has done much more than this, although the Glossary is by no means exhaustive. A number of criticisms of it have already been made. In general, it may be said that either a very incorrect opinion of

[1] P. 150, l. 37.

[2] P. 69, ll. 16 f.; cf. 127, 21; 141, 15; 145, 32; 149, 22.

the manuscript would be formed from a study of the Glossary alone, or we must conclude that we have not after all a faithful reproduction of the manuscript: *coissir*, for example, is entered with reference to *choisir*, but *choisir* alone is found in the text. The variants *deljé*, and *delgié* are given for *delié*, but it is always the last form that is found. The *i*'s and *j*'s are not as a rule confounded as in the manuscript; *deluie* is given *deluje*, *deluve*, and lack of care in distinguishing the vowel from the consonant led perhaps to a curious error in definition: 148, 24: *si les acoilli une grant gresle dont les pierres estoient toutes rouges come sans, si grosses come noiz jauges qui les tormenterent.* The Glossary gives "*iauge, aigage, ewage*, adj., 148, 24: rempli de l'eau." The two variants are not found in the manuscript. This is the only case in which the word is used. Nor is *noiz* in the Glossary, so that we do not know how Sommer read this. Students of OFr recognize here the "nois gauges" made familiar in *Aucassin et Nicolete*, 12, 24. Godefroy gives other examples in OFr and in dialects of today, but the central OFr form with *j* is rare. *Brachet* is entered with no variant, although the regular form of this word in the manuscript is *brochet.* Under *uis* another reference might have been added, in my opinion: 184, 2: *& quant il les auroit outrez si les metroit en sa prison ou uis.* Sommer's note to *ou uis* reads: "*Au vif*=alive." This seems inadmissable. I have noted no case in the long manuscript in which *ou*=*au.* I should prefer to read as usual *ou*<*aut*, and *uis*, in apposition with *prison*, for "house." The knights *outré* sent to King Arthur's court were not prisoners in the ordinary sense of the word. The use of *uis*=door, for "house," is found in a passsage quoted by Godefroy from the *Actes des Apotres:*

> "J'apperçoy de son huys la porte
> Sydrac, allons jusques a la."

Cf. p. 159, l. 38, of the manuscript before us, where it speaks of the *Laide Semblance* being *estoiée en l'uis fermé en bons escrins.* Curious results of apparent carelessness are found: *pute* is entered with the definition "jeune fille," whereas a "jeune fille" in the manuscript, as elsewhere in OFr, is a *pucelle*, not in the Glossary. The references to *pute* are: 13, 17: *veez sire de ces filz a putain faillis;* 119, 38; 277, 32: *ne la pute qui ça vos manda ne vos i sera ja garant. Putain* is given as a separate word and is defined correctly "prostituée." *Pute* is of course but the nominative singular of *putain*, which is also correctly used in the manuscript; cf. 279, 11–13.

Definitions are not always appropriate to the passages in which the words occur: *piler* is defined: "pile de pierres servant à soutenir diverses parties d'un édifice," a defintion which suits none of the passages in which it is found: 195, 49: *por itant que tu es de l'ostel du roi Artus & de la compaignie de la Table Roonde ne seras tu mis u piler,ençois te ferai giter en la fosse des lions esgeünez;* cf. 197, 35 and 48; 196, 16. The appropriate meaning is in fact not given by Godefroy, although Littré gives it under *pilier* (7°), and

Cotgrave has: "*Pilier & Carcan,* Is (not much unlike a Pillorie) an Engine or Instrument of justice, for the punishment & disgrace of offenders." The description of this punishment in the last quarter of the thirteenth century is of some historical interest (191, 42 ff.).

Bouge is entered in the Glossary with two definitions: "valise, petit coffre, petit sac de cuir; bouges, plur., le lit d'un fleuve." There is no indication that either of these meanings is satisfactory in the passage referred to, athough attention was called to the difficulty when it occurred in the manuscript: 151, 3: *por ce la prist li preudom & la gita en un flun la ou il la mist en ses bouges.* The note begins: "The passage *ou il la mist en ses bouges* is not quite clear to me; the scribe has added the *la* and the *en* above the line in very small letters." We have probably here the word in its modern application as a "cabinet de décharge," and the reading in this case of both the author and the scribe would be intelligible. Judas Macchabeus wanted to the get rid of the *Laide Semblance* and threw her into the river at the spot where he had his *bouges.*

There are some thirty-two words in the Glossary, marked with an asterisk and indicated in the text in footnotes, which Sommer says he has "failed to elucidate, in spite of a great deal of trouble and endless research," and that "several eminent French, German, and English scholars" to whom he submitted his proofs were unable to help him. All but a very few of these, however, yield to identification as words in good standing, or derivatives from well-known forms:

biois (erroneously *briois* in the Glossary), 36, 34: *il estoit chauciez d'uns housiaus de biois,* is undoubtedly *biais.* Godefroy cites: "deux paires de chausses en carreaux de bon bihais," and Palsgrave (p. 198) gives: *byas of an hose=bias.*

chacerot, 164, 28: *lors vint li rois un jor & dist que il iroit chacier . . . si porte Sagremor le chacerot le roi & vont en la forest: porter*="prendre avec lui"; *chacerot*="*chasseron*=petit cheval pour la chasse."[1]

celables, 149, 5: *si estoit celables & covertiz:* there seems no more reason for finding difficulty with *celables* than with *covertiz.* Godefroy, it is true, gives the latter and not the former (*celables*<*celer*+*able*), but with only the passage before us in illustration.

276, 25: *car il est costumiers de venir en agaitons que ja ne saura nus sa venue quant il vient: agaitons*<*agaitier* as *reculons*<*reculer.*

276, 21: *si vint la damoisele a l'uis de la chambre & locha l'anelet coietement:* this *coietement* seems to mean "doucement," rather than "avec empressement," and to be formed on *coiete,* feminine diminutive of *coi;* cf. *basset, soavet,* etc.

Crosser, 282, 11: *bien l'avez ore crossée:* Sommer suggests: "passée, vue." But the feminine pronoun has no expressed antecedent. Rather, we have

[1] See Godefroy, II.

here the verb, still used in Modern French, "crosser une balle, une pierre,"[1] and the expression here would mean: "You have made a good hit," "played a good game," a meaning entirely appropriate to the passage.

Corel, 64, 13: *la plus corel chose que vos aiez*, might very well find a place after *coreement* in Godefroy. It would be the French form of the familiar Provençal *coral:* "l'amor de son effan, car es la plus corals amors que sia."[2]

demere, 199, 45: *la Roche as Saisnes qui tant estoit forz que nule demere ne redoutoit*, is probably for *demore*, as the editor suggests, the idea being that the place was so strong that it feared no stay of any length of a besieging force.

effondrer, 202, 12: *li escu percié & effondré & deternchié*, seems to offer no difficulty. Godefroy gives *esfondrer* and numerous examples of its variant *effondrer;* cf. *Troie*, 15648: "Et le hauberc bien esfondré."

enz, 287, 17: *li huiz estoit levez si granz & fors & hauz que l'en n'i ooit deu tonant:* Sommer has substituted *hauz* for *enz* of the manuscript. Professor Jenkins[3] suggests the correct reading: we have here the well-known expression "fors & enz," "within and without." If *fors* were an adjective, it would be written *forz.*

entasche, 28,47, etc.: *& fiert entasche a destre & a senestre:* the phrase occurs at least twice in the *Moniage Guillaume:* "De vos poissons voel acater en taske," l. 1009;

"La gaite estoit sour la porte en l'estage,
Les cos oï qu'il ont feru en taske" [l. 6145 f.].

Chrétien de Troyes also uses the expression in *Charrete*, 6775 f.:

"Quanqu'avra el geu, tot en tasche[4]
Prandrai, ja n'an ferai relasche."

Cotgrave still gives: "Tasche=a taske. *En bloc et en tache.* Tag and rag, all together, one with another."

sessoie, 267, 43: *si fuioient aussi parmi la bataille come la quaille a l'esprevier quant il sessoie*, is put tentatively under *essaier* and defined: "faire épreuve de ses forces." The sense would be better served by reading *s'essore;* cf. Chrétien's lines in *Cligès*, 6440:

"Essorez fu ses espreviers,
Qu'a une aloete ot failli."

escooit, 52, 23: *& li rois li donoit congié . . . mais encois qu'il s'en alast li sembloit qu'il li voloit oster sa corone de sa teste, mais messires Gauwain ses niés li escooit & li metoit arriers en son chief: escooit<escorre*, Lat. EXCŬTERE="took it away (from him)."

[1] See Littré, *Crosser*, 2.

[2] *Breviari d'Amor*, l. 355, in Appel's *Chrest.*

[3] To Professor Jenkins is due likewise the correct interpretation of *vencheront forre* below, as well as suggestions elsewhere which are here acknowledged.

[4] Förster erroneously translates *Tasche* (=*poche*) and comments: "sonst in Altfr. nicht belegt."

Escoudre, "refl. *s'évanouir*" is given as a starred form to account for *s'esqueust*, 66, 2: *atant s'esqueust devant Blaise si qu'il ne sot qu'il fut devenuz;* and *s'escost*, 161, 3: *atant prent Merlin l'escrin & s'escost & s'esvanoïst si tost que nus ne sot onques a dire que il fu devenuz. S'esqueust* and *s'escost* are evidently from *s'escondre*, "to hide oneself." *Escost*[1] is the normal form of the past definite of *escondre*. On *esqueust*, cf. Förster's note on *queust* by the side of *cost*, *Cligès*, l. 1158. There seems to have been a tendency for the *o* before *n*+consonant to be treated as free. Forms of three distinct verbs are therefore entered under one heading in Sommer's Glossary, representing Latin *excurrere*, *excutere*, *excondere*.

escrien, 221, 19: *il ardoit un cierge au pié de son lit lez un escrien:* the editor suggests that *escrien* is for Modern French *écran*. It seems more probably the well-known variant of *escrin*,[2] frequently found in the manuscript. In Modern French the word means "coffret, étui à bijoux," but in OFr it was not necessarily diminutive. It was in an *escrin* that the Medusa was put to throw her into the river, and it seems to have been a common piece of furniture in the mediaeval house; cf. 158, 24; 157, 36; 137, 18, etc.; so that an *escrin* might very well have served as a screen, so that the light of the candle should not shine on the bed.

escu, 236, 31: *il me desfendirent que je n'ovrisse la porte a home ne qui i venist sanz lor escu:* the Glossary suggests that this might be for *eschiu*= "excuse, empêchement." But the context demands rather *sceu*, *su*. Cotgrave notes still "*sceu*, knowledge, . . . notice of." The initial *e* is due simply to carelessness.

fienge, 177, 30: *si tost com Messire Gauvain entra u gué por passer outre & li uns des deus de l'autre part li vient a l'encontre & li escrie que il se gart. & messires Gauvain hurte encontre lui si tost com il le voit venir qu'il ne redoute mal pas ne fienge.* The Glossary questions whether this *fienge* is a substantive, or the present subjunctive of *feindre*. There is no reason for a subjunctive here; and if it were a verb, there would be before it another *ne*. We might recognize in it a variant of *fange*=*bourbier; fagne* borrowed from the Walloon is given in the Dict. Gén. For *ie*=*a*, *ai*, cf. in this manuscript: *friente*=*frainte*,[3] 67, 3; *taigniez*=*tiegnez*, 187, 34.[4]

froiz, 323, 8: *cil les enchaucent qui en abatent de froiz & de pasmés a tel foison que* . . . The Glossary questions also whether we have here the perfect participal of *fraindre*, or the adjective *froid*. Undoubtedly it is the latter, as the combination of *pasmé* and *froid* (=*glacé de la mort*) is a common one; cf. *Troie*, l. 7165, *Freit e pasmé chieent a denz;* so ll. 8626, 20461.

liche, 124, 37: *avoit les elz en la teste autresi gros & noirs com est une liche:* Godefroy cites from *Renart*, B. XIII, 775: "Les euz out gros comme une

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Frz. Gram.*, 2d ed., p. 249.

[2] Cf. *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 38, 12, etc., *engien* for *engin*.

[3] Cf. Crêtien, *Yvain*, 481, "tel noise et tel fraint."

[4] Cf. *tiede*=*teide* (115, 2), *taide* (310, 7), MS *glieve*=*glaive* of the text (216, 33).

lische," and defines *lische* as the "femelle d'un chien de chasse." Cotgrave gives "*lyce*=a bitch, etc."

lisive, 198, 14: *& s'en vont totes u ru . . . de la fontaine . . . levent & pignent & trecent que autre lisive ni quistrent:* Meyer-Lübke[1] gives "*lissive" as the form Latin *lixiva* should have given, whereas by dissimilation we have *lessive*.

main, 150, 11: a *pucele* brings to Arthur the greeting of the *Sage Dame: dex vos saut* [*je salue*] *& vos & vostre compaignie toute & quanque vos amez*, etc. The king facetiously replies: *En cest salu que vos m'avez dit avez vos ja grant part*, etc., and the girl answers: *granz merciz, sire, de tant main ge mielz & vos avec*—a simple case of the reflexive of *aimer*. Similarly, *mein*, 187, 23: *& mielz m'ein ge traveillier que ge vos oceïsse*. Both this and the preceding example might be added to those cited by Godefroy of the reflexive of *aimer;* of *s'aimer à*, there is likewise an example in this manuscript, 83, 50: *la roine dist que mielz s'amoit ilec qu'en la cité*.

mien, 77, 15: *Gaudins, fait li rois conois ge bien car mien l'ai veu & bons chevaliers est il*, etc.: the editor suggests that for *mien* we should have *maint jor*. Possibly *mien* for *mein*<*mane*, "this morning."

samain, 149, 11: *i avoit degrez en tornoiant si que l'en pooit tout contremont aler tant que l'en avenist a sa main tout en somet:* one thinks that *a samain* must be for *ensement*=*ainsi*. Many variants of the word are noted by Godefroy: *ancement, ensament*, etc.

tor, 169, 35: *li cols descent desus la destre espaule si roidement que il li enbat l'espee jusque desoz le tor de l'os de l'espaule:* this use of *tor*=*tour* would seem to be sufficiently explained by Godefroy: "circonférence qui limite un corps ou un lieu circulaire," or it might be looked upon as used for *tournant*[2]="défaut de l'épaule": ". . . le fiert a descouvert ou tournant de la destre espaule."[3]

vencheront, 33, 1: *il n'est pas, fait Merlins, de cels qui toz jors gaitent l'orillier et se vantent as cheminees & dient qu'il vencheront forre, que avant que il revieigne fera il toute paor au plus gros roi de cels de l'ost:* this form is put tentatively in the Glossary under *vengier*, of which *venchier*[4] is the ordinary form in our manuscript. If *forre* had been recognized as the heathen king of Naples and written with a capital, the form would perhaps have found its place unquestioned under *vengier*. Chrétien in *Yvain* makes Kay say to the hero:

> "Apres mangier sanz remuër
> Va chascuns Noradin tuër,
> Et vos iroiz vangier Forré!"[5]

[1] *Hist. Frz. Gram.*, § 166; cf. §§ 133 and 228.

[2] Godefroy, X, 786.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 788.

[4] Cf. MS *juchiez* (250, 21), which is changed to *jugiez* in the text, and *granche* (94, 39), which like *venchier* is unnoted.

[5] 595 ff.

Of the remaining starred words no exact prototypes have been found: *anchese*, 195, 34: *la bouche anchese:* Godefroy cites a passage from the St. Graal as the single illustration of *anches* used as a substantive in the description of a person: "et fait un petit anches de la bouche." One thinks of *anché* (Littré) "recourbé comme un cimeterre," a derivative of *anche* (=*tuyau*), but the form *anches* is then difficult to explain. So far as the manuscript before us is concerned, *anches* might be for *anchois*, but the meaning then is questionable.

amenuisier, 180, 25: *quant ce vint un poi apres la mienuit que li jal comencierent a amenuisier:* the word is entered in the Glossary under *amenuisier*= "to diminish," but in the footnote the suggestion is made that it may be from the same root as *menestrier*. It occurs three times, each time written in the same way and used in the same connection. Professor Jenkins suggests that it may be connected with *menuier*, "cor qui fait entendre un cri aigu et retentissant."

berrone, 78, 48: *tant qu'il vint a Clarance la cite . . . & mist son siege a la porte berrone qui estoit la maistre porte de la vile:* to students of history the significance of the word *berrone* is unimportant compared with the appearance here repeatedly (pp. 1, 9, 18, 26, etc.), as well as in the earlier *Estoire de Merlin*[1] of the city of Clarence, not far from the plains of Salisbury and the river Severn, and of a Duke of Clarence, long before Lionel,[2] son of Edward III, came into the "novel dignity of Duke of Clarence"[3] in 1362. If the explanation of the title as being transmitted to Lionel by his mother, Philippine de Hainaut, who was duchess of that Clarence in the Morea, so well known at that time through its mint,[4] be rejected, it would still need to be explained how Clare became Clarence, and how the Irish-English Earl of Clare became the French-English Duke of Clarence, for in no ordinary acceptation of terms can Clarence be said to be "a later form of Clare."[5] It is near the present town of Clare that there are still found the "remains of a great castle of the mighty family" of Clare,[6] the same town which the discredited sixteenth-century historian, Polydore Virgil, no more at a loss than the modern historian to explain the title, calls Clarentia "pagus nobilis comitatus Suthfolchiae ad fines Essexiae comitatus."[7]

besengnis, 67, 24: *le lion d'or en l'escu mi parti le champ d'argent & de synople & une bende blanche de besengnis au lion rampant corone:* this description of the escutcheon of Gauvain may be compared with that given later, 307, 12: *il porte un escu mi parti d'or & d'azur a un lion rampant corone de sinople a une bende blanche de bellic. Bellic* is here undoubtedly by confusion

[1] *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, II, 189, 398 f.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, I, xxvi.

[3] Tout, *Political Hist. of England*, III, 428.

[4] Cf. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, pp. 312 ff.

[5] *Ency. Brit.*

[6] Mackenzie, *Castles of England*, I, 275.

[7] Ed. 1670, pp. 391 f. Sommer's *Index of Names and Places* to the seven volumes of the Arthurian Romances, 1916, has just been received. On p. 17, n. 6, the suggestion is made that *berrone* is for *bertone*.

for *bellif, beslif;* "de beslif=obliquement," according to the editor of *Troie*, who refers to the lines:[1]

"Pitagoras, mien esciënt
Aveit unes armes d'argent
O une bende de besli."

We would see therefore in *besengnis* a synonym of *beslif* and derive it from *bes* (=*biais*)+the verbal substantive of *sengnier*, to mark, and *if*=+flexional *s*.

braz, 308, 22: *& se ne fussent li clo*[*u*] *dont li fust estoient cloé tuit cheïssent par pieces. mais li braz de la boucle les tenoit:* it looks as if we had here the English word *brad*, a synonym of *clou*.

bret, 170, 41: *& covendra qui ces trois aventures trairont* [MS *traira*] *a fin qu'il soient troi dont li uns sera filz d'empereor & d'empereriz. & li autre dui soient bret & parent*, etc.: the editor gives "bret—? Breton, Briton." In this case we should have expected the plural *breton* in the manuscript.

ruperoi, 314, 15: *& messires Gauvain s'en vait tant que il vient a un ruperoi molt grant;* 314, 23: *mais ilec ou li troi jaiant conversoient avoit molt biau plain, car li bois & li ruperoiz i defailloit:* the Glossary reads: "*ruperoi*—? =*rocheroi* (formation analogique avec *ronceroi*, *roseroi*, etc.)=rocher ou place couvert [*sic*] de rochers." The words *arbroie*, feminine (119, 32), and *ronceroi*, masculine (217, 30), are used in this manuscript. This suffix, masculine <*-etum*, feminine <*-eta*, designates generally a field of the tree or plant indicated by the theme. It seems probable that we have here such a derivative of the word in du Cange: "Ruper, Ligni genus," etc., and that this word in its turn was an incorrect but quite explicable latinization of the OFr *rovre*, white oak.

To complete the presentation of words found difficult of explanation by Sommer, we should mention two others defined in the Glossary with a question mark. The first, *esplumeor* (272, 27), seems sufficiently elucidated by the citations given by Godefroy under this word and *emplumeor*. The other is not quite so simple: 103, 33: *& il demanda ou il estoit & l'en* [*li*] *dist au cor de la bataille devers les estans.*[2] The Glossary gives: "*estans, estanc* s.m.=étang?" It seems to me that the form is rather a manuscript abbreviation, intentional or unintentional, of *estandarz*, a word often used in the manuscript, appropriate here and in consonance with its use elsewhere.

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[1] 7918 ff. These same lines are cited by the *Dict. Gén.* as the earliest example of the use of "*bélif et bélic. . . .* Couleur rouge (syn. *gueules*)." The confusion was sanctioned perhaps by Furetière, for Cotgrave gives only "*belic*, a kind of red, or gueules, in Blazon." Godefroy I and VIII, p. 313, besides *beslif* and variants, ="de travers," gives both *belif* and *belic* with the same definition, "couleur rouge," etc., but curiously enough, under *belic* there is a citation from the Grenoble manuscripts of Arthur, "une bende blance de bellic," where surely we have our word *beslif*, as a *bende* could not well be white and at the same time red. And, also, under *belif* the earlier illustration is from Lancelot, "une bende de bellif toute vermeille," where the case is the same.

[2] [Probably *devers les estaus* (sg. *estal*). The *estal* (or *estaus*) was the military base; cf. Wace's *Brut: guerpir lur funt tuz lur estaus* (in Godefroy, III, 592). As to the interesting word *esplumeör*, reference should be made to the discussion of Brugger, "L'Enserrement Merlin," *Ztschr. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXI[1], 245–70.—EDS.]

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A RUSSIAN INFLUENCE ON STEVENSON

Stevenson's *Markheim* is a Dostoevski's *Crime and Punishment* on a greatly reduced scale, a cameo version of a colossal frieze. Both are stories beginning with the murder of a pawnbroker and ending, after an experience of highly crowded mental life, with the self-surrender of the murderer to the police. When we compare the short story and the novel, we perceive at once the literary relationship between the two both in method and in theme.

The fact, however, seems not to have been recognized. Graham Balfour's account of the composition of *Markheim* is as follows:

> A subject much in his thoughts at this time was the duality of man's nature and the alternation of good and evil; and he was for a long while casting about for a story to embody this central idea. Out of this frame of mind had come the sombre imagination of 'Markheim,' but that was not what he required. The true story still delayed, till suddenly one night he had a dream. He awoke, and found himself in possession of two, or rather three, of the scenes in the *Strange Story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.*[1]

Markheim was written in 1884 to be published that year, but finally appeared in Unwin's *Christmas Annual* in 1885. *Dr. Jekyll* was published in January, 1886.

On March 1, 1886, John Addington Symonds wrote to Stevenson about *Dr. Jekyll.* His criticism of the ending of that work is interesting in connection with the endings of *Markheim* and of *Crime and Punishment:*

[1] *The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson* (London, 1901), II, 12.

The suicide end of Dr. Jekyll is too commonplace. Dr. Jekyll ought to have given Mr. Hyde up to justice. This would have vindicated the sense of human dignity which is so horribly outraged in your book.[1]

At about the same time, perhaps in the same letter, Symonds referred to his own enjoyment of *Crime and Punishment.* This reference called forth the following comment from Stevenson in a letter written to Symonds in the spring of 1886:

Raskolnikoff is easily the greatest book I have read in ten years; I am glad you took to it. Many find it dull: Henry James could not finish it: all I can say is, it nearly finished me. It was like having an illness. James did not care for it because the character of Raskolnikoff was not objective; and at that I divined a great gulf between us, and, on further reflection, the existence of a certain impotence in many minds of to-day, which prevents them from living *in* a book or a character, and keeps them standing afar off, spectators of a puppet show. To such I suppose the book may seem empty in the center; to the others it is a room, a house of life, into which they themselves enter, and are tortured and purified. The Juge d'Instruction I thought a wonderful, weird, touching, ingenious creation: the drunken father, and Sonia, and the student friend, and the uncircumscribed, protoplasmic humanity of Raskolnikoff, all upon a level that filled me with wonder: the execution also, superb in places. Another has been translated—*Humiliés et Offensés.* It is even more incoherent than *Le Crime et le Châtiment,* but breathes much of the same lovely goodness, and has passages of power.[2]

The following parallels will show in part how vividly the mechanical details of *Crime and Punishment* impressed themselves upon Stevenson.

Le Crime et le Châtiment[3]	*Markheim*[4]
Au bout d'un moment, la porte s'entre-bâilla, et, par l'étroite ouverture, la maîtresse du logis examina l'arrivant avec une évidente défiance; ses petits yeux apparaissaient seuls	Here he held up the candle, so that the light fell strongly on his visitor. . . . Markheim had but just entered from the daylight streets, and his

[1] H. F. Brown, *John Addington Symonds* (London, 2d ed., 1903), pp. 407–8. Brown gives only excerpts from the letter.

[2] S. Colvin, *Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson* (New York, 1911), II, 323. Stevenson evidently had read *Crime and Punishment* in the French translation by Derély (Paris, 1884). The first English version appeared in 1886.

[3] The quotations are from the translation mentioned in the preceding note. With the exception of the last quotation, which is from the second volume, all are from the first volume.

[4] The quotations are from *The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson,* Vol. VIII (= *Tales and Fantasies,* Vol. III), Edinburgh, 1895.

Le Crime et le Châtiment

comme des points lumineux dans l'obscurité. . . . Debout devant lui, la vieille se taisait et l'interrogeait du regard. C'était une femme de soixante ans, petite et maigre, avec un petit nez pointu et des yeux pétillants de méchanceté. . . .

Il est probable que le jeune homme la regarda d'un air singulier, car ses yeux reprirent brusquement leur expression de défiance [p. 6].

Tandis qu'Aléna Ivanovna s'efforçait de défaire le petit paquet, elle s'était approchée de la lumière (toutes ses fenêtres étaient fermées, malgré l'étouffante chaleur); dans cette position, elle tournait le dos à Raskolnikoff, et durant quelques secondes elle ne s'occupa plus du tout de lui. . . . Une terrible faiblesse envahissait ses membres; lui-même sentait que d'instant en instant ils s'engourdissaient davantage. Il craignait que ses doigts ne laissassent échapper la hache . . . tout à coup la tête commença à lui tourner.

—Mais qu'est-ce qu'il a donc fourré là dedans? s'écria avec colère Aléna Ivanovna, et elle fit un mouvement dans la direction de Raskolnikoff.

Il n'y avait plus un instant à perdre. Il retira la hache de dessous son paletot, l'éleva en l'air en la tenant des deux mains et, par un geste mou, presque machinalement, car il n'avait plus de forces, la laissa retomber sur la tête de la vieille. . . .

Elle poussa à peine un faible cri et soudain s'affaissa sur le parquet [p. 96].

Markheim

eyes had not yet grown familiar with the mingled shine and darkness in the shop. At these pointed words, and before the near presence of the flame, he blinked painfully and looked aside [p. 219].

The dealer stooped once more, this time to replace the glass upon the shelf, his thin blond hair falling over his eyes as he did so. Markheim moved a little nearer, with one hand in the pocket of his greatcoat; he drew himself up and filled his lungs; at the same time many different emotions were depicted together on his face—terror, horror, and resolve, fascination, and a physical repulsion; and through a haggard lift of his upper lip his teeth looked out.

"This, perhaps, may suit," observed the dealer: and then, as he began to re-arise, Markheim bounded from behind upon his victim. The long, skewer-like dagger flashed and fell. The dealer struggled like a hen, striking his temple on the shelf, and then tumbled on the floor in a heap [p. 223].

Le Crime et le Châtiment	*Markheim*
Une mare de sang s'était formée sur le parquet [p. 98].	This bundle of old clothes and pool of blood began to find eloquent voices [p. 224].
Son impatience était extrême, il saisit les clefs et se remit à la besogne. Mais ses tentatives pour ouvrir la commode restaient infructueuses, ce qu'il fallait attribuer moins encore au tremblement de ses mains qu'à ses méprises continuelles; il voyait, par exemple, que telle clef n'allait pas à la serrure, et il s'obstinait cependant à l'y faire entrer [pp. 98–99].	A qualm came over him, a breath of nausea, a sudden weakness of the joints, which he must instantly resist and conquer [p. 229]. (He finds the keys, and after going upstairs tries the lock of a cabinet) [pp. 230–234].
Des pas se faisaient entendre dans la chambre où gisait la vieille [p. 100].	Then the passage of a lad's feet, heavily running on the pavement, broke in upon these smaller voices [p. 223–224].
Il tira le verrou et, après avoir ouvert la porte, se mit aux écoutes sur l'escalier. Il prêta longtemps l'oreille. En bas, probablement sous la porte cochère, deux voix bruyantes échangeaient des injures. "Qu'est-ce que c'est que ces gens-là?" Il attendit patiemment. Enfin les vociférations cessèrent de se faire entendre: les deux braillards étaient partis chacun de son côté. Déjà le jeune homme allait sortir quand, à l'étage au dessous, une porte s'ouvrit avec fracas sur l'escalier et quelqu'un se mit à descendre en fredonnant un air. "Qu'est-ce qu'ils ont donc tous à faire tant de bruit?" pensa-t-il, et, refermant de nouveau la porte sur lui, il attendit encore. Finalement le silence se rétablit; mais au	Suddenly, from the street outside, a very jovial gentleman began to beat with a staff on the shop-door, accompanying his blows with shouts and railleries in which the dealer was continually called upon by name. . . . And presently, the jovial gentleman desisted from his knocking and departed [pp. 227–28].

Le Crime et le Châtiment	*Markheim*
moment où Raskolnikoff s'apprêtait à descendre, son oreille perçut tout à coup un nouveau bruit. C'étaient des pas encore fort éloignés qui résonnaient sur les premières marches de l'escalier; toutefois, il n'eut pas plus tôt commencé à les entendre qu'il devina immédiatement la verité; on se rendait sans aucun doute *ici*, au quatrième étage, chez la vieille. . . . L'inconnu rompit le silence. —Est-ce qu'elles dorment, ou quelqu'un les a-t-il étranglées? Trois fois maudites créatures! [pp. 103–4].	
Debout, non loin de la porte, Sonia, pâle comme la mort, le considérait d'un air étrange. Il s'arrêta en face d'elle. La jeune fille frappa ses mains l'une contre l'autre; sa physionomie exprimait le plus affreux désespoir. A cette vue, Raskolnikoff sourit, mais de quel sourire! Un instant après, il rentrait au bureau de police. . . . Le jeune homme repoussa du geste le verre qui lui était présenté, et, d'une voix basse, mais distincte, il fit, en s'interrompant à plusieurs reprises, la déclaration suivante: *C'est moi qui ai assassiné à coups de hache, pour les voler, la vieille prêteuse sur gages et sa sœur Élisabeth* [pp. 285–86].	And then the bell once more broke out into impatient clamour. He confronted the maid upon the threshold with something like a smile. "You had better go for the police," said he: "I have killed your master" [p. 243].

Many more parallels might be added to show that though Stevenson altered with great skill the method of expressing the mental emotions of the murderer, the fundamental developments were similar. In both short story and novel the incitement and the indication of mental states are elaborated by a wealth of seemingly trivial physical impressions of sight, sound, and so on, with the result that

an effect of an overwhelming mental existence is given, a feeling of tremendously crowded action, producing by its very abundance the idea of great progress in the narrative, together with eager suspense as to the outcome and a sense of the reality and fulness of the darker life. Hallucinations, memories of youth, sweep into the mind of the reader, each clear in itself, but combining with the others in what seems at first a welter of incoherent confusion. Out of the turmoil emerges in each case an influence that leads the criminal to the climax of surrender to justice. The strange visitant of Markheim converses on the one hand; and on the other, Sonia and Porfiry Petrovitch (the Juge d'Instruction) in their several ways lead and force. In the two cases a criminal, by no means wholly bad but of a dual nature, is induced to change his course of life by something like moral regeneration.

In view of Stevenson's acquaintance with *Crime and Punishment*, the likeness of *Markheim* to the Russian novel is so great as to make it clear that the titanic Dostoevski should be added to the list of the literary forbears of the "little romanticist."

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THE ATTITUDE OF EMINENT ENGLISHMEN AND AMERICANS TOWARD *WERTER*

During the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, considerable attention was given to *Werter* by several eminent Englishmen and Americans. One of the first to refer to the book was William Taylor of Norwich. He is said to have been the first Englishman of letters to read Goethe in the original,[1] and he was, before the appearance of Carlyle, the chief expositor of German literature in England.[2] For several years he was a contributor to the leading magazines, and most of his criticisms were afterward collected and published in his *Historic Survey of German Poetry* (1830). Taylor confessed that he knew very little of Goethe's life; and the character of some of his reviews indicates that his knowledge of the general background of Goethe's writings was limited. He comments thus on *Werter*, after giving a very brief outline of the story: "The beauty and eloquence of the style, the progressive interest, and deep pathos of the story place this novel at the head of all the German romances. It has been translated into English, but not very happily."[3] Speaking of *Wilhelm Meister*, he says: "In general, however, this novel is written in a prose far inferior to that of *Werter's Sufferings* in clearness, elegance, picturesque beauty or pathetic stimulation."[4]

While Southey did not make particular comment on Goethe's novel, he was inspired by the book to write the following sonnet:

> What though no sculptured monument proclaim
> Thy fate—yet, Albert, in my breast I bear
> Inshrined the sad remembrance: yet thy name
> Will fill my throbbing bosom. When despair,
> The child of murdered hope, fed in thy heart,
> Loved, honoured friend, I saw thee sink forlorn,

[1] Cf. Robberds, *Memoirs of William Taylor of Norwich*, II, 573.

[2] Herzfeld, *William Taylor of Norwich. Eine Studie über den Einfluss der neueren deutschen Literatur in England.*

[3] *Historic Survey of German Poetry*, III, 242–43.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, 349.

Pierced to the soul by cold neglect's keen dart,
And penury's hard ills, and pitying scorn,
And the dark spectre of departed joy,
Inhuman memory. Often on thy grave
Love I the solitary hour to employ
Thinking on other days; and heave the sigh
Responsive, when I mark the high grass wave
Sad sounding as the cold breeze rustles by.[1]

In dealing altogether with Albert, this sonnet is distinctly different from all the other English poems that the novel called forth.[2] It seems probable that the sonnet was written during Southey's career at Westminster School from 1787 to 1792, for in reviewing that period in a letter to his friend Townshend in June, 1816, he says: "I left Westminster in a perilous state—a heart full of Rousseau and *Werter*, and my religious principles shaken by Gibbon."[3] His enthusiasm for *Werter* was not long-lived. In a letter of March, 1799, he writes: "Once, indeed, I had a mimosa sensibility, but it has long ago been routed out. Five years ago I counteracted Rousseau by dieting upon Godwin and Epictetus; they did some good, but time has done more. I have a dislike to all strong emotion, and avoid whatever could excite it. A book like *Werter* gives me now unmingled pain. In my own writings, you may observe, I dwell rather upon what affects than what agitates."[4] In a letter to James White, dated November 11, 1814, he writes: "When I was about eighteen, I made Epictetus literally my manual for some twelve months, and by that wholesome course of stoicism counteracted the mischief which I might else have incurred from a passionate admiration of *Werter* and Rousseau."[5]

Whether Shelley was especially interested in *Werter* is an open question.[6] According to Hogg, he was fascinated by the book, and was of the opinion that a continuation or amplification of the narrative was demanded in order to place Albert in a more favorable

[1] *Poems by Robert Southey*, Boston, 1799, p. 76.

[2] Cf. "English and American Imitations of Goethe's *Werter*," *Modern Philology*, XIV, No. 4 (August, 1916). This sonnet is to be classed with those there listed.

[3] *Life and Correspondence*, IV, 186. In his *Einfluss der deutschen Literatur auf die Englische* (pp. 36–37), Margraf points out that Southey devoured *Werter* during his school days.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, 13.

[5] *Ibid.*, IV, 85–86.

[6] For the influence of *Werter* upon Shelley's *Alastor*, cf. Immelmann, *Ztsch. f. vergleich. Literaturgesch.*, N.F., XVII, 431.

light.[1] Hogg tells us that Shelley, as a youth, made frequent attempts to write novels, and that he was accustomed to submit "choice passages" to him. He further states that he found "one morsel among Shelley's papers which relates to the amplification of *Werter*, and in which Albert is supposed to be doing the right thing in the right way." This "morsel" was published in Hogg's *Life of Shelley* (1858) with the title, "Fragment of a Novel."[2] It is a letter in which Albert is made to rebuke Werter for his intention to commit suicide and for his ardent passion. According to Rossetti[3] and Dowden,[4] this is not a piece of fiction, but a letter of Shelley's addressed to Hogg in which he remonstrates with the latter for having made advances to Shelley's wife, Harriet. Dowden believes that Hogg deliberately transformed the letter into a "Fragment of a Novel" in order to pervert the facts, and relates that for the sake of Harriet's happiness she and Shelley left Hogg at York in 1811 and moved to Keswick. "It was a situation worthy of the *Sorrows of Werter*. Shelley, with his professed superiority to passion, seemed to Hogg as cold and insensible as Goethe's Albert; Harriet had all the grace and freshness of a Lotte. What less could the forsaken Werter do than dispatch letter after letter in pursuit of his friends, announcing that he would have Harriet's forgiveness or would blow his brains out at her feet."

Byron, whose interest in Goethe was aroused by an acquaintance with Madame de Staël's *Allemagne*,[5] knew *Werter* probably through the medium of one of the English translations. He never obtained a reading knowledge of German. Speaking of Goethe, Schiller, and Wieland, he says: "I only know them through the medium of English, French, and Italian translations. Of the real language I know absolutely nothing—except oaths, learned from postilions and officers in a squabble, etc."[6] He undoubtedly felt kinship with the author of such works as *Faust* and *Werter;* but only once does he seem to have expressed his opinion of the novel. To a German translation of *Manfred* which appeared in 1820 there was appended a criticism by Goethe, in which it is stated "that in English poetry great genius, universal power, a feeling of profundity, with sufficient tenderness

[1] *Life of Shelley*, II, 488.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, 490–97.
[3] *Memoirs of Percy B. Shelley*, p. 33.
[4] *Life of Shelley*, I, 194.
[5] Margraf, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[6] *Letters and Journals*, V, 171.

and force, are to be found; but that altogether these do not constitute poets, etc." To this Byron took exception. In the dedication to Goethe of the drama *Marino Faliero*, which he sent to Murray in October, 1820, he quotes a part of Goethe's criticism, and remarks:

It is, moreover, asserted that "the predominant character of the whole body of the present English poetry is a disgust and contempt for life." But I rather suspect that, by one single work of prose, you yourself have excited a greater contempt for life than all the English volumes of poesy that ever were written. Madame de Staël says that "*Werter* has occasioned more suicides than the most beautiful woman"; and I really believe that he has put more individuals out of this world than Napoleon himself, except in the way of his profession.[1]

Thomas Carlyle's interest in German literature is well known.[2] He was the first to present a really appreciative account of German letters to the English public. That he was displeased with the first English version of *Werter* appears from the preface to his translation of *Wilhelm Meister*, written in 1824:

To such as know him by the faint and garbled version of his *Werter*, Goethe figures as a sort of poetic Heraclitus; some woe-begone hypochondriac, whose eyes are overflowing with perpetual tears, whose long life has been spent in melting into ecstacy at the sight of waterfalls, and clouds, and the moral sublime, or dissolving into hysterical wailings over hapless love and the miseries of human life. They are not aware that Goethe smiles at this performance of his youth.

In the introduction to his *German Romance* (1827), Carlyle includes a long sketch of Goethe's life and works, and pays considerable attention to *Werter*. He writes:

His *Sorrows of Werter* rose like a literary meteor on the world, and carried his name on its blazing wings, not only over Germany, but into the remotest corners of Europe. . . . . *Werter* appeared to seize the hearts of men in all quarters of the world, and to utter for them the word which they had been waiting to hear. As usually happens, too, this same word once uttered was soon abundantly repeated, spoken in all dialects, and chanted through all the notes of the gamut, till at length the sound of it had grown a weariness rather than a pleasure.

Carlyle then proceeds with a discussion of the general reception of the book. He believed that *Werter* stood prominent among the causes,

[1] *Letters and Journals*, IV, 356.

[2] Cf. Streuli, *Thomas Carlyle als Vermittler deutscher Litt. u. deutschen Geistes*. Cf. also Kraeger, "Carlyle's Stellung zur deutschen Sprache u. Litt.," *Anglia*, XXII, 145–342.

or, at the very least, among the signals, of a great change in modern literature, because it attempted for the first time

the more accurate delineation of a class of feelings deeply important to modern minds, but for which our elder poetry offered no exponent, and perhaps could offer none, because they are feelings that arise from passion incapable of being converted into action, and belong chiefly to an age as indolent, cultivated, and unbelieving as our own. This, notwithstanding the dash of falsehood which may exist in *Werter* itself, and the boundless delirium of extravagance which it called forth in others, is a high praise which cannot justly be denied it.

In 1828 Carlyle published an article on Goethe in the *Foreign Review*.[1] In this he states that *Werter* was not only representative of Goethe's early period, but that it illustrated both the writer and the public he was writing for. He believes that prior to the appearance of *Werter* the literature of Germany and of other countries had but partially awakened from a long torpor. Literature dwelt in a remote, conventional world, and consequently the public awaited some bolder impulse, some poet who should speak to them "from the heart to the heart." Thus Goethe, through *Werter*, became the spokesman of his generation. *Werter* is the

cry of that dim, rooted pain under which all thoughtful men of a certain age were languishing. It utters a complaint, and all Europe responds; and while it prescribes no remedy, the very utterance of this complaint is ardently grasped at. . . . . If Byron's life-weariness, his moody and melancholy and mad stormful indignation, borne on the tones of a wild and quite artless melody, could pierce so deep into many a British heart, now that the matter is no longer new—is indeed old and trite—we may judge with what vehement acceptance this *Werter* must have been welcomed, coming as it did like a voice from unknown regions; the first thrilling peal of that impassioned dirge, which, in country after country, men's ears have listened to, till they were deaf to all else. For *Werter*, infusing itself into the core and whole spirit of literature, gave birth to a race of sentimentalists, who have raged and wailed in every part of the world, till better light dawned for them, or, at most, exhausted Nature laid herself to sleep, and it was discovered that lamenting was an unproductive labour.

Carlyle quotes the whole of Werter's letter of May 22,[2] as a specimen of the philosophy which reigns in the book, and closes his discussion by stating:

The writing of *Werter*, it would seem, indicating so gloomy, almost desperate a state of mind in the author, was at the same time a symptom,

[1] II, 80–127. Cf. especially pp. 90–95. [2] Book I, Cotta ed., p. 18.

indeed a cause, of his now having got delivered from such melancholy. Far from recommending suicide to others, as *Werter* has often been accused of doing, it was the first proof that Goethe himself had abandoned these "hypochondriacal crotchets": the imaginary Sorrows had helped to free him from many real ones.

De Quincey, who learned German early in life, had some knowledge of *Werter*.[1] In a review of Carlyle's translation of *Wilhelm Meister*, contributed to the *London Magazine* in 1824,[2] he not only criticized Carlyle's work, but also showed scant appreciation of Goethe. In his biography of Goethe, written for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1837 or earlier,[3] his estimate is higher. He now calls all of Goethe's works philosophic "by way of expressing their main characteristics in being written to serve a preconceived purpose, or to embody some peculiar view of life, or some aspects of philosophical truth." In a few lines he describes the publication of *Werter*, and in summing up Goethe's literary reputation he states: "It is a fact that, in the opinion of some amongst the acknowledged leaders of our literature for the last twenty-five years, *Werter* was superior to all which followed it, and for mere power was the paramount work of Goethe. For ourselves, we must acknowledge our assent upon the whole to this verdict." The fact, however, that De Quincey does not attempt any analysis of *Werter*, though he does analyze Goethe's other works, leads one to believe that he was not well acquainted with it. Dunn states that De Quincey wrote this biography from slight and often second-hand knowledge, and that he had read *Wilhelm Meister*, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, and probably *Werter*.[4]

Although William Hazlitt does not seem to have had much general interest in German literature, his appreciation of Goethe's novel is expressed in his essay "Why the Heroes of Romances Are Insipid."[5] Hazlitt cites Werter as a type of the heroes of the philosophical school of romance, and says:

Instead of being commonplace and insipid, they are one violent and startling paradox from beginning to end. They run atilt at all established

[1] W. A. Dunn, *Thomas De Quincey's Relation to German Literature and Philosophy.*
[2] X, 192.
[3] Reprinted in the *Collected Writings of De Quincey*, edited by Masson, IV, 395–421.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 54.
[5] In *Sketches and Essays* (collected and published by his son in 1839), p. 273.

usages and prejudices, and overset all the existing order of society. There is plenty of interest here; and, instead of complaining of a calm, we are borne along by a hurricane of passion and eloquence, certainly without anything of "temperance that may give it smoothness."

Bulwer-Lytton states in his *Autobiography* that his mother at the age of twenty-two had become acquainted with a Mr. Rawlins, who "had been in the land of Goethe, whose first romance was then to the youth of Europe what *Childe Harold* was afterwards. He knew the supposed original of that wondrous tale of sentiment and sorrow, which my mother in some of her prettiest drawings had illustrated."[1] It is likely, then, that Bulwer made early acquaintance with *Werter*. He was perhaps more influenced by it than by any other German work. His first novel, *Falkland*, published in 1827, shows in both form and content that he had chosen *Werter* as his model.[2] In the preface to the edition of *Pelham* published in 1835 he refers to *Falkland* as follows: "The effect which the composition of that work produced upon my mind was exactly similar to that which (if I may quote so illustrious an example) Goethe informs us the writing of *Werter* produced upon his own. I had rid my bosom of its 'perilous stuff'—I had confessed my sins and was absolved. I could return to real life and its wholesome objects."

Bulwer's fullest expression concerning *Werter* is found in his *Life of Schiller*, published in 1844. In this he reviews briefly the development of German literature previous to the appearance of Schiller's *Räuber*, and in discussing Goethe he states:

> In his *Werter* he concentrates the history of an epoch in his country, the epoch of Rousseau Mania. But though the *Nouvelle Héloise* is incontestably the origin of *Werter*, those who regard it as a mere copy do it miserable injustice. There is more rhetorical eloquence in one page of the *Nouvelle Héloise* than in the whole of *Werter*—but there is more nature in one page of *Werter* than in the whole of the *Nouvelle Héloise*. In this, the warmest and most actual of all Goethe's novels—if once overrated, now so unjustly depreciated, which he did right to regret for its moral, which he did wrong to disparage as a proof of his genius—lies the germ of much that, in fiction, its author's riper intellect matured. Here we see that association of homeliness and grandeur which his enemies have called the "Adornment of

[1] *The Life, Letters and Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer*, etc., by his son, I, 58.

[2] Cf. Goldhahn, "Über die Einwirkung des Goetheschen *Werthers* u. *Wilhelm Meister* auf die Entwicklung Edward Bulwers," *Anglia*, XVI, 267–91.

Commonplace." What Englishman, with his fastidious classical taste, has not ridiculed the contrast of the hero in the clouds, and the heroine cutting bread and butter—of the solemnity of deliberate suicide, and the exact description of the top-boots and blue coat in which the unhappy man rushed to the dread unknown? But, considered by a higher art than we learn at college, it is this very homeliness of detail that gives truth to the romance.[1]

Bulwer discovered, not only in *Werter*, but also in many of Goethe's other writings, "the inclination to describe, not so much the beautiful nobleness, as the diseased infirmity, of an intellectual character," and in *Werter* and *Clavigo* particularly he saw "an exhibition of man's weakness apart from man's interests."

Other works of Bulwer contain scattered references to *Werter*. In his novel *Alice*,[2] for instance, he writes:

> Meanwhile it is a consolation to know that nothing really immoral is ever permanently popular, or ever, therefore, long deleterious; what is dangerous in a work of genius cures itself in a few years. We can now read *Werter* and instruct our hearts by its exhibition of weakness and passion—our tastes by its exquisite and unrivalled simplicity of construction and detail, without any fear that we shall shoot ourselves in top-boots.

Again, in 1862, he refers to the novel in his *Miscellanies*:[3] "I doubt whether even the *Werter* of Goethe or the *Nouvelle Héloise* of Rousseau would have been written if *Clarissa Harlowe* had not laid the train of thought that led to their composition."

Thackeray's acquaintance with *Werter* has become universally known through his little "bread and butter" poem. He visited Weimar in the summer of 1830, and became intimate with Goethe.[4] In his letter to Lewes in 1855, describing his recollections of this visit,[5] he states that during his hours spent with Goethe they "read over endless novels in French, English, and German." It was then, perhaps, that he became familiar with Goethe's first novel.

Although Thackeray said little concerning *Werter*, the character of his poem and of his incidental references to the book show that he was amused by it. Thus in his *Yellowplush Papers*, published in 1837, he refers to the *Sorrows of MacWhirter* as one of those "melan-

[1] *Miscellaneous Prose Works*, Harper ed., New York, 1868, II, 353.

[2] Harper ed., Philadelphia, 1874, II, 28. [3] II, 332.

[4] Cf. Vulpius, "Thackeray in Weimar" (trans. by Herbert Schurz), *Century*, XXXI (1897), 920.

[5] Lewes, *Life of Goethe*, p. 560.

choly stoary books."[1] In the "Story of Mary Ancel" in the *Paris Sketch Book* (1840), the executioner, Gregoire, a man of the lowest station of society, is continually reading the *Sorrows of Werter*, that "sublime performance." "When a man is in love," Thackeray writes, "his taste is not very refined, any maudlin trash of prose or verse appearing sublime to him, provided it corresponds, in some degree, with his own situation."[2]

Thackeray's comical poem "Sorrows of Werter" seems to have been written during his visit to America in 1852–53. He spent several months in this country in the winter and spring, lecturing in some of the eastern and southern cities. The poem appeared first in the *Southern Literary Messenger*[3] in November, 1853, with this comment:

> The following characteristic verses of Thackeray's have been lying for some months in a portfolio of literary autographs in our possession. They were written by him one morning last spring at our editorial table, during a call he made upon us, and they have afforded amusement to many friends who have read them in MS. It is curious to see how briefly and comically the satirist tells the sentimental story of the *Sorrows of Werter*.

The poem was reprinted in December of the same year in *Littell's Living Age*[4] and in the *Literary World*.[5] It was published in Thackeray's *Miscellanies* in 1855.

George Henry Lewes's biography of Goethe, published in 1855, is epoch-making in the history of *Werter* criticism in England. Lewes gives a detailed treatment of Goethe's Wetzlar period, of the origin of *Werter*, and of the novel as a literary production. He praises it in the following terms:

> *Werter* is not much read nowadays, especially in England, where it labours under the double disadvantage of a bad name and an execrable translation. Yet it is well worth reading in the original, where it will be found very unlike the notion of it current among us. I remember reading it many years ago in the execrable English version with astonishment and contempt; this contempt remained, until accidentally falling in with a Spanish translation, the exquisite beauty of the pictures changed my feeling into admiration, and Goethe's own wonderful prose afterwards fixed that admiration forever. It is a masterpiece of style; we may look through German literature in vain for such clear sunny pictures, fulness of life, and

[1] Cf. *The Amours of Mr. Deuceace*, Harper ed., chaps. v and vii, pp. 301–11.

[2] Cf. *The Paris Sketch Book*, Harper ed., I, 122, 124, 126, 133.

[3] XIX, 709. [4] XXXIX, 642. [5] XIII, 313.

delicately managed simplicity. Its style is one continuous strain of music, which, restrained within the limits of prose, fulfills all the conditions of poetry; dulcet as the sound of falling waters, and as full of sweet melancholy as an autumnal eve.[1]

Interesting minor references to *Werter* appear in Crabbe, Peacock, and Borrow. Crabbe shows the fame of the book as early as 1807 in the *Paris Register*. In describing a cottage in the country, he writes:

> Fair prints along the paper'd walls are spread;
> There, Werter sees the sportive children fed,
> And Charlotte here bewails her lover dead.[2]

Peacock mentions the book in his *Nightmare Abbey*, published in 1818. In this the hero, Scythrop, a sentimental youth, fond of solitude, is accustomed "to take his evening seat on a fallen fragment of mossy stone with his back resting against the ruined wall . . . . and the *Sorrows of Werter* in his hand."[3] Borrow refers to the novel in his autobiographical story *Lavengro*, written in 1851. To the Scholar of Norwich (William Taylor) he attributes the words:

> Werter is a fictitious character, and by no means a felicitous one; I am no admirer either of Werter or his author. But I should say that, if there ever was a Werter in Germany, he did not smoke. Werter, as you very justly observe, was a poor creature.

Later, the Publisher is made to remark: "Goethe is a drug; his *Sorrows* are a drug."[4]

In America one finds a few scattered references to *Werter* by people of note. During the last decade of the eighteenth century the popularity of the book was sufficient to induce Dr. Benjamin Rush to pass judgment upon it. In his *Thoughts upon the Female Education*, published in 1798, he states:

> The abortive sympathy which is excited by the recital of imaginary distress blunts the heart to that which is real; and hence, we sometimes see instances of young ladies, who weep away a whole afternoon over the criminal sorrows of a fictitious Charlotte or Werter, turning with disdain at three o'clock from the sight of a beggar, who solicits in feeble accents or signs a small portion of the crumbs which fall from their fathers' tables.[5]

[1] *Life and Works of Goethe* (Everyman's Library), p. 155.
[2] *Poetical Works of the Rev. George Crabbe*, London, 1834, II, 190.
[3] *Nightmare Abbey*, New York, 1845, chap. ii, p. 98.
[4] *Lavengro* (Everyman's Library), chap. xxiii, p. 141; chap. xxxiii, p. 200.
[5] *Essays, Literary, Moral and Philosophical*, Philadelphia, 1798, p. 82.

From this time on no notice was taken of the novel by persons of eminence until the second decade of the nineteenth century, when American criticism of German letters entered upon a new period. American scholars went to Germany, and upon their return published reviews of German works. Edward Everett and George Ticknor, who returned from Göttingen in 1817, were the pioneers of this movement. They were succeeded in Göttingen by such men as Cogswell, Bancroft, Hedge, and Calvert.[1] The critical writings of these men appeared chiefly in the *North American Review*. In 1817 Everett published a lengthy review of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*.[2] After quoting several passages concerning the facts upon which *Werter* was based, he spoke of the form in which the novel was known to the English reader:

> The one [translation] which we have seen, besides the omission of whole letters, and parts of letters, is a miserable catch-penny circulating library production, apparently made from the French. Nothing of the genuine *Werter* is to be seen in it but what was proof against the ignorance of the language and inferiority to the subject, which mark the translation. . . . . Whether a better one is to be expected from England, whose productions, good and bad, are reprinted in America with such exemplary diligence, we cannot say. Some of our readers have been gratified with the sight of a manuscript translation at home, which is worthy of the inimitable original.[3]

Everett's review is thoroughly appreciative and enthusiastic, as might be expected in view of his personal touch with Germany and with Goethe. While he offers no direct criticism of *Werter*, he is the first to call the attention of American readers to the inadequate version through which they had made acquaintance with the novel. For many years the American public, like the English, was dependent upon the first English translation of 1779.

George Bancroft, in his "Life and Genius of Goethe," published in the *North American Review*, in 1824,[4] is less enthusiastic. He states that the productions of Goethe's early life partake of the character of his mind:

> They contain the clear expression of his feelings, vehement and uncontrolled, the clear indications of great powers, not yet directed by reflections

[1] Cf. H. S. White, "Goethe in America," *Goethe Jahrbuch*, V, 219. Cf. also S. H. Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846*, p. 33.

[2] *North American Review*, IV, 217.

[3] Apparently a reference to Ticknor's unpublished translation.

[4] XIX, 307.

nor restrained by taste. Both *Goetz* and *Werter* bear the impress of genius and are strictly national works. They are also both Goethe's early predilections and passions. . . . . In *Werter* he introduced all that observation and the experience of his own heart had taught him of the wasting vehemence of love. This is not the highest kind of writing.

The next reference to *Werter* was made by Margaret Fuller in her "Essay on Goethe," published in *The Dial*[1] in 1841. After commenting on Goethe's sympathetic and impetuous youth, when it was hard for him to isolate himself, she says:

> The effect of all this outward pressure on the poet is recorded in *Werter*, a production that he afterwards understood, and to which he even felt positive aversion. It was natural that this should be. In the calm air of the cultivated plain he attained, the remembrance of the miasma of sentimentality was odious to him. Yet sentimentality is but sentiment diseased, which to be cured must be patiently observed by the wise physician; so are the morbid desire and despair of Werter the sickness of a soul aspiring to a purer, freer state, but mistaking the way.

She vigorously condemns Werter's attitude toward life, but praises the novel as being characterized by a "fervid eloquence of Italian glow which betrays a part of Goethe's character" and which is almost lost sight of in the "quiet transparency" of his later productions.

An effort has been made to collect in this paper the significant expressions of English and American writers of note concerning Goethe's novel. Fragmentary as they may seem, they make it clear that such writers as Southey and Bulwer were deeply affected by the story; and the facts that Carlyle considered *Werter* epoch-making, that Hazlitt found each page full of interest, and that Lewes pronounced it wonderful prose and a masterpiece of style show that, even if the enthusiasm for the book had apparently ceased at the beginning of the nineteenth century, its influence in English literature still continued to be felt, and that it made a lasting impression. With the exception of *Faust*, perhaps, no German work has enjoyed so much fame.

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[1] II, 71 f. Cf. also F. A. Brown, *Margaret Fuller and Goethe*, New York, 1910, pp. 191–95.

SOME EVIDENCE FOR EARLY ROMANTIC PLAYS IN ENGLAND—*Concluded*

The pageantry and disguisings of the courtly groups often took some of the popular forms that have been described. But apparently very early the art of love allegory with its elaboration and imaginative splendor, separating courtly literature from popular, wooing dialogues of spring festivals, from simple Valentine customs etc., changed the May Day bower into paradise or castle with its presiding god and goddesses, and brought formal organizations of the noble for the celebration of May and other spring fêtes.[1] Some such organizations as those of the Flower and the Leaf seem to have existed in England.[2] Naturally any pageant or play of one of these organizations was likely to show a Diana or Pallas, a Venus or Cupid, or to present some form of court of love symbolism. Without dramatic form, Lydgate's masques illustrate such conceptions early in the fifteenth century. One of these "mummings" brings to the King the report that Bacchus, Juno, and Ceres have sent him wine, oil, and wheat. Another is recited by Jupiter's messenger—who later appears as Mercury at the opening of a score of mythological plays in various parts of Europe. Still another has an elaborate description of the paradisiac garden and castle of Fortuna, which Lydgate himself refers to *Le Roman de la Rose.* A group of typical court of love abstractions, Nature, Grace, and Fortune, appear in a device of Lydgate's for 1432.[3]

Just when such pageantry became formal drama in England it is difficult to say. In Italy pure drama of the mythological type had developed by 1472 with Poliziano's *Orfeo;* but, while classical sources are followed in this play, the mount, the shepherds, including the comic Mopsus, the elements of song, etc., suggest the survival of

[1] Cf. Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, pp. 251–56, and references given by Neilson; Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*, pp. 415–28; Marsh, *Modern Philology*, IV, 139, 145–47; Piaget, *Romania*, XX, 417–54; etc. The wealthy gilds also developed early their formal organizations and their classical symbolism.

[2] Kittredge, *Mod. Phil.*, I, 1 ff.

[3] Cf. Brotanek, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–16, 306 ff.; Chambers, II, 169; Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, Percy Soc., pp. 1 ff.

mediaeval festival tradition.[1] This and a number of other plays go to show that the mythological drama of Europe is merely courtly pageantry taking on dramatic form. Several similar plays are recorded in Italy before 1500. In France, a "mystère du jugement de Pâris, ou de la fable des trois déesses Junon, Pallas, et Vénus" was presented in 1498 at Nantes for the flattery of Queen Anne.[2] Early in the sixteenth century, mythological plays were well known in the Netherlands also.[3] One of these, *Pluto and Proserpina*, for which there is record of performances in 1519, 1534, and 1551 at various places, has obvious mediaeval and festival color. An induction with allegorical figures prefaces the play, and one character sings a song in praise of May. In the play itself Proserpina plants her "May branch." Plays with court of love conventions, also, are recorded early for France. One French farce[4] that may belong to the fifteenth century represents Cupid as deciding a gross love debate. The abstractions of love allegory appear in Andrieu de la Vigne's *Honneur des Dames*, about 1500, a play showing a court of love combat. Creizenach correctly, I think, associates with love allegory the drama *Pipée* with its bird figures and its love themes.[5]

Out of this type of pageantry and play developed the disguisings of Henry VIII's reign. They clearly carry on older conventions, conventions that had perhaps already found expression in formal drama in England during the fifteenth century. Several records indicate that before Henry VIII's reign the same material was used and the same method of presentation prevailed. Such are Hall's reference in 1517 to the *Garden de Esperans* as "according to the old custome,"[6] and the surviving records of a number of disguisings at the marriage of Prince Arthur in 1501 which are not only like later pageants in England but like earlier ones in England and on the Continent. Further, a record for Twelfth Night, 1494, shows that the same arrangement was carried out as on this festival night in

[1] Creizenach, II, 205, 206; Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Greg, *op. cit.*, pp. 156–64.

[2] Le Braz, *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre celtique*, p. 262.

[3] Creizenach, III, 474 ff.

[4] Cf. Neilson, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[5] I, 479 *f.*; Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 73 ff. and 255 *f.*; cf. Creizenach, III, 38, for *Le Dict des Jardiniers*, about 1530, another French play of the type.

[6] *Henry VIII*, fol. lix. Even though Hall may be contrasting this pageant with the Italian masque, which he emphasized as a new thing in 1512 (fol. xvi), the phrase suggests the antiquity of the type of disguising.

many a later year; that is, a banquet was followed by an interlude as a prelude to the pageant and disguisings for dance and knightly combat. The account reads: "that nyght in Westm*inster* halle was a greate bankett . . . . where theyre was a playe, w*i*th a pageant of S^{t} george w*i*th a castle, and also xij lord*es* knights and Esquyers w*i*th xij dysguysed w*hi*ch dyd daunce."[1]

Though the records of the disguisings at the court of Henry VIII are known, a summary of some notable ones seems worth while in order to emphasize, first, the dramatic rather than the pageant character of a number of these entertainments; and, secondly, the practically exhaustive use of the conventions of love allegory, and the frequent use of the conventions of knightly adventure—the two popular types of mediaeval romance. In regard to dramatic form, the accounts of several of the entertainments discussed show that they were real interludes dealing with the conventional motives of both forms of romance. Moreover, in the less dramatic disguisings whose *raison d'être* was the introduction of the elaborate pageant and the dance or combat, there are frequent indications that a complete story with much dialogue was presented. Finally, Hall, Cavendish, and Tyndale all use the words "play" and "interlude" as synonymous with disguising.[2] The extensive use of romantic motives at the court to the practical exclusion of moral allegory in the entertainments described and the frequent repetition of conventional romantic settings suggest that many a lost romantic drama is recorded in the annals of the time simply as "a play" or "an interlude."

As indicating the range and the significance of these entertainments, I shall notice some typical court of love settings with the occasional suggestion of their use for drama as well as for dance, some typical court of love themes, and some themes from romantic story. The fundamental setting for love allegory was an idealized nature scene with a temple or arbor.[3] The entertainment of February 12 and 13, 1511, had the paradise and bower with the conventional love groups, and, as in many a court of love poem, this

[1] Harl. MS 6113, fol. 169. Quoted by Reyher, *Les Masques anglais*, p. 6, n. 3.

[2] Brotanek, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[3] The arbor seems to have been represented at the marriage of Arthur in 1501, for after one evening's interlude a pageant appeared that was "an herbour" with a gate from which issued twelve knights. The ladies in the disguising, however, were presented in a brilliantly lighted "Lanthorne." Reyher, *Les Masques anglais*, pp. 502–3.

setting only formed the brilliant center for adventures in arms and love designed to harmonize with it. After two days of jousting, in which the various phases of picturesque adventures of knights were represented—"Chiualers de la forrest saluigne" tilting; a pageant drawn by a lion and an antelope led by woodwoses, introducing a castle, rocks, hills and dales, trees, flowers, foresters in green, etc.; knights disguised for the tourney as recluses or pilgrims or appearing in castle or turret, pageant-wise—the banquet of the second night was followed by the usual play that preceded the disguising.[1] Then entered the pageant, "The Golldyn Arber in the Arche yerd of Plesyer." Both the paradisiac garden and the arbor, where in court of love poetry Pleasure or some character symbolic of joyous pastime presided, are described by Hall: "in a garden of pleasure there was an arber of golde, wherein were lordes and ladies . . . . therein were trees of Hathorne, Eglantines, Rosiers, Vines and other pleasaunt floures of diuers colours, with Gillofers and other herbes. . . . . In whiche arber were .vi. ladies . . . . also was the kyng & .v. with him." The King and his followers bore the names Cuer loyall, Bone voloyre, Bone espoier, Valyaunt desyre, Bone foy, and Armoure loyall, and the first four had been used in the jousts of the previous day. The announcement of the messenger and the answer of the Queen before the curtain fell showing the pageant were probably not the only dramatic features. Besides the lords and ladies of the bower, the minstrels without and children singing on the top, Cornish and a group were stationed at the foot of the pageant "dysgysyd," and their function may have been to perform some dramatic part, for a standish set on a desk at the base of the pageant for the subdean—who was dressed in a garment having forty winged faces—suggests some sort of court of love trial.[2] Similar settings in pageants were utilized frequently later.

The love paradises were usually set on a mount, as in "The Arche yerd of Plesyer" apparently. At the marriage of Arthur a Mount of Love appeared in one pageant described below, and another pageant had two hills joined by chains, one green with

[1] This play may have set forth a story of sea adventures, for the only detail in regard to it besides Hall's "diuers fresh songes" is the payment for "2 garments like shipmen's, for 2 gentlemen of the chapel who sang in the play."

[2] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, II, 1494 ff.; Hall, fol. ix ff.

marvelous trees, herbs, and flowers for twelve knights, and the other like a reddish rock decorated with gold, copper, crystal, amber, etc., with a lady disguised as a Princess of Spain on top and with twelve ladies "in the small hilles vppon the sides."[1] In connection with the mount, a cave appears several times. In the pageant *Riche Mount* presented on Twelfth Night, 1513, the mount opened and allowed six ladies to come out, who danced and then re-entered, the mount closing after them.[2] The pageant after *Love and Riches*, 1527, was a mount with gilt towers set in a field of coral, roses, and pomegranates. In it "was seen a most verdant cave, approachable by four steps, each side being guarded by four . . . . gentlemen of the Court. . . . . Well grouped within the cave were eight damsels of such rare beauty as to be supposed goddesses."[3] Though the cave home of the devotees of pleasure is not common in the court of love poems,[4] the union of other settings of allegory with an ancient traditional setting going back through European culture and through its pageantry perhaps to hills of pagan gods of love and other-world beings, furnishes an excellent example of the wide range of the conventions of love allegory at Henry VIII's court. Another noticeable feature of the settings was a fountain. At the coronation of Henry VIII a "curious Fountain" with a castle over it was the setting in connection with the jousts between the Knights of Pallas and the Knights of Diana.[5] On the occasion of the Latin "tragedy" of Cardinal Wolsey's rescue of the Pope and the two sons of the French king from the Emperor, 1527, there was a fountain flanked by a hawthorn and a mulberry tree, with eight ladies sitting on a bench, perhaps under the arbor mentioned in the payments.[6] The most

[1] Reyher, *op. cit.*, pp. 503, 504. There is no indication of drama for this pageant symbolizing England, Spain, and the marriage.

[2] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, II, 1499 *f.*; Hall, fol. xxii.

[3] Hall, fol. clvii; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, IV, ccx *f.*; *Cal. State Papers: Venetian, 1527–1533*, p. 60.

[4] Cf. Neilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–35, for Venusberg and references to discussions of the subject, and Barto, *Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, XII, 295–303, for recent discussions.

[5] Hall, fol. iv *f.*

[6] Hall, fol. clxv *f.*; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, IV, 1603.

Other types of fountain appear. In jousts at Greenwich, in June, 1512, the King sat within a curious fountain with eight gargoyles spouting water. Ladies on coursers and a black castle called "The dolorous Castle" formed parts of the romantic setting for this knight of the fountain (Hall, fol. xxi). At the coronation of Anne Boleyn, Londoners presented a pageant of Mount Parnassus with the fountain of Helicon of white marble, running wine. Apollo and the Muses appeared.

important adjunct to the settings of love allegory, the castle, appears in many of the pageants of the time as a feature, not only of love allegory, but also of romantic adventure. As a court of love motive it is used most frequently in the reign of Henry VIII in connection with the siege of the Castle of Love discussed below.

As illustrating the typical themes of courtly poetry, three disguisings or plays of Henry VIII's reign may be noted first—a complaint, a triumph, and a debate. A disguising early in 1527 at Wolsey's entertainment of the King is described by Spinelli.[1] On a stage sat Venus, at whose feet were six damsels. With a flourish of trumpets a car appeared, "drawn by three boys stark naked, on which was Cupid, dragging after him, bound by a silver rope, six old men, clad in the pastoral fashion." Cupid complained to his mother in a Latin oration that the men had been cruelly wounded. Venus replied and "caused the six nymphs, the sweethearts of the six old men, to descend" and solace their lovers with a dance. *The tryumpe of Love and Bewte* for Twelfth Night, 1514, was scarcely less than a formal interlude. Features of the entertainment were a fool, a morris dance, a dialogue of Venus and Beauty, the triumph of the two over all enemies, and the taming of a savage man and a lion.[2] The debate is represented by an actual interlude, *Love and Riches*, performed at Greenwich, May 6, 1527, and described by Hall and Spinelli.[3] Eight singers in two wings, with Mercury between, entered singing English songs. The singers retired, and Mercury, after a Latin oration in praise of the King, announced that Jupiter had appointed Henry to decide the dispute between Love and Riches. Mercury then withdrew, and eight young choristers entered, Love and three others on one side, and Riches and three others on the other. Justice, entering in the center with them, told the King in

[1] *Cal. State Papers: Venetian, 1527–1533*, ed. Brown, pp. 2–3; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, ed. Brewer, IV, cxlvii ff. On this occasion the *Menaechmi* was recited by the Cardinal's gentlemen. Cavendish's words, "I have seen the King suddenly come in thither in a mask, with a dozen of other maskers, all in garments like shepherds," are thought by Brewer to refer to this occasion (p. cxlix).

[2] Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poetry*, I, 69; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, I, 718 f.

[3] *Cal. State Papers: Venetian, 1527–1533*, pp. 59–60; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, IV, ccvi ff.; Hall, fol. clvii. Various artists were employed, including Holbein. In describing the affair Spinelli commented on the "order, regularity, and silence" of English entertainments, and the Milanese ambassador declared that Henry's entertainments surpassed all efforts of other princes ancient or modern (*Cal. State Papers: Milan, 1385–1618*, p. 513).

English of the dispute. Love began his defense and Riches replied, "each of the choristers on either side defending their leaders by reciting a number of verses." Finally Love and Riches decided that "judgment should go by battle," whereupon three knights on each side combated under a triumphal arch at a gilt bar. According to Hall, an old man with a silver beard "concluded that loue & riches, both be necessarie for princes."[1]

The siege of the Castle of Love, which is so conspicuous as a motive in court of love poetry, is first described fully for the marriage of Arthur in 1501. A castle was drawn into the hall with eight ladies in it and children in the towers singing. Then a ship entered, and the messengers Hope and Desire, descending from it, asked the ladies to yield to the knights of the Mount of Love. Their refusal was conveyed to the knights, who descended from the mount and besieged the castle until the ladies yielded. There must have been a complete dramatic story in the parleys of the ladies, the messengers, and the knights. The author of the account, indeed, comments on the naturalness of the action and speeches of the mariners.[2] Somewhat more elaborate was a similar disguising of 1522 given by the Cardinal on Shrove Tuesday.[3] A castle was held by the ladies Beautie, Honor, Perseueraunce, Kyndnes, Constance, Bountie, Mercie, and Pitie, dressed in Milan gowns. "Undernethe the basse fortresse of the castle were other eyght ladyes . . . . tired lyke to women of Inde," but only seven names are mentioned—Dangier, Disdain, Gelousie, Vnkyndnes, Scorne, Malebouche, Straungenes. Eight lords, Amorus, Noblenes, Youth, Attendaunce, Loyaltie, Pleasure, Gentlenes, and Libertie, led by Ardent Desire, "moued the ladies to geue ouer the Castle, but *Scorne* and *Disdain* sayed that they woulde holde the place, then *Desire* sayd the ladies shoulde be wonne, and came and encoraged the knyghtes." After a battle of comfits, the castle was taken, but Scorne and her company fought

[1] Brewer and Brown both use the names "Cupid" and "Plutus" in translating Spinelli, but where the names first occur Brown gives Spinelli's original as *Amor* and *La Richeza*. This interlude is very similar to the mythological parts of *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*.

[2] Reyher, *op. cit.*, pp. 501, 502. The ship was an ancient element of pageantry, and gave us the name "carnival." Cf. Burckhardt, *The Renaisssance in Italy*, p. 419. It is constantly met in English pageantry. Cf. Ellison, *op. cit.*, chap. i.

[3] Hall, fol. lxxxxii.

on until driven away. The dance followed. This allegory, as full of figures as the similar scenes of *Le Roman de la Rose*, probably required a considerable amount of dialogue in the presentation.[1]

The particular convention of the siege of the Castle of Love can be traced back for about two centuries in the art and pageantry of Italy, France, and Germany,[2] and about the middle of the sixteenth century it is recorded as a feature of popular May games in Europe.[3] Indeed, the chief features of most of the pageants at the court of Henry VIII are to be found much earlier in general European pageantry, as the mount in the *Orfeo* of Poliziano. In my view, drama probably arose out of such conventions in England earlier than the records show. The chroniclers, while they neglected drama, loved to dwell upon the spectacular in the masques of Henry VIII; but we may be reasonably sure that, besides the few actual interludes from love allegory recorded, these pageants were accompanied at times by a somewhat formal type of story in action and dialogue.

I have dealt with the siege last among the conventions of love allegory in dramatic disguisings, not alone as being climactic, but also as furnishing a motive in which love allegory has utilized the theme of history and romantic story and consequently is close to other forms of romance in drama. In common with pageants at Henry's court dealing with romantic adventure, a great deal of the oldest secular drama has as its central feature the castle, the siege, and the combat. The climax of the Robin Hood plays was the combat or cudgelling match. The mummers' plays show the prominence of the contest in the old folk-ritual and in the St. George plays. The oldest chronicle plays make the battle their climax. In *Eglemour and Degrebelle* knightly combat must have appeared as it does in *Pericles*. The early English moralities *The Castle of Perseverance* and *Mary Magdalene* make use of the siege. Particularly was the siege the common conventional feature of European drama, and many pageants and plays dealing with the theme are recorded for the Continent through a long period. An excellent early example is furnished by an account of a pageant in Belgium

[1] Other sieges of the type were represented in *Le Fortresse dangerus*, 1512 (Hall, fol. xv–xvi); in an undated disguising described in Harl. MS 69 (Brotanek, *op. cit.*, p. 27); etc.

[2] Cf. Brotanek, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff., 325 f.

[3] Neilson, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

in 1378. After a banquet given by King Charles V to the Emperor Charles IV, a vessel entered the hall fully rigged. On the deck were Godefroi de Bouillon and armed knights. Then Jerusalem appeared, its towers covered with Saracens. The Christians, descending from the ship, attacked the city, and after a vigorous battle scaled the walls and planted the cross on them.[1] From the middle of the fifteenth century we have left in France *La Destruction de Troye* by Milet and *Le Siège d'Orléans*, two very elaborate dramas of the type. In England the convention was continued in *The Destruction of Thebes*, prepared at Oxford in 1569,[2] and *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, popular at Coventry in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. At the opening of the seventeenth century the motive had apparently fallen to the low estate of being represented in London in the *Nineveh* and *Jerusalem* of the puppet players.[3]

Outside of the court of love disguisings and interludes, one of the fullest accounts of a romantic entertainment at the court of Henry VIII is that of Cornish's interlude *Troylous and Pandor* on Twelfth Night, 1516.[4] A castle of timber was prepared in the King's hall for the occasion. Cornish and the Children of the Chapel performed "the story of Troylous and Pandor rychly inparylled, allso Kallkas and Kryssyd inparylled lyke a wedow of onour, in blake sarsenet and other abelements for seche mater; Dyomed and the Greks inparylld lyke men of warre, akordyng to the intent or porpoos. After weche komedy playd and doon, an harroud tryd and mad an oy that 3 strange knyghts wer cum to do batall with [those] of the sayd kastell." Following the combat, out of the castle came a Queen and "her 6 ladyes, with spechys after the devyes of Mr. Kornyche." The castle was in all probability used for the interlude as for the other parts of the entertainment. On Twelfth Night of the preceding year *The Pavyllyon un the Plas Parlos* had been presented,

[1] F. Faber, *Histoire du théâtre français en Belgique*, I, 6. One feature of the eight days' entertainment already mentioned for Margaret of England at Bruges in 1460 was a pageant representing two giants as conducting an enormous whale into the hall, from whose mouth issued first sirens, who chanted, and next twelve knights of the sea, who danced and engaged in combat until the giants forced them to re-enter. Such elaboration of romantic figures in pageants may have been known to Margaret in England also.

[2] Boas, *University Drama*, p. 158.

[3] Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, V, 1.

[4] *L. and P. Henry VIII*, II, 1505 f.; Hall, fol. lvii.

Cornish with other men and with children of the Chapel declaring "the intent of the pageant by process of speech,"[1] though the romantic action itself may have been dumb show.[2] The pageant represented a field containing a pavilion, at the corners of which were towers, with a knight in each. There were minstrels on the pageant, and at the foot two armed knights "maintaining the place." Another group of knights entered and engaged them in battle. Then wild men in green moss, rushing in, captured four of the knights and their ladies, while still other knights came to the rescue of the captives. A similar type of introduction to a romantic disguising with combat motive was presented at Greenwich on October 7, 1518, when Cornish on horseback and two children explained the meaning of the pageant.[3] Jousts, a banquet, and a comedy preceded the disguising. According to the fullest account, sundry Turks came forth with drums, and a person on a winged horse made a long speech to the effect that he was Pegasus,[4] who, having heard of the peace with France and the proposed marriage of the Lady Mary, came to announce the good news to the world. He himself could not sing, but the two children would. Then two children about twelve years old sang of "this matter." The pageant which followed was again romantic in nature though it symbolized the political situation. The setting was a castle and a rock with a gilded cave. Pegasus continued to explain the meaning

[1] *L. and P. Henry VIII*, II, 1501 f.; Hall, fol. lv.

[2] I see no reason to doubt, however, that these dramatic inductions, of which there are several instances, were followed by speech along with the romantic action. Cornish's induction here and the one introducing the Pegasus play discussed below seem to have been of the same type as the inductions that continued only a short time into the Elizabethan period after romantic plays began to be printed in any numbers. In a setting of a debate of the gods, perhaps similar to old court of love pageants, the main story of *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* is worked out. The debate or contest motive also furnishes an induction for *Mucedorus*, *Wily Beguiled*, etc. Tarlton's *Seven Deadly Sins* has its several romantic stories for the different sins developed in a setting whose characters are Henry VI and an attendant group. Some of these settings, which may carry on the whole picture of old entertainments and satirize folk adaptation of courtly custom, in festival and banquet, show audiences of common folk, as in *The Old Wives Tale*. The juggler in *Wily Beguiled* suggests the Merry Andrew or Jack Pudding who survived with his comic spiel before the booths of Bartholomew Fair within which plays were to be performed. Continental plays show inductions that help to emphasize the unity of English and continental drama.

[3] *Cal. State Papers: Venetian, 1509–1519*, pp. 464–67; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, II, 1479; Hall, fol. lxvi f. The accounts differ. Cornish on horseback with two children also explained the *Garden de Esperans*, presented on Twelfth Night, 1517; cf. *L. and P. Henry VIII*, II, 1509 f.

[4] Hall calls this figure Reaport. Cf. Brotanek, *op. cit.*, p. 20, n. 2, for the conventionality of the figure, which still lived on in Shakspere's *II Henry IV*.

of the entertainment. Then a Turk replied, refusing to join in the general rejoicing. Fifteen of his followers were summoned, and a conflict between the Turks and the knights followed. The disguising planned for May, 1515, but abandoned for a Maying with the Lady of May and Robin Hood groups, was probably to have been romantic, for it was to include a pageant called "Pallys Marchallyn" with ten towers and inside "a King, a Duke, a Marquis, and an Earl, with their servants," armed and on coursers.[1]

Though such conventions of heroic romances appear in some of the disguisings, names from romances do not occur frequently in the records.[2] The humanistic attitude of the King and his chief courtiers may account for this fact.[3] There was, however, among the biblical, allegorical, and historical pageants presented before Henry VIII and the Emperor in 1522, one produced by the citizens of London, *The Round Table*, which had an important place in the records of English romance and pageantry before and after the time of Henry VIII.[4] It displayed two towers, filled with musicians. Between "sat kyng Arthur at a rounde table & was serued with .x. kynges, Dukes and erles."[5] Arthur and the Round Table had apparently appeared among the courtly in Scotland in a form of disguising for feast and tourney in the time of Robert Bruce, and in England in 1344 and later, besides having influenced foreign pageantry.[6] The continued popularity of the theme in Scotland is

[1] *L. and P. Henry VIII*, II, 1503.

[2] Garments were provided for "Robard the Devil" in the jousts at Guisnes (*L. and P. Henry VIII*, III, 1555).

[3] Perhaps a curious suggestion of the court attitude is found in the fact that in a list of hangings belonging to Princess Mary, the only one portraying a popular romance theme —Amys and Amylyon—is recorded as "cut in two for tappyngs" (*L. and P. Henry VIII* III, 1409).

[4] Two suggestions may be made here. First, old motives that were popular among the courtly earlier are often found in these records as living among the people after their vogue has passed among the cultured. Secondly, the pageants and processions of the people suggest plays on the same themes at banquets and festivals. The garments and equipments for pageants could readily be used for plays, and in many cases it is demonstrable that they were so used. Such figures as Ceres, Bacchus, Vulcan, and Jason associated with gilds occur in both processions and plays. The May Day processions of Robin Hood were often followed by the Robin Hood plays, and the same relation is more than probable for the St. George processions and plays. The relation of biblical figures in the processions to those in the plays at Whitsun and Corpus Christi is clear.

[5] Hall, fol. lxxxxvii.

[6] Brotanek, *Die engl. Maskenspiele*, p. 5 and notes; Ellison, *op. cit.*, chap. i.

attested at the marriage of James IV and Margaret in 1503, when according to Drummond[1] "Old King *Arthur* with his Knights of the Round-Table were here brought upon the Lists." The King was disguised as the "Savage Knight." As late as 1583 Robinson in *The Auncient Order, Societie, and Unitie Laudable, of Prince Arthure and his Knightly Armory of the Round Table* tells of the game of the Round Table in archery contests.[2] Plays dealing with the knights of the Round Table are mentioned by Gosson about 1582.

Outside of the court disguisings there is evidence of a fairly fully developed taste for romantic plays during the reign of Henry VIII. The romantic drama acceptable to the humanists is represented not only in Cornish's *Troylous and Pandor* but in *Calisto and Melebea* and the fragment of *Lucrece*. The same type of romance is recorded in the academic drama. Bale tells us of Radcliffe's plays on Griseldis, Melibaeus, and Titus and Gisippus at Hitchens, and of Grimald's *Troilus* in English at Oxford. Evidence for the chief towns may be summarized briefly. In the field of the miracle play, the drama of the older period continues. Thus the records of plays on St. Lawrence, St. Susanna, King Robert of Sicily, and St. Clara at Lincoln between 1441 and 1456 are paralleled by those of plays on St. Swythyn, St. Andrew, and St. Eustace, or Placidas, at Braintree between 1523 and 1534.[3] Such entries seem to me extremely significant as probably typical of many towns where from time to time saints plays or Miracles of the Virgin were given. The great feasts of the gilds also furnished occasion for plays, as we know from various records. The names of the plays are rarely given, however. A vogue of secular drama on festive occasions is suggested by two records fairly early in the sixteenth century. For the cappers' Candlemas dinner at Coventry in 1525 Robert Crowe and two others were paid for *The Golden Fleece*.[4] In 1528, *Crispin and Crispin-*

[1] *History of Scotland*, p. 133.

[2] Brydges, *Brit. Bibliographer*, I, 125 ff. Robinson gives many details of the history of the Round Table as a disguising in England. Cf. *II Henry IV*, III, 2, 299. Arthurian legend was drawn on for the entertainments at Kenilworth in 1576.

[3] Chambers, *Med. Stage*, II, 342, 378. A *King Robert of Sicily* was apparently an old play at Chester in 1529 (*ibid.*, p. 356); cf. also p. 380 for a play of Seynt Katerine in 1393 at London; p. 362 for a play of St. Katherine in 1490/1 and of St. Crytyan in 1504/5 at Coventry; p. 394 for a play on the martyrdoms of Saints Feliciana and Sabina in 1516 at Shrewsbury.

[4] Sharp, *Mysteries at Coventry*, p. 217.

ianus—probably a romantic miracle—*Bacchus and his story, Vulcan and what related to him,* and *The comedy of Ceres, goddess of corn,* in addition to religious plays, were presented in Dublin at Christmas.[1] The treatment in these plays, in spite of their classical themes, was probably as free and romantic as that of Venus and Diana in court of love romance, of Venus in *The tryumpe of Love and Bewte,* 1514, or of classical figures in plays about the middle of the sixteenth century, particularly in Lyly. The subjects of these plays were of course chosen as appropriate to individual gilds. The theme of the Golden Fleece, at least, was widespread in European pageants and plays.[2] In 1522 Londoners presented before Henry VIII, Jason with the Golden Fleece, between a fiery dragon and two bulls that cast out fire, and Medea in a tower.[3] Another pageant on the subject was a feature at the coronation of Edward VI.

Secular and romantic drama, however, may have been still more widespread at fairs, marriages, village wakes,[4] etc., of which our records are perhaps scantiest, than at the celebrations of the greater gilds and corporations. During the Middle Ages, practically every church had its annual festival on the anniversary of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. In connection with this festival, which lasted two or three days, markets were held, and at night the vigil, or wake, of the saint was observed.[5] These wakes thus became local fairs and holidays for the folk like the midsummer watches, for which they were often substituted. In the majority of the parishes, at least once a year, whether May Day and other seasonal

[1] Chambers, II, 365.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 163–65, 171, 362, 383. Cf. Creizenach, I, 377, for a pageant of Jason and Medea on the Continent as early as 1389; I, 430, for Jason and the Golden Fleece in a Lübeck farce; and *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France,* X (1903), 200, for a play near Lille in 1563 called *Veau d'or.*

[3] Hall, fol. lxxxvi f.

[4] In the great midsummer shows of the towns, crowds were too large for the use of drama by way of general celebration. Many towns solved this problem by pageant plays performed simultaneously at different stands, and by great processions. Stow, in his *Survey of London,* describing the practices that prevailed in that city "time out of mind, until the year 1539," at midsummer watches on the Eves of St. John and St. Peter, tells how, besides the "standing watches all in bright harness, in every ward and street of this city and suburbs" bearing their cresset lights, there was a marching watch, some two thousand strong, in striking regalia, accompanied by pageants, morris dancers, and elaborate processions of the mayor's officers, the sheriffs, etc. (Everyman's Library edition, pp. 93–95).

[5] One of the best of the numerous accounts of wakes is that in Burne-Jackson's *Shropshire Folk-Lore,* pp. 439 ff.

festivals were celebrated or not, several days and nights were given over to merry-making in connection with the wakes. Various types of entertainment prevailed. Perhaps such diversions as dances, games, juggling, and bear-baiting contented most of the groups of celebrants. Like amusements have prevailed at festivals of the people from the time of Plautus' reference to the vigils of Ceres till the present day. The evidence for varied types of drama among the people is clear enough, however, as at the seasonal festivals. Ballad dialogues, wooing dramas such as "The Nut Brown Maid," May games, and Robin Hood plays, all of which can be traced in the fifteenth century, have been discussed.

But night celebrations after the fashion of the parish wake were extended to various festivals, and scattered accounts belonging to the first half of the sixteenth century show that formal drama was often a part of these celebrations. The drama mentioned by Stow as customary for small units of population in connection with the London celebration of May, suggests an adaptation to May Day of the usual parish wake. "I find also," says Stow, "that in the month of May, the citizens of London of all estates, lightly in every parish, or sometimes two or three parishes joining together, had their several mayings, and did fetch in May-poles, with divers warlike shows, with good archers, morris dancers, and other devices, for pastime all the day long; and toward the evening they had stage plays, and bonfires in the streets."[1] Stow seems to imply a general representation of plays on May Day. Chapuys,[2] in a letter of June 30, 1535, speaks of

a gallant and notable interpretation of a chapter of the Apocalypse[3] which was played on the eve of St. John. To see it, the King went thirty miles from here, walked 10 miles at 2 o'clock at night with a two-handed sword, and got into a house where he could see everything. He was so pleased at seeing him[s]elf cutting off the heads of the clergy, that in order to laugh at his ease, and encourage the people, he discovered himself. He sent to tell his lady that she ought to see the representation of it repeated on the eve of St. Peter.

[1] P. 90. All the evidence I can find indicates that at this period the term "stage plays" was used for rather elaborate dramatic performances, and was contrasted with "interludes." Cf. the Walton-Rastell Papers, *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, pp. 314, 316, 317, in Arber's Garner.

[2] *L. and P. Henry VIII*, VIII, 373; pointed out by Miss Dodds in *Library*, 1913, p. 402.

[3] For "L'Apocalypse" in France, cf. Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 8, 162, 615.

In spite of the fact that the play here is clearly not secular, the passage seems worth quoting for the light it throws on the manner of these wake performances. For Wymondham, Norfolk, records of "the wache and play" show its existence from some time previous to 1538. A sixteenth-century writer, Neville, refers to the Wymondham sports as "ludi ac spectacula . . . . antiquitus ita instituta." Neville and Holinshed inform us that the festival continued by night as well as by day—for two days and nights according to Neville. The subject of the play is not known, but, though it may have been a miracle, its popular and romantic character is revealed by entries of payments for "devyls shoes." "the giant," a man "in armour," and the "revels and dances."[1] After the mid-century we have an account of the marriage play of *Jube the Sane*, performed February 7, about 1551, "after Soper" "with torch lyghts and cresset lyghts";[2] and Machyn's account of a regular parish wake held in London, July 29, 1557: "St. Olave's day, was the church holyday in Silver-street, the parish church whereof was dedicated to that saint. And at eight of the clock at night began a stageplay of a goodly matter, that continued unto twelve at midnight; and then they made an end with a good song."[3] These examples show, I think, the prevalence of formal drama in the celebration of the vigils of the people. The bulk of this drama we may assume to have been religious, but the details given in connection with the Wymondham play seem to testify that the romantic element was not excluded.[4]

III

In the account that has just been given of the drama of Henry VIII's reign, I have surveyed briefly the evidence for tradition in the themes and conventions of romantic drama which meet us at the beginning of the Renaissance, and I have tried to show that the

[1] Chambers, II, 398.

[2] Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poetry*, I, 143, n. 3.

[3] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, III, II, 11.

[4] The Reformation brought an attack on wakes which was effective enough to start at any rate the decay of parish drama. Tyndale (*Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, 1536, Parker Soc., p. 126) boasted, "We have put down watching all night in the church on saints' eves, for the abuse." Bonner issued an order in 1542 forbidding "all maner of common plays, games, or interludes to be played, set forth, or declared, within their churches, chapels," etc. (Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry* [1824], II, 74). But the orders of bishops all over England, which continued throughout the century to urge the clergy to check wakes and church performances, show how persistent the old customs were.

dramatic records left, meager as they are, are concerned with various social groups, cover a variety of romantic themes, and hence may be indicative of extensive and varied romantic drama in the large body of lost plays. From the middle of the sixteenth century onward, the evidence for the use of older material in popular drama is still more convincing. Some of this evidence has been included in the survey of types of drama that seem to belong to the folk. Here I shall summarize very briefly only some of the indications that more formal types of romantic drama in the Elizabethan period carried on old traditions.

The Robin Hood plays popular on the London stage at the end of the sixteenth century furnish one clear instance of the development on the professional stage of themes from old folk-plays. The continuance of conventions from the disguisings and court pageantry of the early sixteenth century is evident enough also. Thus the record of the *Orpheus* presented February 22, 1547, reads: "Then, after the bankett was done, there was a goodly enterlude played in the said hall, where was also made a mounte with the story of Orpheus right conyngly composed."[1] Here we have testimony, not only to the persistence of the old arrangement of banquet, play, and disguising, but also to the continued popularity of the mount as a setting.[2] The afterpiece *Youth and Riches* for Twelfth Night, 1552, had apparently the same type of debate and certainly the same decision by the combat of knights as the *Love and Riches* of 1527.[3] The motive of the armed combat occurs in what I take to be a mock tourney in the first recorded play of the period drawn from metrical romance, the *Paris and Vienna* of 1572.[4]

[1] Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth*, I, cccii; Wallace, *Evolution of the Drama*, p. 70, n. 4; Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Edward VI and Mary*, pp. 3, 6, 8, 255.

[2] Poliziano, it will be remembered, had used the mount as a setting for his *Orfeo* of 1472. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, 1, when the theme,

> The riot of the tipsy Bacchanals,
> Tearing the Thracian singer in their rage,

is proposed for the interlude, Theseus objects,

> That is an old device; and it was play'd
> When I from Thebes came last a conqueror.

Cf. the *Orpheus* of Warburton's list; and Fleay, *Drama*, II, 336, for a fragment in the British Museum.

[3] Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Edward VI and Mary*, pp. 60, 278.

[4] Cf. Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Queen Elizabeth*, p. 141, for a payment for the hobby-horses "that served the children of Westminster in the triumphe (where parris wan the Christall sheelde for vienna. at the Turneye and Barryers)."

There are also many indications that both the court of love type of disguising and the gild plays on classical themes may have furnished conventional motives and scenes in the mythological plays of Queen Elizabeth's reign. One set of conventions has already been traced as culminating in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, with its numerous mythological characters. Another mythological play that represents the culmination of a long line of tradition is Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*. The judgment of Paris is frequently set forth in love allegory, as in Froissart's *L'Espinette amoureuse*, Machaut's *Le Dit de la fontaine amoureuse*, and Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*.[1] Plays on the theme are recorded on the Continent early: at Lübeck in 1455 a farce dealing with the subject; at Nantes in 1498 the "mystère du jugement de Pâris" already mentioned; at Ingoldstadt in 1502 Locher's *Spectaculum de judicio Paridis;* in 1532 Hans Sachs's *Spiel das man lateinisch hiess Das judicium Paridis*, supposedly based on an older lost humanist drama.[2] In Great Britain the theme was used in a pageant before Queen Margaret at Edinburgh in 1503,[3] in Udall's pageant at the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533, and in a marriage masque of 1566,[4] before it was mingled with wooing songs, pastoral scenes, etc., to form Peele's play.[5]

While I have no evidence for such a continuous tradition in the treatment of any other mythological theme, an argument for old traditions can be made in the case of practically every mythological play before 1600. Moreover, the particular combination of material in these plays suggests dramatic tradition. Like love allegory of the Middle Ages, they show divergences from classical story toward the conventions of mediaeval pageantry and festival play; but the

[1] Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, pp. 63, 82; Marsh, "The Flower and the Leaf," *Mod. Phil.*, IV, 295, 310. In *The Complaynt of Scotland* "the tayl of the goldin appil" is mentioned as one of the themes popular with the shepherds.

[2] For these plays cf. Creizenach, I, 430; II, 40; and III, 417. For a later Italian play, Scotto's *Il giudizio di Paride*, 1566, cf. Lancaster, *The French Tragi-Comedy*, p. 160.

[3] Graves, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVIII, 48–49.

[4] Brydges, *Brit. Bibl.*, II, 612 ff.

[5] Many allusions to the judgment of Paris occur in English literature, as in *Calisto and Melebea*, ll. 248 f.; *Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (Park's *Heliconia*, I, 104); *Handful of Pleasant Delights* (ed. Arber, p. 33); and a poem celebrating the entry of Queen Anne into Edinburgh, 1590 (Watson, *Choice Collection of Scots Poems*, II, 8, 9). See Graves, *op. cit.*, for a portrait of Queen Elizabeth being awarded the apple.

presence of clowns, pages, fairies, and shepherds is suggestive of the melting pot of earlier romantic drama rather than of the somewhat more harmonious court of love poems. Some such mingling of elements must have appeared in the pastoral presented before Elizabeth by Italian actors in 1574, features of which were a scythe for Saturn, shepherds, a wild man, arrows for nymphs, and garlands,[1] the last possibly for festival dances and games. Particularly in the plays of Lyly are silvan and pastoral scenes mingled with mythological scenes. The contest motive joined with a love theme, as seen in many an old disguising and court of love poem, appears in *Endimion*, *Gallathea*, and *The Woman in the Moon*. In the contest of Cynthia and Tellus in *Endimion*, the symbolism of love allegory is more strongly suggested, for the moral idea of Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte* or of Medwell's *Nature* is here;[2] but in such features as the fountain, the fairies, and the enchantress romantic elements of love allegory are illustrated. *The Woman in the Moon*, with its gods as planets, its symbols of nature, like Discord, and its shepherds, is related, not only to the allegory of nature in Medwell's *Nature* and Rastell's *Four Elements*, but also to one form of the season drama already discussed.[3] In *Love's Metamorphosis* the theme is the honor due to Ceres[4] in season festival, song, and dance. Ceres appears also in Wilson's *Coblers Prophesie*, which is even more suggestive of old tradition than Lyly's plays. In Wilson's play Venus is presented with a typical court of love, waited on by abstract attendants.[5] The contest of the gods is a controlling motive of the play. The prophet met here and in *The Peddlers Prophecie* seems to be a mediaeval survival, which may have been inspired by the *Prophetae* of the mysteries. As early as 1493 there is record of some sort of dramatic device called "a prophecy in rew," prepared by Cornish.[6] The

[1] Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 227, 228, 458.

[2] In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVII, 147–52, I have suggested some of the many points of resemblance between *Endimion* and the old court of love allegory. A similar list could be made for some of the other plays, I think.

[3] Cf. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 417, n. 5 and Creizenach, I, 377, for some fifteenth-century dramatic pieces in which the planets appeared.

[4] A Dublin gild play on the subject of Ceres has already been noticed.

[5] Mars also is introduced here with Venus. Cf. Creizenach, III, 476 f., for two Dutch plays about the middle of the century on Mars and Venus.

[6] Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama*, p. 33.

inventory of playing garments taken at the opening of Edward VI's reign includes a gown "for a Boye to play the profett."[1]

Enough has been said of court and London drama. To my mind, however, the mere presence of romantic drama in the folk repertoire during the Elizabethan period calls for considerable emphasis as showing a long-continued tradition, for the literature of the folk is persistent in its repertoire and only slowly influenced by literary forms. Both simple romantic stories and mythological stories from the classics seem to have been popular in dramatic form among the folk of Elizabethan England. In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV, 4, Julia in her rôle of page tells Sylvia,

> At Pentecost
> When all our pageants of delight were play'd,
> Our youth got me to play the woman's part,
> . . . . . .
> . . . . I did play a lamentable part.
> Madam, 'twas Ariadne passioning
> For Theseus' perjury and unjust flight;
> Which I so lively acted with my tears . . . .

Shakspere uses a part of the story for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, his own play idealizing the midsummer silvan sports.[2] In the play itself he satirizes the folk presentation of Pyramus and Thisbe, a story with a long record of popularity in mediaeval poetry and drama.[3] To the same type of satire on folk treatment of classic themes belongs

[1] Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Edward VI and Mary*, pp. 14, 260. Cf. pp. 20, 194, 262, 299, for a "king or prophet." In other Elizabethan plays prophets appear, as in *The Troublesome Raigne* and in *King John*, and prophecies are frequent especially in the chronicle plays.

[2] The shepherds of *The Complaynt of Scotland* are represented as telling "The tayle quhou that dedalus maid the laborynth to keip the monster minotaurus."

[3] Cf. G. Hart, *Ursprung und Verbreitung der Pyramus- und Thisbe-Sage*, 1889, and *Die Pyramus- und Thisbe-Sage in Holland, England, Italien und Spanien*, 1891; E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge*, 1913; Creizenach, II, 235, n. 2, and III, 42, 473 f.; A. Schaer, *Die dramatischen Bearbeitungen der Pyramus- Thisbe-Sage in Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, 1909, and *Drei deutsche Pyramus- Thisbe-Spiele*, Litt. Ver. in Stuttgart, 1911; E. Picot, edition of *Moralité nouvelle de Pyramus et Tisbé*, Bull. du Biblioph., 1901. An English interlude on the subject, from a manuscript of the seventeenth century, is printed by Miss Hammond in *The Drama*, 1915, pp. 288 ff. In court of love poetry the story of Pyramus and Thisbe plays a part in Thibaut's *Roman de la Poire*, Chartier's *L'Hospital d'Amours*, *The Assembly of Ladies*, etc. Cf. Neilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 87–88, 151. In *The Complaynt of Scotland* the shepherds' tales include "Pirramus and tesbe." "A boke intituled *Perymus and Thesbye*" was entered on the Stationers' Register in 1562–63. Poems on the theme, clearly of a popular type, appear in *Gorgeous Gallery* and *Handful of Pleasant Delights*. Cf. also *Roxburghe Ballads* (Ballad Society), I, 175 ff.; IX, cxiii* ff.

Jonson's burlesque puppet play of Hero and Leander in *Bartholomew Fair.*[1] The mythological play with pastoral and hunting scenes also belonged to the popular repertoire. The Narcissus story, frequently referred to in love allegory, and used in 1572 for a play which included a hunting scene in a forest,[2] is elaborately satirized as a theme of the folk in the Oxford play *Narcissus* of 1602. Many of the motives of the story occur in *Cynthia's Revels,* where Jonson satirizes the use of Echo, Cupid, and Mercury in popular plays.[3] Popular mythological pastorals, probably from the sixteenth century, survive in Cox's drolls, *Rurall sports on the Birth-day of the Nymph Oenone, Acteon and Diana,* and *Venus and Adonis.* Country folk celebrating festivals appear in the first two, and shepherds or huntsmen in plain or wood in all three of these drolls. *Oenone* offers a morris dance, a satyr dance, songs, and country wooing scenes with the usual clown. Features of *Acteon and Diana* are a clownish wooer, country wenches, huntsmen, and May Day songs and dances. Cox, indeed, seems merely to have revived old plays and farces for the populace. His *John Swabber* is called by Kirkman "an ancient Farce," while his *Singing Simpkin* existed before 1620 apparently in exactly Cox's form except for some lines at the end.[4] Cox's three classical stories in mediaeval pastoral form may owe something to older pageantry and drama, but not many earlier treatments of these particular themes are recorded. Oenone's story appears in *The Arraignment of Paris.* The Acteon and Diana theme[5] as a masque

[1] The story of Hero and Leander also is given in the list of shepherds' tales in *The Complaynt of Scotland.* It furnished a pageant in *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune.* Cf. Creizenach, III, 476, for a Dutch play on Hero and Leander before 1583.

[2] Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Queen Elizabeth,* pp. 141, 142, 451. Cf. Creizenach, III, 476, for Keyaert's *Narcissus and Echo* of 1552 and Houwaert's reworking of a play on the theme. Hunting scenes occurred in Edwards' *Palemon and Arcite* and Phillip's *Patient Grissell.* There was one also in the French *Griseldis* of the late fourteenth century.

[3] Induction and I, 1. Cf. Baskervill, *English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy,* for detailed treatment of the court of love conventions in this and other mythological plays. I should now lay more stress on the probable dramatic provenience of this material.

[4] Bolte, *Die Singspiele der engl. Komödianten,* p. 18.

[5] Again one of the shepherds' stories in *The Complaynt of Scotland* is "The tayl quhou acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and syne slane be his auen doggis." Douglas' *Palice of Honour,* 1501, has the story, and one of the popular poems in *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* deals with it. On the Continent, Taccone's short pageant dealing with this theme, the *Atteone* of 1480–90, is one of the earliest dramatic pieces of the mythological pastoral type preserved in Italy; cf. Carrara, *La poesia pastorale* (*Storia dei generi letterari italiani*), p. 209. Celtis' *Diana* of 1501 is a mythological play full of festival motives, which may illustrate the place of Diana—Acteon does not appear—in early mythological plays; cf. Creizenach, II, 37, 38.

or shew is satirized in *Every Woman in her Humour* (1609), V, 1, and Acteon with his huntsmen appeared in a civic pageant at Wells in 1613.[1] There are records of much earlier plays on the Continent dealing with Venus and Adonis.[2]

From the early part of Elizabeth's reign, moreover, there is some evidence that other forms of romance than classical stories molded by love allegory or by gild festival and courtly pageantry had gained a hold in popular drama without leaving records of the steps in the development. Foreign influence may have led to the early use of certain themes. That foreign plays of all types had an influence on English drama throughout the sixteenth century is not, I think, an unreasonable assumption. Latin plays of the Continent are known to have affected powerfully university drama and the Protestant morality in England, and French farce clearly influenced the interludes of Heywood. In other fields there is not enough early drama extant to furnish a basis for study. General resemblances, however, in the conventions of symbolic and mythological pageants and plays have been noted above as indicating the unified growth of English and continental drama in one of the romantic fields from as early as the fifteenth century. The same unity for the drama drawn from mediaeval heroic romance is suggested—even with allowance made for the independent dramatization of a popular story in different places—by the frequent duplication of titles or themes in the very scanty list of plays extant or recorded in England and continental Europe before the latter part of the sixteenth century. Some of the duplications that suggest early dramatizations and interrelations with only chance records at scattered places and times may be noted for their cumulative value. Thus only a strong influence of early dramatic treatments of the Griseldis theme seems to me sufficient to account for the numerous European plays on the subject during two centuries: the French play of 1393, the Metz play of 1488,[3] one in the Netherlands in 1498,[4] the Italian dramatization

[1] *Hist. MSS Com.*, I, 107.

[2] Cf. Creizenach, II, 511, note, and 520, for a pastoral play of Venus and Adonis at Ragusa in 1548; and Lanson, *Rev. d'Hist. litt. de la France*, X (1903), 203 and 207, for Gabriel Le Breton's *Adonis* at the Collège de Boncour, 1574–78, and a *Vénus et Adonis* at Saint-Maixent in 1581.

[3] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, p. 347. Cf. *Les Mystères*, II, 60, for a performance in 1491.

[4] Creizenach, I, 373.

of the subject in the fifteenth century,[1] Eligius Eucharius' play at Ghent in 1512,[2] Hans Sachs's comedy,[3] the French play of 1550,[4] the Dutch play of 1556,[5] and in England the plays of Radcliffe,[6] Phillip, and Dekker, and the puppet play of the seventeenth century.[7] The fourteenth-century French Miracle de Notre Dame, *La Femme du roi de Portugal*,[8] is repeated in Louvet's first miracle, 1536, and Petit de Julleville says that the last "est traité tout à fait de la même façon, sauf l'addition du personnage de Sathan."[9] The same story occurs in Middleton's *The Changeling* with a somewhat similar treatment. Middleton's play is usually traced to Reynolds' *God's Revenge against Murther*, where a novella form is found with the same names for the main characters as in *The Changeling*. But it seems highly improbable that Middleton would have kept the same names if he had used a contemporary narrative source. Such a proceeding was most unusual in the drama of the period. Further, distinctive details in which *The Changeling* agrees with the old French plays are lacking in Reynolds' version. Hence I believe that Middleton borrowed from some old drama, probably in English. Again, the fourteenth-century miracle *Ostes, Roi d'Espagne*,[10] Lope de Rueda's *Eufemia*[11] of the first half of the sixteenth century, Hans Sachs's *Ginevra*,[12] 1548, the Breslau play *Kauffmann von Padua*,[13] 1596, Ayrer's *Comedia von zweyen fürstlichen Räthen*,[14] *ca.* 1600, and Shakspere's *Cymbeline* treat the famous wager story of Boccaccio. There is a strong probability that Shakspere used an older drama on the theme,[15] which in turn may have been a survival of mediaeval dramatic

[1] Creizenach, I, 330, 336, 378.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, 57.
[3] *Ibid.*, III, 419, note.
[4] Lanson, *Rev. d'Hist. litt. de la France*, X (1903), 180.
[5] Creizenach, III, 473.
[6] Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poetry*, I, 114.
[7] D'Urfey, *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, IV, 169; Pepys' *Diary*, August 30, 1667.
[8] Cangé MS, IV.
[9] *Les Mystères*, II, 609.
[10] Cangé MS, XXVIII; Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 297–300.
[11] Creizenach, III, 169 f.
[12] *Ibid.*, III, 424.
[13] Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany*, p. lvii.
[14] *Romania*, XXXII, 486.
[15] Cf. R. Ohle, *Shakespeares Cymbeline und seine romanischen Vorläufer.*

tradition. What relations existed between the plays on Titus and Gisippus by Hans Sachs in 1546, by Schwartzenbach in 1551, by Montanus a little later,[1] by Radcliffe in England in the first half of the sixteenth century,[2] and by an unknown dramatist whose play was presented before Elizabeth in 1577,[3] cannot be said, but dramatizations of this story and of the similar stories of Ami and Amile in the fourteenth-century French miracles[4] and of Alexander and Lodovick for Henslowe[5] may be due to a vogue of a conventional theme through a long period. The story of Romeo and Juliet was dramatized in England before 1562,[6] and by Shakspere later; in France by Châteauvieux between 1560 and 1585;[7] in Italy by Groto in 1578;[8] and in Spain by Lope de Vega. That an old play influenced Shakspere's treatment is probable enough,[9] but there may have been dramatizations of the story older than any of those recorded and interrelations of the plays on the subject which cannot be surmised. Less valuable would be any attempt to draw conclusions from the dozen or more cases in which a theme is represented by records of only two or three plays, in most instances no longer extant. The point is that, when the great outburst of romantic drama came and records grew numerous, dramatists were taking their suggestions of themes and treatment from old plays. Shakspere was largely a reviser of old plays throughout his career, though the fact is partly obscured by his habit of going to narrative sources for much of his material in the revision, as in his *Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and *King Lear*. The process of revising plays had been carried on for a long time, we may be sure, by the traveling companies and village amateurs, and apparently Heywood and the writers of the romantic drama for Henslowe followed the same method.[10] Lupton, in 1632,

[1] Creizenach, III, 351, 352, 400, 409, 424.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 85.

[3] Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 270, 461.

[4] Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 284–87.

[5] Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 182.

[6] Brooke, *Romeus and Juliet*, "To the Reader."

[7] Lanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 206.

[8] Creizenach, II, 405 f.

[9] Fuller, *Mod. Phil.*, IV, 75 ff.

[10] Some instances of customary revision of popular plays are noted below. Henslowe, of course, makes a number of payments for the revision of plays.

when most dramatists were attempting to secure fresh combinations of motives or original plots, testifies to the persistence of the practice of borrowing. Players, he says, "are as crafty with an old play, as bawds with old faces; the one puts on a new fresh colour, the other a new face and name."[1]

Gosson and his contemporaries, who give us the first general accounts of the new romantic drama around 1580, furnish also important evidence that plays from mediaeval romances—and hence plays that were most likely to represent old traditions in romantic drama—were numerous. In his *Playes Confuted in fiue Actions*, about 1582, Gosson testifies[2] to the widest range of romantic subjects in drama: "I may boldely say it because I haue seene it, that the Palace of pleasure, the Golden Asse, the Æthiopian historie, Amadis of Fraunce, the Rounde table, baudie Comedies in Latine, French, Italian, and Spanish, haue been throughly ransackt to furnish the Playe houses in London." The drama that is here noticed and attacked is, of course, largely the result of a great impetus toward the production of romantic plays in the decade 1570–80. The number of plays recorded for the period indicates this as well as Gosson's statement. On the other hand, before the Puritan attacks there were no such general summaries of the follies of drama as Gosson gives, the earlier reformers attempting to utilize the drama for good while ignoring its popular forms. Gosson includes the Round Table as among the sources ransacked, but no plays from this source are among those considered worthy of record at court at this period. It is impossible to say whether the Arthurian plays which Gosson saw were new, but if the popularity of the Round Table in pageantry, already referred to, is any indication, the theme may have been old in the extensive lost drama of England.

Moreover, at a time when new types of fiction were prevailing very largely and were furnishing dramatic motives, it is hardly to be supposed that any considerable body of new plays would be utilizing the conventions of mediaeval romance. Yet both Gosson and Sidney in their analyses of popular romantic plays stress, not the conventions of Italian novelle and other forms of Renaissance fiction,

[1] *London and the Countrey carbonadoed;* quoted by Wilson, *Life in Shakespeare's England*, p. 163.

[2] Hazlitt, *The English Drama and Stage*, pp. 188, 189.

but those of metrical romances. Gosson says, "Sometime you shall see nothing but the aduentures of an amorous knight, passing from countrie to countrie for the loue of his lady, encoũtring many a terible monster made of broune paper, & at his retorne, is so wonderfully changed, that he can not be knowne but by some posie in tablet, or by a broken ring, or a handkircher, or a piece of a cockle shell."[1] Gosson seems to have in mind varied endings for plays of one type. The incidents fit the Guy of Warwick type of romance better than any other that I know. The beginning and the end of the Guy of Warwick story—the service of Guy for Felice and the return from his pilgrimage—may have been in Gosson's mind, though the conventions are usual. At any rate, this thoroughly English story, one that we should expect to gain readiest entrance into popular drama, could hardly have failed of dramatization when plays of the type were in vogue.

Sidney about 1580 gives his formula for a popular play as one in which (1) the scene is Asia, Africa, and many other underkingdoms; (2) ladies gather flowers in a garden; (3) a ship is wrecked on a rock; (4) a hideous monster with fire and smoke appears from a cave; (5) armies give battle; and (6) ordinarily "two young princes fall in love; after many traverses she is got with child, delivered of a fair boy, he is lost, groweth a man, falleth in love," etc.[2] Though Sidney doubtless draws a composite picture, his strictures furnish a valuable commentary on the long survival of popular romantic conventions, for he describes almost exactly the romance of *Sir Eglamour of Artois* and indicates that plays such as we may assume the *Eglemour and Degrebelle* of 1444 to have been were known in 1580. Whether or not plays from Arthurian romance and from stories with the "exile and return" formula like *Guy of Warwick* represented an old dramatic tradition about 1580, it is reasonable to suppose that the Eustace and the Eglamour type of play had come down to Sidney's day from older drama in the form at least of miracle plays and possibly of secular plays.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[2] *Defense of Poesy*, ed. Cook, p. 48. Whetstone in the dedication to *Promos and Cassandra*, 1578, gives a similar formula in a briefer form. In *Hamlet*, II, 2, 332 ff., the conventional figures in a troupe of traveling players are described as king, adventurous knight, lover, humorous man, clown, and lady. Cf. also the prologues of *Every Man in his Humour* and of *The Return from Parnassus* for references to motives of popular romantic plays.

There is also some evidence for the Elizabethan period that among the people, especially at their festivals, a type of romance play prevailed which probably came nearer than the merely popular London play to folk-drama or a drama of pure tradition. First of all, I regard Peele's *Old Wives Tale* as a satire on the festival plays of the folk. The point of the burlesque seems to me lost if the play is taken solely as a satire on the folk-tale. The Induction represents such satire, but the play, which in its more confident tone contrasts with the tale of the Old Wife, presents the same material and appeals to the audience that listened to the Old Wife. Indeed, the Induction gives further support to such an interpretation, for the names of the servingmen are appropriate to satire on folk-drama. Usually the figures of a sixteenth-century induction illustrate the source or field from which the play comes. Anticke, the leader of Peele's group, would be a fitting symbol of the folk dramatic instinct. The word is a commonplace in the sixteenth century as applied to country dancers in disguise, to sword dancers, and to mummers generally. From this use developed the word "antimasque," and a number of antimasques resemble features of *The Old Wives Tale.* Frolicke is an appropriate figure to typify the spirit of folk festivals, and Fantasticke the disordered invention of folk productions generally. A few fairy-tale motives akin to those in *The Old Wives Tale* can be found in Elizabethan drama, and the author of *A Second and Third Blast of Retreat from Plays and Theatres*, 1580, speaks of plays that deal with "wanton wiues fables."[1] But such plays belong to the folk, and though Elizabethan records do not furnish evidence of a drama of this kind among the folk, it is pointed out later that modern folk-lore does.

It is in the play of *Pericles* that we have, I believe, the most important relic of the festival plays of the people. The Prologue opens with the words, put in the mouth of Gower:

> To sing a song that old was sung,
> From ashes ancient Gower is come,
> . . . . . .
> It hath been sung at festivals,
> On ember-eves and holidays.

[1] Hazlitt, *The English Drama and Stage*, p. 143.

These lines apparently belong to the play which Shakspere revised. Both couplets fail to rhyme. Some change has been made in the first couplet, it appears, without a revision complete enough to furnish rhyme, and the only change in the second couplet was probably the substitution of "holidays" for "holy ales."[1] That the pre-Shaksperean version of *Pericles* was based on an old popular drama seems to me clearly implied in this prologue.[2] Emphasis has already been placed on Sidney's testimony to the general vogue of such plays as *Pericles* about 1580.

Other scattering references speak for the persistence of plays at folk festivals. Heywood, at the end of his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, says: "To this day"—a clear suggestion of the survival of an old custom—"in divers places of England there be townes that hold the priviledge of their faires, and other charters by yearely stage-playes, as at Manningtree in Suffolke, Kendall in the north, and others."[3] Jonson, in a rather confusing prologue to *A Tale of a Tub*, declares:

> A Coopers wit, or some such busie Sparke,
> Illumining the high Constable, and his Clarke.
> And all the Neighbour-hood, from old Records,
> Of antick Proverbs, drawne from Whitson-Lord's,
> And their Authorities, at Wakes and Ales,
> With countrey precedents, and old Wives Tales;
> Wee bring you now, to shew what different things
> The Cotes of Clownes, are from the Courts of Kings.

In *Hesperides*, No. 662, Herrick numbers among the joys of country life the fact that—

> For sports, for pageantry and plays
> Thou hast thy eves and holidays.

[1] Malone gives the reading "holy ales."

[2] The word "sung" might be taken to indicate minstrel production of romance, but as the expression "to sing a song" in the second line applies to the production of the extant drama, "sung at festivals" would also naturally be applied to drama, especially since the reference must belong to the latter half of the sixteenth century when minstrel performances were undoubtedly rare.

[3] Nashe and Dekker refer to the survival of moralities at Manningtree; cf. Chambers, *Med. Stage*, II, 384. Such references may indicate the absence of romantic plays in the older dramatic tradition, but I think that around 1600 the survival of moralities would be more curious, more likely to challenge the attention, than the survival of romantic plays.

In No. 761, "The Wake," he is more explicit:

> Tarts and custards, creams and cakes,
> Are the junkets still at wakes:
> . . . . . .
> Morris-dancers thou shalt see,
> Marian, too, in pageantry,
> And a mimic to devise
> Many grinning properties.
> Players there will be, and those
> Base in action as in clothes;
> Yet with strutting they will please
> The incurious villages.

IV

Much testimony can be cited to show the continuance of romantic plays at local festivals with local companies of actors, old repertoire, and mediaeval stagecraft, sometimes until the nineteenth century. Here I will summarize some of the most striking parts as showing that, away from the literary centers, the villages of England as well as of France have carried on their romantic drama after mediaeval fashion. Unfortunately, while the survival of mediaeval custom is fairly clear, the survival of secular plays from mediaeval times among the people is open to question, since, in a number of instances at least, plays can be shown to have passed into the repertoire of the folk after 1600. The case is illustrated in London by the drama of Bartholomew Fair. *The Creation of the World*, divided into the various parts of the cycle plays, survived here as a puppet play well into the eighteenth century. Further, many of the seventeenth-century plays at Bartholomew Fair of which we have accounts represent themes and an art that go back to a period before 1600. Romantic and wonder tales with clowns and devils are particularly popular in them. At times contemporary fashions of literary London did get their hold on the audience of the Fair, notably at the time of the ballad opera of Gay. This, however, was rather a case of returning to Bartholomew Fair its own. If the London literary drama found difficulty in entering the popular repertoire of Bartholomew Fair, it can be imagined that the drama of the people persisted with the greatest tenacity in the more remote districts. At any rate, such seems to have been the case.

A very interesting example of the survival of ancient drama at folk festivals is to be found in the Shropshire[1] wakes and fairs. An advertisement in the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* for August 1, 1777, promises the "usual Diversions of Stage Play," etc., for the Shawbury Wakes.[2] Though the Shropshire village plays died out early in the nineteenth century, a fairly full account of them was secured by Sir Offley Wakeman.[3] The plays reported by him as best known in the region are *Prince Mucidorus, The Rigs of the Times, St. George and the Fiery Dragon, Valentine and Orson,* and *Dr. Forster* (*Faustus*).[4] Two of these are late sixteenth-century plays, *Mucedorus* and *Dr. Faustus. St. George and the Fiery Dragon* probably goes back to an older tradition still, and *The Rigs of the Times,* to judge from the extract given, is a morality type. *Valentine and Orson* represents a romantic theme originating possibly by the middle of the sixteenth century.[5] According to the account given, the acting of these Shropshire plays was thoroughly mediaeval. The open-air stage on wagons, the use of an old manuscript[6] preserved for the annual presentation, the acting of women's parts by boys, and the antics of the Fool, or Jester, who "played all manner of megrims," "going on with his manoeuvres all the time," vouch for an old tradition. So do, also, the presence of the chairman of the actors on the stage with his manuscript to serve as prompter; the large amount

[1] The career of drama in Shropshire seems to have been a long one. There is record of plays at Shrewsbury through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, among them a play in 1516 dealing with the martyrdoms of Saints Feliciana and Sabina, one on the Three Kings of Cologne in 1518, a school play of *Julian the Apostate* in 1565, and another of *The Passion of Christ* in 1567. An undated list of expenses for this period shows that a devil with gunpowder, a fool, and a morris were features of one play. Chambers, II, 250–55 and 394.

[2] Burne-Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore,* p. 442.

[3] Published in *Shropshire Archaeological Transactions,* VII, 383 ff., and quoted in Burne-Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore,* pp. 493–500.

[4] A Welsh work of 1703 refers to the performance of *Dr. Faustus* at Shrewsbury; cf. Burne-Jackson, p. 496, n. 1.

[5] A pageant of Valentine and Orson appeared at the coronation of Edward VI, 1547. A play on the subject was entered on the Stationers' Register in 1595, and one is recorded by Henslowe in 1598. *Merlinus Anonymous,* 1654, gives ironic evidence of the popularity of the theme by naming King Pepin from the story of Valentine and Orson as a folk saint in a long list of such heroes made up very largely at least from characters in dramas.

[6] I am told by Mr. Cecil J. Sharp that according to a surviving Egton sword dancer a manuscript once existed for the Plough Monday play acted at Egton and in the neighboring parts of Yorkshire in connection with the sword dance. The accounts of the play and the fragments collected indicate that it was a pure mummers' play, but considerably elaborated, as fourteen actors appeared and the play and dance required two hours.

of singing in the plays, especially the singing of the epilogue; the rewarding of the performers with cakes and ale; and the general dance that followed the performance. Miss Burne puts the case well when she says that "the open-air Stage-plays . . . . performed in West Shropshire within the last half-century . . . . seem to have remained in a state of 'arrested progress' for three hundred years; for nothing in them speaks of a later date than the performances of the 'country clowns' in the days of Shakspeare."[1]

Traditional "stage-plays" were also known just west of Shropshire in Wales. Edwards' moralities at the end of the eighteenth century were in part reworked from old traditional moralities of wakes and fairs.[2] A traditional *Lear*, also, is heard of as acted in a barn about 1770.[3] Le Braz suggests that these plays go back to the Renaissance and earlier. Welsh manuscripts of such moralities as Edwards' are preserved from the sixteenth century, and one of *King Lear* from an early period.[4] An account of wake plays in Durham mentions only biblical plays. Hutchinson, in his history of Northumberland, describing these wakes, says: "Interludes were there performed, being a species of theatrical performance, consisting of a rehearsal of some passages in Holy Writ personated by actors."[5] For Dent, Yorkshire, there is a record of a type of morality and pageant after the Restoration.[6] Douce, who knew popular lore well, says of the St. George Christmas play and its relation to Johnson's version of the legend:

> There is no doubt that many similar performances, taken from the more popular legends and romances, were performed at that and other seasons of festivity by the country folk, as well as at the fairs in booths.
>
> I once met with a sturdy hind in Craven, who had been a blacksmith, and on that account had been very properly selected by his comrades to 'enact' *Colbrand the Dane*. I regret that I was then too young and too incurious to have taken down from his mouth the part at least that he had played.[7]

[1] *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 493.

[2] Borrow, *Wild Wales*, chaps. lix, lx; and Le Braz, *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre celtique*, pp. 73 ff.

[3] Le Braz, *op. cit.*, p. 74; *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Fourth Series, II, 343, 344, and III, 70.

[4] Le Braz, pp. 62, 63, 70, 71.

[5] Quoted by Brand in *Popular Antiquities*, II, 11.

[6] Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, pp. 367, 368.

[7] Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, I, lxxix.

Colbrand is mentioned as a popular hero in *Merlin Anonymous* in a list of dramatic and ballad saints. The main thread of the Guy of Warwick story, however, would seem to have been more pervasive in popular drama. In 1537 the legend was dramatized in France by Louvet in a Miracle de Notre Dame de Liesse.[1] Gosson's testimony to the conventionality of drama with the Guy of Warwick formula has already been cited. In 1618 a play on the subject was performed at Islington.[2] A few years later Jonson in the first intermean of *The Magnetic Lady* satirizes the use of the story in drama. The extant *Guy of Warwick* of 1639 is evidently a popular rather than a literary play.[3] But most interesting of all is a reference in Nabbes's *Covent-Garden* (I, 1), 1636, to Guy of Warwick as one of the characters in a mummers' play.[4]

I have already claimed in connection with *The Old Wives Tale* that modern folk-lore supports the theory of a very old fairy-tale type of play among the people. In the remoter corners of England there have been preserved from the nineteenth century a few fragments and records of a lost fairy-tale and ballad drama, perhaps an old type of folk-drama. Thus, about the middle of the nineteenth century, William Bottrell gathered in Cornwall a full account and considerable fragments of an old play of the people, *Duffy and the Devil*. This is a version, rich in detail, of the widespread story usually known in England as "Tom Tit Tot" and in Germany as "Rumpelstilzchen."[5] In *Duffy and the Devil* the other-world wooer, or evil spirit, who has done the wife a service, has her in his power

[1] Miss Hibbard, *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, 181–87.

[2] Crane, *Mod. Lang. Publ.*, XXIII (1915), 161. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 162–65.

[4] Saint Guy ("Singuy") in a modern mummers' play is probably a survival of the same hero. Cf. Burne-Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 483.

[5] Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, Second Series, pp. 1–26; Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 1903, pp. 239–47.

Borlase, *The Natural History of Cornwall*, 1758, says of old Cornish mysteries: "Some faint remains of the same custom I have often seen in the west of Cornwall during the Christmas season, when at the family-feasts of gentlemen, the *Christmas Plays* were admitted, and some of the most learned among the vulgar (after leave obtained) entered in disguise, and before the gentry, who were properly seated, personated characters, and carryed on miserable dialogues on Scripture-subjects; when their memory could go no farther, they filled up the rest of the entertainment with more puerile representations, the combats of puppets, the final victory of the hero of the drama, and death of his antagonist." Thurstan C. Peter, *Old Cornish Drama*, 1906, says after mentioning the St. George plays: "Even more degenerate, yet still a survival, are some of the sacred plays occasionally performed in rural chapels" (p. 48). Then follows an account of the presentation of "Joseph and his Brethren" by two rival chapels.

until she frees herself by guessing his riddle, that is, telling his name. There are traces of ballad drama on the same theme. The first ballad of Child's collection, "Riddles Wisely Expounded," gives a version from Rawlinson MS D. 328, about 1450, headed "Inter diabolus et virgo." Here, as is explained in the Sargent and Kittredge edition of the *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, "the devil threatens to carry off a maiden if she cannot answer certain riddles. She solves them all, and (at the end) calls the devil by his right name, thus no doubt putting him to flight." This primitive moralized ballad of the "Duffy and Devil" type may have been a song drama, for a short narrative introduction is followed by pure dialogue. Close akin to it is the second ballad of Child's collection, "The Elfin Knight." There is record of this ballad, also, as folk-drama. Baring-Gould says of a version from the north of Cornwall near Camelford: "This used to be sung as a sort of game in farm-houses, between a young man who went outside the room and a girl who sat on the settle or a chair, and a sort of chorus of farm lads and lasses."[1]

An account of another play from Cornwall which has descended in folk-lore is given by Hunt in connection with some folk-tales of giants, evidently related to "Jack the Giant-Killer":

> In some of the old *geese dances* (guise dances, from *danse déguisé*) the giant Blunderbuss and Tom performed a very active part. Blunderbuss was always a big-bellied fellow—his smoke-frock being well stuffed with straw. He fought with a tree, and the other giant with the wheel and axle. The giant [Blunderbuss] is destroyed, as in the story, by falling on the axle. The tinker [Jack] . . . . with his unfailing coat of darkness,[2] comes in and beats Tom, until Jane [last wife of Blunderbuss, taken by Tom with the castle of Blunderbuss] comes out with the broom and beats the tinker; and then,—as in nearly all these rude plays,—St George and the Turkish knight come in; but they have no part in the real story of the drama.[3]

[1] Quoted by Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, IV, 439.

"Lady Odivere," mentioned below, has an other-world lover whose name is unknown to the lady. The riddle motive occurs also in "The Tale of Florent." In marriage ceremonies of various lands a song drama consisting of asking and answering riddles by those within and without the house, much as in the description of Baring-Gould, is usual. Cf. Ralston, *Songs of Russian People*, p. 353, for Russia; Hartmann, *Volkschauspiele*, pp. 120 ff., for Germany; J. P. Owen in *Academy*, December 21, 1895, for Wales; etc.

[2] Described in the second story rather as a coat of invulnerability (p. 61)—"of a shaggy black bull's hide . . . . hard as iron." The other sections of this story give details of Jack's career as a giantkiller and tamer.

[3] *Popular Romances of the West of England*, p. 60.

In the best known Cornish version of the St. George play,[1] St. George, after slaying the Dragon and the Turkish Knight, slays Giant Turpin. The giant Blunderbore appears again in an Oxfordshire mummers' play[2] with Little Jack—who has here become the giant's man—the Dragon, King Alfred, King Cole, etc.[3] The decadence of the giant stories in mummers' plays is shown by the complete loss of all details of the action and the mere preservation of the characters as subordinate to the St. George motive.

In another version of a Cornish mummers' play, which has more varied elements of old popular drama than any other play that I have seen, one passage preserves, as I conjecture, a portion of an old play in which there is a fight with a boar on enchanted ground—a motive close akin to a part of *Sir Eglamour of Artois*. The lines are as follows:[4]

"P. Langdon 14"

What places is are,[5] what seens appare; whare ever itorn mine eye[s],
tis all around in chantin ground and soft delusions rise;
floury mountins mos[s]y fountins, what will[6] veriety surprize
tis on the alow walks we walks an hundred ec[h]os[7]

[1] Published by Rhys in "*Everyman*" *with Other Interludes* (Everyman's Library), pp. 193–95.

[2] Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama*, I, 289–92.

[3] The cry of the mummers in this play, "Ho! men, Ho!" is at least as old as the seventeenth century in connection with the dragon fight, for in the burlesque description of the fight in "The Dragon of Wantley" the onset is thus described: "And the word it was, 'Hey, boys, hey!'" Cf. *Roxburghe Ballads* (Ballad Society), VIII, 415 ff.

[4] Thurstan C. Peter, Esq., of Redruth, Cornwall, has very kindly sent me a complete copy of the manuscript of this play. The manuscript and the part of the play that seems to preserve an old popular play on Henry V and Agincourt are described in 10 *Notes and Queries*, V, 109, and VII, 75. Besides the part dealing with Agincourt, the passage on the boar, and a very detailed St. George play, there is a passage which seems to preserve a comic scene, possibly an old *intermède*. The play was written down as prose by an illiterate mummer, and the names of the actors instead of the dramatis personae are given. This play, like other mummers' plays, goes to show that the lines were recalled by a sheer effort of the memory and not by any understanding of them. I hope to publish soon a copy of a Lincolnshire play of 1824 from Brit. Museum Add. MS 33418, which illustrates my point and shows how long the folk memory can carry words not understood. The Lincolnshire play includes practically the whole of the Induction of *Wily Beguiled*, and there are a number of expressions that cannot be understood without reference to the original, and could have meant nothing to the actors.

[5] here. [6] which with.

[7] It seems impossible to determine the original form of this line and of the second half of the next one. Probably in addition to partial lines which gave the inner rhyme, a whole line rhyming with the fourth has been lost. On the other hand, it is possible that there was a variation in verse forms here in the original, and the fourth line should read:

'Tis on this hallowed walk
An hundred echoes wake.

round us stock from hils to hils[1] the voices tost
rocks rebounding ec[h]os resounding, not one single words was lost.

"Henry Crossman 15"

Behould on yander risen ground the bour that woander[s];
Ever ending ever bending, glades an glades, shades an shades
runing on etarnall round.[2]

Fragmentary as this scene is, several things suggest that it is a remnant of some ancient romantic play rather than of a ballad or modern song. In the first place, though there is no dialogue, the passage is essentially dramatic in the attempt of the speakers to present vividly the scene that is entered. In the second place, enough of the original form of the meter is left to indicate that the long ballad couplet with inner rhyme for the second and fourth feet was used. This meter is found throughout the song drama "The Nut Brown Maid," and sporadically in *Cambises* and in the oldest Elizabethan heroic plays, *Common Conditions* (ll. 33–44, etc.) and *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*. A point is very obviously made of it in Shakspere's satire on folk productions in the "Pyramus and Thisbe" of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and also in the satire on the crude players in *Histriomastix*, though here the movement is anapestic. The same meter occurs in one passage of the Oxford *Narcissus* (ll. 305–16), where there is similar satire on the folk. So far as I know, however, it is used very little elsewhere in Elizabethan literature. It may have been a popular device of old romantic dramas. Finally, that this fragment of a mummers' play is a survival from old metrical romance themes seems probable, and it suggests the boar scene of *Sir Eglamour of Artois*. Indeed, the *Eglemour and Degrebelle* which was played in 1444 might as readily have come down to the mummers as might the stories of giants. At any rate, there is evidence of a considerable vogue of the Eglamour theme among the folk.[3]

[1] round us still from hill to hill?

[2] Possibly the original was:

Glades and glades, shades and shades, running an eternal round,
Never ending, ever bending. Behold on yonder rising ground
The boar that wanders.

[3] The enchanted-boar story is found in a ballad of the Percy Folio MS called "Sir Lionel" (Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 18), and in modern versions of this ballad—all clearly related to *Sir Eglamour of Artois*. The name "Sir Egrabell" given to the father of Sir Lionel seems to be a combination of the two names Eglamour

The Cornish plays seem to me significant less as a relic of Cornwall than as a relic of a lost drama in English which must have existed in other regions also. Their preservation in Cornwall was probably due to the remoteness of the region and hence to the survival of older culture.[1] There are, indeed, records of a few plays from other regions of Great Britain. Recently an account of the performance of a fairy-tale drama, *The Golden Ball*, by the folk in the region of Southport along the Welsh border has been given by Miss A. G. Gilchrist, together with some fragments of the play.[2] The closely related ballad, "The Maid Freed from the Gallows," discussed by Miss Gilchrist, occurs in a pure dialogue form in one of Child's versions.[3] This ballad was performed as drama about 1840 in Forfarshire,[4] and an account of its performance by negro children in America has recently been published.[5]

and Degrabell. The name "Eglamour" was popular in Elizabethan plays. It is found in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *The Sad Shepherd*. Another ballad of the Percy MS, "Sir Cawline," is related to a different motive of the same romance (Child, No. 61). During the seventeenth century "Sir Eglamore" (or "Courage Crowned with Conquest"), a ballad with a burlesque description of the battle of Eglamour and the dragon, was often printed in collections and broadsides; cf. *Roxburghe Ballads* (Ballad Society), III, 606–9. One expression in *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, "the worme . . . . wylde," used for the dragon, occurs in *The Revesby Sword Play* as describing a monster that appears with the dragon (*Sir Eglamour of Artois*, ll. 707, 708; *Revesby Play*, ll. 20, 40).

[1] Mediaeval dramatic types and technique largely lost among the French but surviving in the Basque and Breton countries and tongues are discussed below.

[2] *Jour. Eng. Folk-Song Soc.*, V (1915), 233, 234.

[3] *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 95.

[4] Cf. 6 *Notes and Queries*, VI, 476; Child, II, 354.

[5] C. Alphonso Smith, *Musical Quarterly*, January, 1916. I am indebted to Professor A. H. Tolman for this reference.

Perhaps a further hint of old romantic drama which once existed among the folk is the fact that in a number of mummers' plays belonging to Scotland and the north of England there are certain lines suggestive of an other-world visit appropriate to the *renouveau* motive. In the Pace Egg play published at Manchester about 1835 (Brit. Mus., 1077 g. 37 [27]), perhaps the oldest of the group of plays showing this motive, Hector, dying after a battle with St. George, hears a silver trumpet sound, and says,

> Down yonder is the way.
> Farewell St. George I can no longer stay.

Then Old Bold Ben enters and challenges St. George, who promises to

> . . . . cross the water at the hour of five

to meet him. The last line in particular is practically invariable in this group of plays. The Pace Egg play also has a passage in which St. George tells of slaying a giant and freeing a lady.

A Somerset play (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 24546) preserves a few lines referring to a meeting with Robin Hood. In the "calling-on" song of the unpublished Sowerby sword dance and play, collected by Cecil J. Sharp, Bold Robin Hood is called in as one of the dancers and replies.

From another remote district, Orkney, we have record of a feast play that may deserve mention here. W. T. D[ennison] has printed a ballad[1] which he spent forty years in gathering, "The Play o' de Lathie Odivere." He explains his title as follows:

> In the olden times, Orcadians at their convivial meetings amused themselves by rude dramatical representations. . . . . In these performances the menye-singers acted the principal part. They were professionals hired to sing, recite, or act for the entertainment of the company.
>
> This ballad was at one time represented as a drama by the menye-singers. This fact influenced me in adopting one of its old names, namely, play, in preference to other names by which the ballad was known—such as rhyme, ballan, teel.

Whether this dramatic presentation was more than a minstrel recital of a romance it is difficult to tell. Parts of the ballad that Dennison has pieced together from tradition might well be fragments of a drama. The English form is comparatively modern, however. The story is very similar to the old lais, having conventions found in *Tydorel*, *Sir Gowther*, etc., and we see here at least a suggestion of the performance among the folk of stories belonging to the same type as Gower's "Tale of Florent."[2]

V

To emphasize more fully (1) the value of these traditional plays for the study of the past, and (2) the probable great similarity between the mediaeval drama of England and the contiguous countries of the Continent which is suggested by the great similarity of art, custom, and repertoire in the traditional drama of the two regions, I am giving, at what I hope will not seem unwarranted length, a sketch of the more formal romantic drama as it has survived in France.

Scattering and fragmentary as it is, much evidence points to a vogue of romantic drama in France from the fourteenth century on. A number of romantic types that existed prior to 1500 have already been mentioned for their possible bearing on English drama. Village

[1] *Scottish Antiquary*, VIII, 53 ff.; reprinted in *Folk-Lore of Orkney* (Folk-Lore Society), pp. 235 ff.

[2] Cf. for France, *Revue des traditions populaires*, III, 428–30, "Gargantua au théâtre" in Provence; and IX, 240–42, "Les Contes de Perrault chez les forains." The origin of these, however, seems to be modern.

and festival performances by local companies as well as performances by more formal organizations flourished in France earlier than we can trace them in England. Thus, in 1392, a performance of *Robin et Marion* is described "ainsi qu'il est accoustumé de faire, chascun an, en les foiries de Penthecouste en la ditte ville d'Angiers; par les gens du pays, tant par les escoliers et fils de bourgois, comme autres";[1] and an account for Amiens in 1402 reads: "Pour ce que, la veille de Sainct Firmin les josnes gens de la ville d'Amiens ont accoutumez de soy jouer et esbattre et faire jeux de personnaiges," etc.[2]

An excellent example of the continuation of tradition through a long period without connecting links left in the records is furnished by the Miracles de Notre Dame. Between the time of the forty-two plays belonging to the fourteenth century and the reappearance of such plays near the middle of the sixteenth century, one theme—that of Cangé MS, No. XXXI—is known to have been treated in the play of *Berthe et Pépin* at Compiègne in 1455.[3] An account of a miracle at Metz in 1512 shows that the play was the same as *L'Enfant donné au diable*, No. I of the Cangé MS,[4] while Petit de Julleville gives good reason for believing that *Le Chevalier qui avait donné sa femme au diable*, first published in 1544—a play of the same name was acted in 1541—belongs to the fourteenth century.[5] Louvet's twelve Miracles de Notre Dame de Liesse,[6] performed between 1536 and 1550, are like the older plays in type of story and in the prevalence of romantic themes. Reference has already been made to the fact that the first one is on the same romantic theme as No. IV of the Cangé MS, *La Femme du Roi de Portugal*, and that Petit de Julleville comments on the similarity in treatment.

For the town of Béthune in the border region between France and the Netherlands[7] there are records of plays at no great intervals from before the middle of the fifteenth century to the latter half of

[1] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 324 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 326.

[3] Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 26.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, 102.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, 140, 335 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, 608 ff.

[7] Something like a continuous tradition for romantic plays can at least be made out for this region. Cf. Creizenach, III, 47, for a suggestion of the importance of the region in the development of romantic drama.

the sixteenth. Plays were given by organized companies and by groups of scholars, but often also by groups of local actors on festival occasions. In addition to farce and religious drama the plays include "La Destruction de Liége" in 1469, "ung jus de la Fortune que olt le Roy de Castille et la royne sur le mer" in 1506, "un grant jeu de personnaiges traitant d'une histoire romaine intitulée du roy de Gascoigne" in 1509, and "Le jugement du Roy d'Aragon" in 1526.[1] But Béthune may be typical of many French towns where records are not so complete, for romantic plays at various places in France are recorded during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. A *Griseldis* was performed at Metz in 1488;[2] a "Joeu de chevalier errant" at Saint Omer in 1530;[3] a play on the judgment of Duke Charles four times at Besançon in 1548;[4] a *Huon de Bordeaux* at Paris in 1557 by the Confrérie de la Passion;[5] and a play in the same period by the same organization, in which "un roi Mabriant" appeared.[6]

Mediaeval drama lost its hold at Paris about the middle of the sixteenth century when the official attacks on the religious drama were fully launched.[7] It survived lingeringly, however, in many provinces and found a retreat particularly in the Basque and Breton corners of France,[8] carrying with it, as I conjecture, some form of a number of mediaeval romantic plays. These two regions, widely separated as they are, show a remarkable coincidence in the customs

[1] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 340, 358, 360–61, 370. Cf. Creizenach, III, 473, for a Dutch play of 1523 dealing with the "König von Aragon und seiner Tochter."

[2] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, p. 347; cf. *Les Mystères*, II, 60.

[3] *Répertoire*, p. 377.

[4] Creizenach, III, 47. Reference is also made here to another romantic play of the same year at Besançon.

[5] Creizenach, III, 48.

[6] Lancaster, *The French Tragi-Comedy*, p. 7. For a number of romantic plays, chiefly from novelle, in the second half of the sixteenth century in various parts of France, cf. Lanson, *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, X (1903), 180 ff. Themes from heroic romance appear in the records of the various countries of Europe between the end of the fifteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth. Creizenach gives accounts of such themes in Italian plays (I, 329 f.); in the Fastnachtspiele (I, 415, 416, 419, 428 ff.); in the plays of Gil Vicente (III, 193 ff.); in the plays of Hans Sachs (III, 424); and in Dutch plays (III, 473).

[7] Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, I, 429; Le Braz, *Essai sur l'hist. du théâtre celtique*, pp. 492, 493.

[8] For the derivation of the traditional plays of these regions from French originals, cf. Le Braz, *op. cit.*, chap. vi, for Brittany, and *Krit. Jahresbericht Rom. Phil.*, 1911–12, I, 64, 65 for the Basque provinces.

of their traditional drama; and, what is more interesting, much the same customs mark the performance of mummers' plays and of the traditional Shropshire plays in England as well as of mediaeval drama in general.

In both regions local troupes with men or boys playing the female parts gave their plays[1] at annual festivals such as Whitsun, Easter, saints' days, or fairs. The actors in costume, which was elaborate and ornamented where possible, went in procession to the place of performance.[2] The stage was a platform in the open air, a curtain cutting off a part of the back. The ordinary entrances were from the two extreme ends as in Elizabethan theaters. Certain privileged classes were allowed seats on the side of the stage. According to Basque custom, the pagans used one side as a conventional entrance, and here was placed their *idole*, a figure carried in procession like English giants and dragons. The entrance for the Christians at the other side was decorated with garlands and flowers. The lines of the plays were chanted, the stress following the chant monotonously. In addition, large parts of the Basque plays were practically sung to music. Specific traditional airs, some Basque and some French, were played for prologue and epilogue, for entrances of Christians and of Turks, for lyrics, for battles, for dances, for the final hymn, etc.[3] Long prologues and epilogues also were the rule in both the Basque and the Breton plays. These were divided into stanzas of four lines, and for each stanza there was a *marche*, three *marches* finishing out practically the movement of the Greek chorus. Clownish characters appeared in burlesque and lively scenes. In the Breton plays[4] separate actions, or *intermèdes*, for these characters existed, though Le Braz indicates a rather minor development of such independent comic actions, but in the Basque plays *intermèdes* presenting satiric and Rabelaisian scenes for the comic characters were common.[5]

[1] The plays still linger, though they are moribund. For my material I have consulted J. Vinson, *Folk-Lore du pays basque*, 1883, pp. xviii ff. and 309 ff.; G. Hérelle, *Les Pastorales basques*, 1903; A. Le Braz, *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre celtique*, 1904; and various volumes of *Revue Celtique*.

[2] Cf. Blomefield, *Hist. of Norfolk*, IV, 426, for a similar customary proceeding on St. Thomas à Becket's Day.

[3] There is evidence that originally the amount of music was equally great in the Breton plays. Cf. Le Braz, pp. 406 and 431.

[4] Le Braz, pp. 413 f.

[5] Hérelle gives a list of these comic *intermèdes*.

Devils with mediaeval names were the chief source of grotesquery, comic intrigue, and buffoonery in plays of both regions, and "Satans" formed one of the three distinct groups of characters in the Basque plays. In addition to the comic scenes, there were regularly interspersed dances,[1] which in Brittany were performed by all the actors, while among the Basques Satans performed the wild dances. In both regions a collection followed a long epilogue. This was taken during the close of the epilogue in the Breton country, though a small fee had already been charged for entrance to a space near the stage, but in the Basque country, where the plays were free and wine was served free, collectors followed the distributors of wine. The Basque plays terminated with dances by groups from the villages, and the proceeds of the performance were spent on a feast. The concluding dance was omitted from the Breton plays, but the feast ended the celebration.[2]

Not only do the customs of presentation in these plays clearly survive from mediaeval drama,[3] but in practically every detail they parallel those of the Shropshire wake plays discussed above. Further, scarcely a custom of the English mummers fails to find a place here, particularly in the Basque plays. Examples are the festival performance, the ornamentation, the frequency of sung parts, the interspersed and final dances,[4] the semicircle or line from which actors advance, some type of marching, the presence of devils and clowns, buffoonery and drolleries, the final song or sung epilogue with the request for gifts, the accompanying collection, and the feast of the folk at the close of the festival. Most interesting of all is the parallel between the plays in the general formula. Turkish kings with black faces fighting against such Christian champions as Abraham, Jeremiah, Vespasian, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Boulogne form the

[1] Early in the sixteenth century Erasmus in his colloquy *Diversoria* has the following reference to what seems a similar mediaeval custom: "Hoc pacto totum convivium temperant, quemadmodum solent actores fabularum, qui scenis admiscent choros; ita isti alternis miscent offas et pultes" (Erasmi *Opera Omnia*, 1703, I, 717).

[2] Vinson mentions Basque plays ranging in length from 2,000 to 7,000 lines. The Breton plays range from 5,000 to 9,000 lines (Le Braz, p. 413). These last are divided into *journées*, three being usual, but they add a modern touch in the division into acts also. The performances in both regions lasted from ten or eleven in the forenoon until late afternoon.

[3] Le Braz, pp. 415 ff.

[4] Cf. especially the *Revesby Play*.

staple of the Basque plays.[1] The mummers' plays of England usually show St. George as the Christian hero fighting most frequently against the "Turkish Knight," whose face is conventionally black. In Scotland, Galations, or Galgacus, is the Christian hero. But heroes of romance, Christian legend, or history, such as Alexander, Hector, King Alfred, Giant Turpin, St. Guy, and St. Patrick, appear in a way which suggests that the folk have retained in their drama a dim trace of ancient dramatic heroes other than St. George.

The evidence for tradition in the subjects of individual Basque and Breton plays is not so definite. More than half of the plays are mysteries or miracles, and these must have descended in most cases from mediaeval drama. But modern stories also enter. Hérelle records a trilogy on Napoleon, and both Vinson and Le Braz speak of the adaptation of popular romantic plays from chapbooks. Vinson shows that a *Quatre Fils Aymon* of 1875 is based on such a book,[2] and Le Braz makes clear a similar derivation of a *Huon de Bordeaux*.[3] It does not seem to me, however, that any convincing evidence is given in regard to the first introduction of such stories. Older Basque manuscripts of the *Quatre Fils Aymon* exist than the one based on a chapbook,[4] and a Breton drama on the subject was printed in 1818.[5] Several other Breton versions of *Huon de Bordeaux* exist also, one from the eighteenth century.[6] The most prolific author of these "pastoral" plays, Jobic Coat, is spoken of by Le Braz as one who "n'a guère fait qu'y pratiquer des remaniements,"[7] and in the prologue of one piece the author says that he "l'a versifiée à nouveau, autrement qu'elle n'était . . . . parce qu'il avait vu l'histoire en français."[8] Names and dates are commonly attached to the manuscripts, but they usually represent the names of copyists and the

[1] Vinson, p. 312. The Turks are conquered or converted, though aided by the Satans. English mummers' plays in much the same words represent the Turk as victor in one play and St. George in another.

[2] Pp. xix, xx.

[3] Pp. 327 ff.

[4] Cf. Hérelle, pp. 19 f., for manuscripts of about 1800 and of 1851.

[5] Le Braz, p. 189.

[6] Le Braz, pp. 520–21; *Revue Celtique*, V, 319, 320, 323.

[7] P. 451.

[8] Le Braz, p. 441.

dates of the copying of older manuscripts.[1] Few manuscripts, it is true, go back of the eighteenth century, but this is rather to be expected in view of the evidence for the rapid decay of manuscripts, the frequent destruction of old ones, and the habit of modernizing the plays.[2] Plays from miracles and from heroic romances occur very frequently in various manuscripts. Indeed, it is for such plays that the manuscripts are most numerous,[3] are often among the oldest extant, and show relations to each other indicating the constant reworking of favorite themes. As the mysteries of York and Coventry were reworked for generations, or old Welsh plays were revised by Edwards, these Basque and Breton plays have apparently been reworked again and again. The people were so wedded to their favorite old themes that new ones entered slowly.

Here it will be sufficient to point out how the themes and conventions of the plays the analyses of which I have seen parallel those of the fourteenth-century Cangé MS of the Miracles de Notre Dame and the early popular romantic drama in England. Themes of the Constance and Eustace types—of calumniated women cast away and wrecked at sea, of separated families, etc.—which, as has been pointed out, prevailed in the earliest English romantic drama known, and played so important a part in the French Miracles de Notre Dame of the fourteenth century,[4] are possibly the most popular themes among the Basque and Breton plays both in miracles and in purer romantic form. Here belong *Geneviève de Brabant* and *Hélène de Constantinople*, rather romance plays than miracles, and exceedingly popular in both regions. The Basque *Célestine* and *Princesse de Cazmira* are romances of the same type.[5] In the Breton *Vie de saint Pierre et de saint Paul* the material has been enormously enlarged by the addition of the legend of St. Clement, a detailed version of this type of story.[6] And the list could be continued.

[1] *Revue Celtique*, V, 318 ff.; Le Braz, chap. v; etc.

[2] Vinson, pp. xviii–xxviii; Le Braz, chap. v.

[3] On the other hand, apparently only Coat's original manuscript of his adaptation of Racine's *Mithridate* exists (Le Braz, pp. 451, 521).

[4] Of these plays in the Cangé MS, besides XXIX and XXXII, XII and XXVII tell of the calumniated lady and XXVII and XXXVII of the adventures at sea.

[5] Vinson, pp. 341–42 and 344–45.

[6] Le Braz, pp. 288 ff.

Another theme suggesting a remote antiquity is that of supreme arrogance and incorrigibility. If we may judge from the mummers' plays the theme must have found expression in England at least in the St. George plays. The Herod of the biblical plays is a related figure. In Robert the Devil the conception found its most elaborate expression, but except in the possible disguising of an Englishman as Robert the Devil at Guisnes,[1] I have found no record of him in English pageant or play. One of the plays of the Cangé MS, however, deals with the story, and *Robert le Diable* was a popular play in both Brittany and the Basque region. Similar themes are especially frequent in Breton plays. The legend of St. Laurent, which is dramatized in the Cangé MS, is found as a Breton play, with the evil career of a child of the devil added. *Guillaume, Comte de Poitou*, one of the favorite plays of the Bretons, combines this motive with that of conquest. Count William conquers towns and kingdoms; slays in boasting combat the kings of Turkey, Hibernia, and Persia; overthrows the pope, establishing a false one; and takes his brother's wife; but after a long period of scorn for all moral appeals, he is finally converted and becomes a hermit.[2]

The motive of the conflict between Christians and Turks, which, as I have indicated, may be regarded less as one theme of the plays than as the motivating force of this traditional drama, at least of the Basques—like the conflict between virtues and vices in the morality play—was thought by Vinson[3] to be a survival from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At any rate, it seems to have been an early convention of secular pageant and drama on the Continent. The pageant of 1378 in Belgium in which Christians under Godfrey of Boulogne conquered the Saracens in Jerusalem has already been described. In 1389 a scene from *Le Pas Saladin* which was not altogether dumb-show presented at Paris Richard's battle with the Saracens.[4] In 1460 the conflict motive appeared in the play *L'Histoire*

[1] *L. and P. Henry VIII*, III, 1555.

[2] In 1532 at Laval on the border of the Breton country "fust joué en la vallée de la Morigniere le mystere de l'*Ermite meudrier* qui dura neuf jours." Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 119, conjectures that this play may have been on the story of Saint Jean le Paulu, which is treated in a Miracle de Notre Dame, No. XXX of the Cangé MS. It at least shows the early popularity and elaborate expansion of stories of the Count William type.

[3] Pp. xix and 323.

[4] Creizenach, I, 376.

ou Jeux de la ville de Constantinople, at Arles,[1] and in 1497 in Locher's *Tragedia de Thurcis et Suldano*,[2] which has among its characters the Sultan of Egypt and Bajazet—the subject of one of the Basque plays. Other examples could be cited. The vogue of the oriental seems to have developed early in Great Britain. The author of *Colkelbie Sow* in the fifteenth century, describing the masked dances of the Scottish peasants, says:

Sum *The Cane of Tartary*
Sum *The Soldane of Surry*
All his dansis defynd
Sum *Pretir Johnie of grit Ynd*
Sum As the *Ethiopis* vsit
Sum futit and sum refusit
Some had dansis mony ma
W^t^ all the dansis of *Asia*
Sum of *Affrickis* age
And principale of *Cartage*.[3]

It is reasonable to suppose that a king of Egypt was one of the characters in the *Eglemour and Degrebelle* of 1444. Masques of Turks and Moors were popular at the English court from the early part of the sixteenth century. The group of Turks opposing a Christian peace in the disguising of 1518 described above illustrates perfectly the conflict motive of the pastorales. In 1564 Udall in his *Ezechias* represents the insolent leader of the Assyrians as a giant and his men as coal-black.[4] According to Sidney, it was common about 1580 for the scenes of popular romantic plays to be laid in Asia and Africa. Examples of the oriental monarch and conqueror in the Elizabethan drama are, of course, frequent.

The very names of the romantic plays in the repertoire of the Basque and Breton pastorales usually enforce this mediaeval color. Plays found in both regions are *Charlemagne ou les Douze Pairs de France*, *La Destruction de Jérusalem*, *Jérusalem délivrée ou Godefroi de*

[1] Creizenach, I, 377.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 31, 32. Gegenbach's *Nollhart* dealing with Turks was performed at Basle in 1515 (*ibid.*, III, 240).

[3] Laing, *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 194.

[4] Cf. Hartwell's account in Boas, *University Drama*, pp. 94 ff. The battles, the siege, and the comic scenes are also typically mediaeval.

Bouillon, Robert le Diable, Les Quatre Fils Aymon, and *Jean de Paris.* Among the Bretons such titles are to be found as *Orson et Valentin, Huon de Bordeaux, La Princesse Athenaïse, fille du roi de Lombardie,* and *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne;* among the Basque people, *Alexandre, Astyage, Kouli-Khan, Bajazet, Mustapha,* etc.[1] Perhaps *La Destruction de Jérusalem*—paralleled in England by the Coventry play—which is said to date from the fifteenth century in Brittany,[2] is most suggestive of mediaeval tradition. There are also here parallels to the English plays of the sixteenth century which marked the rise of a popular romantic drama. *Valentine and Orson, Huon of Bordeaux, The Four Sons of Aymon,* and *Godfrey of Boulogne,* all drawn from heroic romances, are recorded as plays by Henslowe at the end of the sixteenth century, and all were perhaps revisions of old popular plays.[3] *Valentine and Orson* as a Shropshire wake play has already been discussed. The Basque dramatization of the story of the Persian King Astiage seems very similar in material and method[4] to the early English *Cambises,* a play which has all the marks of popular production;[5] and *Kouli-Khan, Mustapha,* and *Bajazet* of the Basque region suggest the oriental plays of the late eighties.

My excuse for presenting these parallels is, of course, my belief that the similarity in repertoires is due at least in part to a common romantic stock in the drama of France and England of which we lack the records. I am aware that the simplicity of popular taste and the vogue of the same romances in chapbook form in the two countries may account for a similar independent development, but such an explanation does not seem to me adequate. Certainly in the Breton district the chapbooks that sold most extensively were apparently those dealing with the well-known stories of the dramas,[6] and the greatest favor of the people has been extended throughout the era of chapbooks to what is best known.

[1] Three interesting plays of this region are *Richard sans peur, duc de Normandie, Le Roi Henri d'Angleterre,* and *Le Comte Warwick.*

[2] Le Braz, p. 190.

[3] Cf. Greg, *Henslowe's Diary,* II, 158, 166, 195, and 227.

[4] Cf. Vinson, pp. 326 ff., for an analysis of the play.

[5] Cf. Manly's estimate, *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.,* VI, 321.

[6] Le Braz, pp. 324 ff.

But, without pressing the argument on matters too highly conjectural for proof, I have tried to present succinctly the evidence for my belief that the mediaeval drama included much romance, that the known romantic drama of the sixteenth century in England was in all probability indebted to older dramatic tradition to a much greater degree than we can prove, and that in part the mediaeval repertoire and stage customs found in the traditional drama of England and France must have come down in popular tradition from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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LEWIS CHAUCER OR LEWIS CLIFFORD?

For some years I have suspected that the little Lewis to whom Chaucer dedicated his *Treatise on the Astrolabe* was perhaps not his own son, but the son of his friend Sir Lewis Clifford. The hypothesis is worth considering.

It is generally admitted that, when Chaucer specifies "the year of our Lord 1391" in Part II, section 1, he is designating the current year. The inference may be accepted without hesitation, in default of any conceivable reason to the contrary.

Further, there are no good grounds for interpreting Chaucer's March 12, 1391, as March 12, 1392. In an astronomical work like the *Astrolabe*, the presumption is that he began his calendar with January 1, not with March 25. The presumption is strengthened by the fact that such was the practice of Nicholas of Lynn, one of the authorities to whom he acknowledges indebtedness. Nor is this all. Immediately after mentioning March 12, 1391, Chaucer mentions December 13. Obviously he refers to the following winter, for we cannot suppose that he is working backward in the calendar. December 13, 1391, would, of course, be earlier, not later, than March 12, 1391–2. This consideration raises the general probability to a practical certainty.[1] We may therefore take it as settled that the *Astrolabe* was written in 1391. There is no likelihood that the

[1]Professor Samuel Moore, who argues strongly for 1392, has overlooked this point (*Modern Philology*, X, 203–5).

composition of so short a piece was spread over two or three years.[1]

Now Sir Lewis Clifford had a son Lewis who died in this very year, 1391. The evidence is documentary and conclusive.

On October 12, 1390, Sir Lewis Clifford had King Richard's license to acquire from the Abbot of Préaux, in Normandy, certain English manors for life, with remainder for life to Lewis his son.[2] On the sixth of the following December, there was a further grant to Clifford, and to his son Lewis in survivorship, in enlargement of that of October 12.[3] This son was alive on June 30, 1391, as is shown by still another grant, relating to the same matters.[4] He died, however, in that year, on the 22d of October, for, on October 22, 1392, Henry, Earl of Derby, then at the castle of Prague, made an offering "in die anniuersarii filii Lowys Clifford."[5]

Chronology, then, seems rather favorable to my suggestion. We may conjecture, if we will, that it was the sudden death of Lewis Clifford the younger that made Chaucer drop his pen in the middle of a sentence when the *Astrolabe* was still far from completion.

[1] Chaucer was clearly writing in 1391—there is no other reasonable cause that can be conceived for his mentioning that particular year. But the days mentioned (March 12 and December 13) were selected, not with reference to the time of writing, but as marking the vernal equinox and the winter solstice. The processes would suit those two days in any year. For vividness, Chaucer described these sample observations in the form of a narrative in the first person. He was writing from the point of view of such future students as might use his textbook, and for them, of course, the dates mentioned would be points in the past. Indeed, they might, and very probably would, be points in the past to little Lewis himself by the time he received the manuscript. The treatise was to be in five parts, and the dates occur at the very beginning of Part II. Clearly, then, the tenses are not usable in any argument against my hypothesis. I speak of them, not because I think they are real difficulties, but in order that my readers may not suppose that I have overlooked the use that hasty or adverse reasoners might make of them.

[2] "Licence for Lewis de Cliffort to acquire for life, with remainder to Lewis his son, for life, the manors of Toftes, co. Norfolk, Warmynton, co. Warwick, Spectebury, co. Dorset, and Aston, co. Berks, . . . from the abbot and convent of Préaux in Normandy" (*Calendar of Patent Rolls 1388–92*, p. 306; 14 Richard II, pt. 1, m. 21). On this priory see further *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396–99*, p. 357; *1401–5*, p. 263; *1405–8*, pp. 18, 295; *Inq. p. M.* (folio), iii. 210 b; Blomefield's *Norfolk*, 2d ed., viii. 62, 63; Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ed. Ellis and others, vi. pt. 2, p. 1027.

[3] *Calendar 1388–92*, p. 355 (14 Richard II, pt. 2, m. 46).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 456 (15 Richard II, pt. 1, m. 36).

[5] "Item in oblacionibus domini ibidem [*sc.* in castello de Prake] in die anniuersarii filii Lowys Clifford xxij° die Octobris, xv gr." (*Expeditions . . . . Made by the Earl of Derby*, ed. Toulmin Smith for the Camden Society, 1894, p. 275; cf. Miss Toulmin Smith's note, p. 312).

Sir Lewis Clifford, whose brilliant career has been studied in the first volume of *Modern Philology*,[1] and more recently in a learned paper on "The Lollard Knights" by Mr. W. T. Waugh,[2] was not only a gallant gentleman and a personal friend of the poet's: he was also a trusted adherent of John of Gaunt[3] and himself a power in the realm. Moreover, he appears to have felt some interest in literature, both French and English. It would manifestly have been natural enough for Chaucer to dedicate a volume either to Sir Lewis Clifford or to Clifford's heir. Miss Rickert has recently made the really brilliant discovery that the balade of *Truth* was addressed to Clifford's son-in-law, Sir Philip la Vache.[4]

The terms in which Chaucer addresses the boy to whom he dedicates the *Astrolabe* are quite consistent with the hypothesis that "little Lewis" was Lewis Clifford. "Lyte Lowys my sone" he calls him, and again, "my litle sone." Such language, as everybody is aware, was customary in those days (and centuries thereafter) from an older man to a young friend,[5] particularly to one whom he was instructing or toward whom he stood in any tutorial or advisory relation. The *Book of Courtesy* begins, "Mi dere sone,"[6] and John Russell, in his *Book of Nurture*, uses the vocative "son" continually.[7] A striking example, from Chaucer's own circle, is afforded by the well-known *Moral Balade* in which Henry Scogan addresses Prince Hal and his three brothers[8] as "my noble sons" and speaks of himself as their "father."

> My noble sones, and eek my lordes dere,
> I, your fader called unworthily,
> Sende unto you this litle tretys here.[9]

[1] I, 6–13.

[2] *Scottish Historical Review*, 1913, xi. 58–63, 88–92.

[3] Nobody knows whose son Sir Lewis was. In *John of Gaunt's Register*, March 21, 1373, we read "que les villes de Houxham, Colyn Johan et Stokes, sont a une honuree dame q'est taunte a nostre bien ame chivaler monsire Lowys de Clifford" and that the Duke issues certain instructions to protect this lady in her rights (ed. Armitage-Smith, No. 293, i. 125). This entry seems to connect him with the Cliffords of Devonshire. The clue is worth following, but this is not the place to attempt it.

[4] *Modern Philology*, XI, 209 ff.

[5] I am not overlooking the fact that son might mean godson; but it is likely that the sponsors of Lewis the younger were greater personages than Chaucer.

[6] Furnivall, *The Babees Book*, p. 27 (cf. p. 34).

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[8] Afterwards the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester.

[9] Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 237 (cf. p. xlii).

In at least one point the style used by Chaucer in his dedicatory chapter seems distinctly more in keeping with my hypothesis than with the idea that he is speaking to his own little boy:

> Lyte Lowys my sone, I aperceyve wel by certeyne evydences thyn abilite to lerne sciences touching nombres and proporciouns; and as wel considre I thy bisy praier in special to lerne the tretys of the Astrolabie. Than for as mochel as a philosofre saith, "*He wrappith him in his frend that condescendith*[1] *to the rightfull praiers of his frend,*" therefore have I yeven the a suffisant astrolabie as for our orizonte, etc.

Chaucer might, no doubt, call his own ten-year-old son his "friend" if he chose, but the term is more natural if he is writing to the son of Sir Lewis Clifford.

My hypothesis is offered with no positiveness, but merely as an alternative that may some day be proved or disproved. As the known facts stand, it explains them all quite as well as they are explained by the current view. If, however, someone should be able to establish the existence of a Lewis Chaucer of suitable age, or to demonstrate that Lewis Clifford the younger was not about ten years old when he died, the case would of course be lost.

Certain facts about Sir Lewis Clifford's family life are on record, but they do not fix the year of his son's birth.

Sir Roger la Ware (Warre) died on August 27, 1370,[2] leaving a widow named Eleanor,[3] who, on or about November 26 of the same year, took the customary oath not to marry again without the king's license.[4] On January 27, 1373, she is mentioned as the wife of Sir Lewis Clifford;[5] on June 18, 1387, she is mentioned as deceased.[6]

[1] It is scarcely necessary to remark that this verb means simply "to accede" carrying no hint of the modern idea of condescension.

[2] *Wiltshire Inquisitiones*, iii, 360 (cf. folio *Inq. p. M.*, ii. 305).

[3] She is mentioned in his will, April 28, 1368 (Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i, 75). See also *Final Concords of the Co. of Lancaster*, ed. Farrer, ii. 157 (Record Society, Lancashire and Cheshire); *Inq. ad quod Damnum, Lists and Indexes*, No. 22, p. 509; *Papal Registers, Petitions*, i. 498, 521, 522; *Papal Registers, Letters*, iv, 54.

[4] *Cal. Close Rolls 1369–74*, p. 160.

[5] *Feet of Fines*, Case 288, File 50, No. 754. There is a partial summary in Emanuel Green's *Pedes Finium for the County of Somerset*, [iii.] 192 (Somerset Record Society, xvii). She is mentioned again as Sir Lewis's wife on February 12, 1373 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1370–74*, p. 246).

[6] *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385–89*, p. 310.

Her marriage to Sir Lewis probably took place not long before January 27, 1373, for the record of that date is a fine by which she and her present husband (Sir Lewis) released her rights of dower in certain real estate to her former husband's heir, Sir John la Warre, Sir Roger's son by a former marriage. If Lewis Clifford the younger was the son of Sir Lewis and Eleanor, we have, then, approximately 1373–87 as the limits for the date of his birth, so that he may conceivably have been anywhere from four to seventeen years of age in 1391.

It is, indeed, schematically possible that Lewis the son was even older; for his father Lewis had been married before, though when or to whom we cannot tell. Sir Lewis had a daughter Elizabeth, who was aged seventeen and upwards in June, 1379,[1] and who therefore cannot have been the offspring of Dame Eleanor.[2] If Lewis the younger was the son of Clifford's first wife, we first hear of him when he was almost of age. This would be odd enough, in view of his father's activity and conspicuous position. On the whole, we are

[1] *Chancery Inq. p. M.*, 2 Richard II, File 4, No. 20.

[2] Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lewis Clifford, was successively the wife of Sir John Lenveysy the younger and of Sir Philip la Vache. She married Lenveysy before November 20, 1373, and in 1374 he settled valuable estates on her for life (*Wiltshire Inquisitiones*, iii. 378; *Inq. ad quod Damnum, Lists and Indexes*, No. 22, p. 589; *Grossi Fines in Rot. Orig. Abbrev.*, ii. 333*a*; folio *Cal. Inq. p. M.*, ii. 330 *b*; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1370–74*, p. 422; *Chancery Inq. p. M.*, 2 Richard II, File 4, No. 20, and Richard II, 9, No. 43). Lenveysy died on October 26, 1379, without issue, and she was found to be jointly enfeoffed with him for life in the manors of Hogenorton (Hook Norton) and Cudlynton (Kidlington), Oxfordshire, in a third part of the manor of Wittenham, Berks, in the manor of Coumbe Byset (Coombe Biset), Wilts (except ten acres), and in a moiety of the manor of Magna Missyngdene (Great Missenden or Mussenden), Bucks, with the advowson of the Abbey of Missyngdene (*Chancery Inq. p. M.*, Richard II, File 9, No. 43). Thus she brought a good income to Sir Philip la Vache when she married him, as she did in less than four months—by February 9, 1380 (*Feet of Fines*, Case 21, File 103, No. 8, old 24). She is also mentioned as Sir Philip's wife in the Close Rolls on April 12, 1380 (*Calendar 1377–81*, p. 299), in a Cambridge fine of 3 Richard II (June 22, 1379–June 21, 1380: *Pedes Finium relating to the Co. of Cambridge*, ed. Rye, Camb. Antiq. Soc., Octavo Publ., No. 26, p. 131), and in the Patent Rolls on July 2, 1380 (*Calendar 1377–81*, p. 526). Other references occur in 1382 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381–85*, p. 162), 1383 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381–85*, p. 264; cf. *Inq. ad quod Damnum, Lists and Indexes*, No. 22, p. 627), 1385 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381–85*, p. 577), 1399 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396–99*, p. 553), 1404 Sir Lewis Clifford's will: Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 342; Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i. 165; Nicolas, *Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, ii. 431), 1405 (*Cat. Anc. Deeds*, iii. 520, D 977), 1407 (Sir Philip's will, Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, p. 376; Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i. 171; Rickert, *Modern Philology*, XI, 222), 1409 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1408–13*, p. 59). She died on March 5, 1414 (*Chancery Inq. p. M.*, Henry V, File 2, No. 24; Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, p. 376; cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1413–16*, p. 169).

pretty safe in regarding him as the son of Dame Eleanor, and in fixing his age in 1391 as somewhere between four and seventeen. I trust that somebody will soon arrive at a closer approximation.[1]

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[1] William Clifford of Bobbing and Sutton Valence, Kent, who figures at times as the ancestor of the Lords Clifford of Chudleigh, has often been assigned as son to Sir Lewis Clifford, either conjecturally or positively (see, for example, Collins, *Peerage*, ed. 1756 v. 221, ed. Brydges, 1812, vii. 121; Polwhele, *History of Devonshire*, ii. 121; Hasted, *Kent*, 2d ed., v. 369, vi. 195; Nicolas, *Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, ii. 432, n. 2; cf. Whitaker's *Craven*, ed. Morant, p. 314, n. ¶; *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, xvii. 825). Identity of arms, and the fact that William had a son and a great-grandson named Lewis (*Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, ii. 432, n. 2; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436–41*, pp. 470–71, 488, 500; *Cal. Inq. p. M., Henry VII*, i. 428) certainly indicate some relationship; but there is nothing whatever to prove that Sir Lewis was William's father. One consideration, indeed, overlooked by the genealogists, seems pretty strong evidence to the contrary: in the *inquisitio post mortem* of Sir Lewis's daughter, Dame Elizabeth, widow of Sir Philip la Vache, held at Woodstock in 1414, the jurats aver that they do not know who her next heir is (*Chancery Inquisitions post Mortem*, Henry V, File 2, No. 24). Oxfordshire was a long way from Kent in the fifteenth century, but all the persons concerned were well-known gentry, and the statement of the jurats is rather odd if William Clifford (who survived until 1437: *Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, ii. 432, n. 2; folio *Cal. Inq. p. M.*, iv. 182a) was Dame Elizabeth's brother or her half-brother on her father's side.

TWO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HUNTING SONGS

In his *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, Puttenham states that "one Gray" obtained the favor of Henry VIII "for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was *The hunte is up, the hunte is up.*" William Cornish, a poet and musician rewarded by the same monarch, is probably the author of another popular song of the period:

> Blow thy horne, Hunter,
> Come blow thy horne one hye,
> In yonder wode there lyeth a doo,
> In fayth she woll not dye.[1]

From these early compositions to Sir Henry Newbolt's *A Song of Exmoor* and John Davidson's *A Runnable Stag*—probably the finest of modern hunting poems—the joys and excitement of the chase have been worthily celebrated in English verse. If an anthology of such lyrics were to be made, certainly it should include two seventeenth-century songs in MS Rawl. Poet. 246, especially, as John Ashton remarks in his *Century of Ballads*, since there are but few sporting ballads of this period and "most of those few are marred by allusions that cannot be printed in a book like this." So far as I can ascertain, these two songs have not been published.

MS Rawl. Poet. 246, to quote F. Maddan's *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library*, III, 339, consists of "Poems and pieces in English and Latin, evidently collected by a Cambridge (King's College?) man who had been at Eton, relating to a period of about 1620–1660." These poems which I print are unsigned. We at least may say that they were written by one who enjoyed hunting. One of the most interesting features of the second song is the list of the dogs. In reading it we remember Lear's

> The little dogs and all,
> Tray, Blanche and Sweet-heart, see they bark at me.

On this point, no other early hunting song surpasses it. "The Hunter's Ballade" in *Deuteromelia, or the Second Part of Musick's Melodie*, 1609, has several old names of hounds:

[1] *Anglia*, XII, 262.

It is like to be fayre weather,
couple up all thy hounds together;
Couple *Jolly* with little *Lolly*,
couple *Trole* with old *Trolly*,
With a hey troly lo.

Couple *Finch* with black *Trole*,
couple *Chaunter* with *Jumbole;*
Let *Beauty* goe at liberty,
for she doth know her duty.
With a hey troly lo.[1]

In the *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, 360 is a hunting poem dating from the last years of Charles II. It too contains a list of hounds, but not such a good one as our Oxford poem offers:

There was Dido, and Sparker,
And Younker was there,
And Ruler, that ne'er looks behind him;
There was Rose and Bonny Lass,
Who were always in the chace;
These were parts of the hounds that did find him.

This song, "The Fox-Chace: or The Huntsman's Harmony, by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds," was a popular one; certain stanzas of it survive, in altered form, in Devon folk-song of the present. D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719, has two hunting songs that continue the tradition. In "Brother Solon's Hunting Song. Sung by Mr. Doggett," we find such a couplet as

When Ringwood and Rockwood, and Jowler and Spring,
And Thunder and Wonder made all the Woods ring.

while in "The Fox-Hunter. A Song in My New Comedy of the Bath," we hear of

Tosspot and *Ruler*,
Capper and *Cooler*,
Pompey and *Gallant*, Low 'em on.[2]

We may finish our list of hunting songs with one sung until very recently at Devon hunting dinners, "The Hunting of Arscott of Tetcott." A single stanza will show its quality:

"Hark, Vulcan!" said Arscott, "The best of good hounds!
Heigh Venus!" he shouted, "How nimbly she bounds!

[1] E. F. Rimbault, *A Little Book of Songs and Ballads, gathered from Ancient Musick Books, MS and Printed*, London, 1851, p. 112.

[2] II, 189, 269.

And nothing re-echoes so sweet in the valley,
As the music of Rattler, of Fill-pot, and Rally."
Sing fol-de-rol, lol-de-rol, la-de, heigh-ho!
Sing fol-de-rol, lol-de-rol, la-de, heigh-ho![1]

All these songs we have quoted but follow the model established by such early hunting songs as our two from the Oxford MS.

THE HUNTING OF THE HARE. (1st Song.)

MS Rawl. Poet. 246, f. 10–10 *b*.

When cold winter's withered browe,
Waxt pale and wanne with sorrow,
Had orewatcht the silent night
And coming was ye morrow,
I heard a youth with bugle cleare,
A jubel and a hollow,
Cry "Come away, 'tis almost day,
Forsake your beds and follow."

Then with a sort well arm'd for ye sport,
Upon their proud steeds mounted,
Such as Venus' boy bestrode
When he ye wild boare hunted.
And a pack of merry, merry houndes,
Whom nature had befreinded,
Did fright poore Watt, new stolne to squatt,
His first sleepe scarcely ended.

Now to ye woods, to ye rocks, to ye vales,
Now to his wonted cunning;
With heads and doublings Watt ym enforc'd,
For to forsake their running.
His dabbled buskins still betray
His tricks, his art in flying.
Hee heares his knell ring passing well,
And yett not sick but dying.

Dabbled, straying ore ye feildes,
His legges begin to faile him.
Then he againe to his wonted wiles
Before his courage quaile him.
And then ye highway beates and among the flocks
of sheepe

[1] S. Baring Gould, *Songs of the West, New and Revised Edition*, London, n.d., p. 5. On p. 167 is the modern version of the Roxburghe Ballad.

Yett still his legges betray him;
And to his foes where ere he goes
His nimble toes bewray him.

Over ye vales, ye hills, and ye dales,
And ouer ye craggy mountaines,
Through ye woodes and shady groues
Enricht with shady fountaines;
Where pleasant springs with murmur sweet,
And pretty birds with wonder,
Doe carroll their notes to their well tun'd throates,
That fill ye ayre with thunder.

Eccho shrill from ye wood to ye hill,
Sylvanus and ye Satyres,
The Elkins and ye Fayries awake,
The sea-nymphs from ye wateres.
They listen to their merry, merry straines,
Melodiously delighted,
Counting ye day for a longer stay
That they be not benighted.

Now silly Watt had quite forgott
His staines, his jumps, his doubles.
The huntsman's hoope doth make him droope,
And all his senses troubles.
And then poore Watt he steales againe to squatt,
Thinking thus to deceive them,
But ye next veiw, he bids the world adeiw;
They streight of life bereave him.

THE HUNTING OF YE HARE. (2d Song.)

MS Rawl. Poet. 246, ff. 10*b*–11*b*.

Cleare is the ayre and ye morning fayre,
Fellow huntsmen, come wind the horne.
Sweet is ye earth and fresh is ye breath
That doth melt ye rime from ye thorne.
The Heavens wax bright with Apollo's light,
Newly come from ye Ocean Queene,
When in a Champian plaine may be found a braue game,
Fitt by a Prince to bee seene.

Eighteene couple of brave houndes,
As ever ran hare on ye groundes,

With a troupe yt swiftly follow,
And footmen light are gone,
When Watt is start anon,
With ye noyse, with ye noyse, with ye noyse, with ye noyse,
With ye noyse, with ye noyse, with ye noyse of a Huntsman's hollow.

Then Corydon was frighted,
His lambs were so parted,
To heare ye route, ye hollow and ye shoute,
When Watt before them started.
With too, too, too, too, boyes, now boyes, there boyes,
And then they hollowed loudly.
But the earth ne're bare so braue a hare,
That ran so strong and prowdly.

Swift like ye Roe she fairely hunts,
Ore feilds, ore downes, ore dales,
Ore meadowes, pastures, and ore hills,
Ore mountaines and ore vales.
And so unto ye hills she wyndes,
The vales, ye furs, ye plaines,
And runs about aboue six miles,
Ere she backt on ye staines.

Then might you see prowd Strawberry
Come foaming her to behold,
And Piggaling with courage stout,
Twas pitty ere she was old.
Reueng, Redrose, and Herring fleete,
With all ye noble crew,
They top ye hounds with a gallant grace,
Whilst Watt ran in theire view.

Twyvy, Twyvy, twinke, hark how ye houndes, how ye houndes, how ye houndes,
And the huntsmen shrill do hollow.
Whilst Watt with nimble feet trips ore ye downes, ore ye downes, ore ye downes,
And all in order follow.
But she at last did shew ym a trick
Which made ym all at a fault there to stick,
Come away, come away, come away and doe not stay.

So many men, so many mindes.
So many houndes, so many kindes.
For some lay sticking at the head,
And some swore it was forward fled.
But one amongst ym all in judgment small
Did sweare yt ye hare he knew was dead.
A shepheard crost ye feilds with a curre at his heeles,
And sweares he knowes yt her he killes.

But Juno then came back agen, a compasse for to goe-a,
To try if she could find it out in ye landes yt were below-a.
And as she try'de, she there it cryde with note full merry
and sweet-a
Which made ym all on her to call whilst Watt away did
creep-a.

See, see my boyes where she goes, how she turnes over;
Juno and Jupiter, Tinker and Trover,
Seewell and Merryboy, Captaine and Cryer,
Jewell and Clarabell, Fayremaid and Flyer,
Beauty and Harpalus, Damsell and Trowler,
Bearer and Forrister, Bowman and Bowler,
Gunner and Gundamor, Jowler and Jumper,
Tarquin and Tamerlane, Thunder and Thumper,
Daynty and Jollyboy, Countesse and Ringer,
Courtyer and Bonnylasse, Gypsey and Singer.

Over ye mountaynes and through ye wilde,
Over ye fountaynes and thorough ye feild,
Through ye woodes yt are highest yt Sylvan obey,
Ore ye landes yt are ye dryest they will find out ye way.

Poore Pusse grew faint and ran full high;
A little ease for charity.
Stoppe ye houndes, stay ye dogs, giue her more breath,
Wee will see all her trickes before her death.

But Pusse grew faint and could no longer runne;
Her limbs were tyred, her heart it was cleane done,
That falling downe, she dying seem'd to say,
"Those whom I trust do now my trust betray."
Dead, Dead, Dead, ah dead.

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JONSON'S *EPICOENE* AND LADY ARABELLA STUART

On February 18, 1610, Contarini and Correr, Venetian representatives in England, wrote as follows[1] to the Doge and Senate:

> Lady Arabella [Stuart] is seldom seen outside her rooms and lives in greater dejection than ever. She complains that in a certain comedy the playwright introduced an allusion to her person and the part played by the Prince of Moldavia. The play was suppressed. Her Excellency is very ill pleased and shows a determination in this coming Parliament to secure the punishment of certain persons, we don't know who.

In the following pages I shall try to show that the offensive play referred to in the passage just quoted was Ben Jonson's *Epicoene, or Silent Woman.*[2]

At the beginning of the discussion it should be noted that we have indisputable evidence that Jonson's play did meet with disfavor. Beaumont's lines on the production seem to imply that certain individuals had detected satire or burlesque in the drama.[3] Jonson himself wrote "another" prologue,[4] occasioned, we are informed, by "some persons impertinent exception"; he likewise informed Drummond in the process of their conversation[5] that when *Epicoene* was "first acted, ther was found verses after on the stage against him, concluding that that play was well named the Silent Woman, ther never was one man to say *Plaudite* to it." And finally, an interesting passage in the dedication to Sir Francis Stuart prefixed to the 1616 folio edition of the play makes it certain that Jonson had suffered "by an un-certaine accusation" in connection with the production.

There is no doubt, then, that the drama caused Jonson trouble. Fleay[6] and others think that *Epicoene* met with disfavor because

[1] *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607–10, p. 427.

[2] Smith in his admirable edition of Wotton (I, 414, note 2) remarked incidentally that Jonson's play, "acted in 1609," may have been the play to which Lady Arabella objected. Smith's remark was the "suggestion" for the present paper.

[3] Gifford-Cunningham ed. of Jonson, I, cv.

[4] Henry's ed. of *Epicoene*, p. 10.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

[6] *Biog. Chron.*, I, 374.

of the personal satire contained in it, Truewit appearing to be Jonson himself and Sir John Daw representing Sir John Harington. These identifications may be possible;[1] but probably the most objectionable feature of the play was, as we shall see, the passage resented by Lady Arabella Stuart.

Before quoting this offensive passage in *Epicoene*, it should also be noted that the play was presented at a time which corresponds exactly to the date of the objectionable performance mentioned by Contarini and Correr. The title-page of the 1616 edition states that the drama was "Acted in the yeere 1609 by the Children of her Maiesties Revells"; and Fleay,[2] Miss Henry,[3] and Murray[4] are agreed that here Jonson is dating his production by the old style; hence *Epicoene* was presented, they affirm, between January 4, 1609-10, when the reconstructed Children of the Queen's Revels began to occupy the Whitefriars Theatre, and the following March 25. Thorndike, to be sure, has attempted to show[5] that Jonson "invariably" used the new style and not the old in the folio edition of his works, and that "in 1609" on the title-page of *Epicoene* therefore means the period January 1, 1609, to January 1, 1610; but Murray has satisfactorily showed that such a conclusion is not warranted by the evidence.[6]

Granting, then, that the play was first presented between January 4, 1610, and February 18 of the same year, the date of the letter quoted above, the question arises whether the play contains in its present form (Jonson insists that he has not changed a syllable from "the simplicity of the first copy") a passage that might well have

[1] Dryden in his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy* (ed. Ker, p. 84) says of Morose: "Besides this, I am assured from divers persons, that Ben Johnson was actually acquainted with such a man, one altogether as ridiculous as he is here represented." I do not find that anyone has suggested this original of Morose as a complainant against Jonson's drama.

[2] *Biog. Chron.*, I, 374.

[3] Ed. of *Epicoene*, p. xxii.

[4] *Eng. Dram. Companies*, I, 153–54.

[5] *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare*, pp. 16–17.

[6] *Eng. Dram. Cos.*, I, 358, note. E. K. Chambers (*Mod. Lang. Review*, IV, 164) is inclined to accept Thorndike's dating of *Epicoene*, but he is troubled by the fact that the Children of Her Majesty's Revels could not well have acted *Epicoene* "in 1609." He remarks: "On the other hand, if the name 'Children of her Majesty's Revels' was really first revived by Rossiter, Jonson must have forgotten the fact." It is not so likely that Jonson forgot as it is that Thorndike erred.

offended Lady Arabella at this particular time. I believe that it does. In V, i, occurs a passage that has caused editors trouble.[1]

Mavis. Gentlemen, have any of you a pen-and-inke? I would faine write out a riddle in Italian, for Sir Dauphine to translate.

Clerimont. Not I, in troth, lady; I am no scrivener.

Daw. I can furnish you, I thinke, lady.

[*Exeunt* Daw *and* Mavis.]

Clerimont. He has it in the haft of a knife, I beleeve.

La-Foole. No, he has his boxe of instruments.

Clerimont. Like a surgeon!

La-Foole. For the mathematiques: his squire, his compasses, his brasse pens, and black-lead, to draw maps of every place and person where he comes.

Clerimont. How, maps of persons!

La-Foole. Yes, sir, of Nomentack, when he was here, and of the Prince of Moldavia, and of his mistris, Mistris Epicoene.

[*Re-enter* Daw.]

Clerimont. Away! he has not found out her latitude, I hope.

La-Foole. You are a pleasant gentleman, sir.

Now it will be noted that the last idea of La-Foole's speech—"and of the Prince of Moldavia, and of his mistris, Mistris Epicoene"—is rather peculiarly expressed, that the expression "his mistris" is associated with "the Prince of Moldavia" until the words "Mistris Epicoene" give a different turn to the meaning. Let us suppose that about the middle of February, 1610, some actor speaking the lines should have paused just before uttering the words "Mistris Epicoene" or should have omitted them altogether. Are there any reasons for thinking that the audience would have immediately seen an allusion to Lady Arabella as the "mistris" of the Prince of Moldavia and that the lady herself, when informed of the trick, would have resented bitterly this "allusion to her person and the part played by the Prince of Moldavia"?

Now the Prince of Moldavia referred to by Jonson and by the Venetian representatives was Stephen Bogdan, pretender to the Moldavian throne, who visited England in October, 1607,[2] and who

[1] Cunningham (ed. of Jonson, III, 453) can give no account of the Prince of Moldavia; Miss Henry (p. 258) is unable to discover anything regarding this prince; the latest editor of *Epicoene* (Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, II, 225) prints the line without a note.

[2] *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607–10, p. 49.

was one of the numerous suitors for the hand of the Lady Arabella. Somewhat later he brazenly took up his quarters at Wotton's Venetian residence, and, although married to a Venetian lady, gave out that he was engaged to Arabella Stuart, cousin of the king of England.[1] Still later he went to Constantinople; and on January 28, 1610—at the approximate date, it should be noted, when *Epicoene* was acted—Correr wrote from London that Lady Arabella's

> troubles are caused by a consignment of money which her Excellency made at Constantinople for a Moldavian Prince, and by Douglas' intention to go to the Port with instructions on the matter. The Moldavian was many months ago at the English Court, and, as I hear, with the King's consent negotiated about marriage with the Lady; the conclusion thereof to depend on his making good his claim to his State.[2]

At about the same time, I presume, Boderie, the French ambassador in England, "distinctly stated that Arbella wished to marry the Prince of Moldavia," and, continues Hardy in his *Arbella Stuart*,[3] the Frenchman, after speaking of the lady's arrest and examination before the Council, "did not fail to deduce scandalous suggestions from these details."

These passages give some idea of the gossip which about the time of the performance of *Epicoene* was associating Lady Arabella and Moldavia.

And there are special reasons why gossip was concerned with the king's cousin during February, 1610, and why the lady herself should have especially resented being alluded to as the "mistris" of Stephen Bogdan. In the preceding December she had been arrested, as indicated in the letters above, and many persons in England concluded that amorous matters had led to her disgrace. Correr, for example, wrote on January 8, 1610, that she and Sir George Douglas had been placed under arrest in consequence of the king's suspicion that they were to elope across the seas.[4] We have already seen that Boderie slanderously associated the names of Lady Arabella and Bogdan.

[1] Smith's ed. of Wotton, I, 414; cf. also *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607–10, p. xvii, where Hinds gives certain facts of Bogdan's career, referring the reader to Jorga's *Pretendenti Domnesci* for further information.

[2] *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607–10, p. 414.

[3] *Arbella Stuart, A Biography*, pp. 229–30. The letter cited by Hardy does not seem to be in the 1750 ed. of Boderie's *Ambassades*.

[4] *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607–10, p. 405.

Other contemporary documents indicate further slander of the lady. On February 13, 1610, Chamberlain[1] wrote:

> The Lady Arabella's business, whatsoever it is, is ended, and she restored to her former state and grace. The King gave her a cupboard of plate better than £200 for a New Year's gift, and a thousand marks to pay her debts, besides some yearly addition to her income. Want being thought the chief cause of her discontentment, though she be not altogether free from the suspicion of being collapsed.

As Hardy[2] and Mrs. Murray Smith[3] both note, the word "collapsed" is ambiguous, and may well be a reference to the common court gossip of the time associating Lady Arabella with Bogdan. Two days later (February 15) Beaulieu,[4] secretary to Sir Thomas Edmondes, wrote as follows:

> The Lady Arabella, who (as you know) was not long ago censured for having without the King's Privity entertained a Motion of Marriage, was again within these few Days deprehended in the like Treaty with my Lord of Beauchamp's Second Sonne, and both were called and examined yesterday at the Court about it. What the matter will prove I know not; but these affectations of Marriage in her, do give some advantage to the world of imparing the Reputation of her constant and virtuous Disposition.

It should be noted here that, during Lady Arabella's first trial "for having without the King's Privity entertained a Motion of Marriage," King James and his courtiers believed that she was trying to marry the Prince of Moldavia; and we have seen how gossip interpreted her actions. As a matter of fact, however, Lady Arabella was at that very time much in love with William Seymour, whom she afterward married; hence taking advantage of James's ignorance as to the true state of affairs and his apparent objection to Moldavia, she had by February 13 won his confidence by promising solemnly never to marry a foreigner. In turn he gave her his permission to marry any man she pleased so long as he was a "loyal subject of the realm."[5] Her choice of William Seymour and her subsequent troubles resulting therefrom need not concern us here.

[1] Mrs. Murray Smith, *Life of Arabella Stuart*, I, 238–39.
[2] *Arbella Stuart*, p. 230.
[3] *Life of Arabella Stuart*, I, 239.
[4] Winwood, *Memorials*, III, 119.
[5] Hardy, p. 230.

From what has preceded, it is clear, I think, why an actor would have been tempted to pronounce Jonson's lines as I have suggested above or to omit the "Mistris Epicoene" at the end of La-Foole's speech; and it is clear, too, why an apparent allusion to Lady Arabella as the "mistris" of Moldavia would have been especially out of place about the middle of February, 1610, a time when such an allusion would have been especially objectionable alike to the lady and her cousin the king. And under the circumstances we can rest assured that no time was lost in suppressing Jonson's play as soon as an informer or an enemy of the poet carried to Lady Arabella an account of the "allusion" to herself and the Prince of Moldavia. It is possible, too, that the offense given by the play explains why Daniel, and not Jonson, wrote the elaborate masque (i.e. *Tethys Festival*) of the following June to celebrate the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales, a masque in which the Lady Arabella, then restored to favor, took a leading part.[1]

And finally, the explanation offered above has an advantage in that it gives special significance to the fact that Jonson's play, which offended Lady Arabella, was, soon after her death on September 25, 1615, dedicated to her kinsman Sir Francis Stuart.[2] May we not consider it a tribute to Jonson's manhood that, soon after the pathetic death of the lady whom his drama had offended, he should, in the following terms, have dedicated that drama to her kinsman:

> There is not a line or syllable in it changed from the simplicity of the first copy. And, when you shall consider, through the certaine hatred of some, how much a mans innocency may bee indanger'd *by an un-certaine accusation;* you will, I doubt not, so beginne to hate the iniquitie of such natures, as I shall love the contumely done me, whose end was so honorable as to be wip'd off by your sentence.

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[1] Mrs. Murray Smith, *Life of Arabella Stuart*, I, 252–53.

[2] Lady Arabella and Sir Francis were half second cousins. For facts in the life of the latter, see Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, II, 239–40; Wood's account quoted by Miss Henry, p. 124; Nichols, *Prog. of King James*, II, 343.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF "PIERS THE PLOWMAN"

A REPLY TO R. W. CHAMBERS

PREFATORY NOTE

Professor Manly's views regarding the multiplicity of authorship of the "Piers Plowman" poems have now been before the scholarly world for eleven years, and have occasioned several discussions.[1] Some of the arguments and comments, however, have

[1] The literature of the "controversy" consists of the following articles:

"The Autobiographical Elements in Piers the Plowman," A. E. Jack, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, III, 393–414.

"The Lost Leaf of 'Piers the Plowman,'" J. M. Manly, *Mod. Philology*, III, 359–66; "*Piers the Plowman* and Its Sequence," Manly, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, chap. i; "The Misplaced Leaf of 'Piers the Plowman,'" Henry Bradley, *The Athenaeum*, April 21, 1906, p. 481 (the three articles, with "Forewords" by Dr. Furnivall, reprinted by the E.E.T.S., Original Series, 135 B, 1908).

"Was 'Langland' the Author of the C-Text of 'The Vision of Piers Plowman'?" T. D. Hall, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 1–13.

"The Lost Leaf of 'Piers the Plowman,'" C. F. Brown, *New York Nation*, March 25, 1909, p. 298; Henry Bradley, *ibid.*, April 29, 1909, p. 436; T. A. Knott, *ibid.*, May 13, 1909, p. 482; "The Misplaced Lines, *Piers Plowman*," T. D. Hall, *Mod. Philology*, VII, 327–28.

"*Piers Plowman*, the Work of One or of Five," J. J. Jusserand, *Mod. Philology*, VI, 271–329; "The Authorship of *Piers Plowman*," J. M. Manly, *ibid.*, VII, 83–144; "*Piers Plowman*, the Work of One or of Five—A Reply," J. J. Jusserand, *ibid.*, VII, 289–326; "The Authorship of 'Piers Plowman,'" R. W. Chambers, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, V, 1–32; "The Authorship of 'Piers Plowman,'" Henry Bradley, *ibid.*, V, 202–7 (all five reprinted as "The Piers Plowman Controversy," E.E.T.S., Original Series, 139 B, C, D, E, F).

"The Original Form of the A-Text of 'Piers Plowman,'" R. W. Chambers, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VI, 302–23.

"The Authorship of Piers Plowman," Otto Mensendieck, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, IX, 404–20.

"The Alliteration of 'Piers Plowman,'" Mary Deakin, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 478–83.

"'Piers Plowman,' One or Five," G. G. Coulton, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VII, 102–4, 372–73.

"Studies in *Piers the Plowman*," Samuel Moore, *Mod. Philology*, XI, 177–93; XII, 19–50.

"The Authorship of *Piers the Plowman*," J. M. Manly, *Mod. Philology*, XIV, 315–16.

"The Name of the Author of 'Piers Plowman,'" G. C. Macaulay, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, V, 195.

"Who Was John But?" H. Bradley, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VIII, 88–89.

"John But, Messenger and Maker," Edith Rickert, *Mod. Philology*, XI, 107–16.

"The Text of 'Piers Plowman,'" R. W. Chambers and J. H. G. Grattan, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 357–89.

"An Essay toward the Critical Text of the A-Version of 'Piers the Plowman,'" T. A. Knott, *Mod. Philology*, XII, 389–421.

"The Text of 'Piers Plowman': Critical Methods," R. W. Chambers and J. H. G. Grattan, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XI, 257–75.

"Zur Verfasserschaft und Entstehungsgeschichte von 'Piers the Plowman,'" G. Görnemann, *Anglistische Forschungen*, XLVIII.

disclosed a misunderstanding of the origin of, and the basis for, the opinion of Professor Manly, and I may therefore be pardoned for a brief statement in review.

During a vacation Mr. Manly read the three versions of the poem—A, B, and C—separately and in order, a sort of examination to which they seem not often to have been subjected. The "composite" impressions of the three versions held by most modern critics seem to have been based on a reading of the B- or of the C-text alone, with an occasional examination of a parallel passage in one of the other versions. Indeed, since the appearance of Skeat's editions, few persons seem to have read through A, B, and C separately with the object of estimating the merit of each version as a separate literary work.

Through a fortunate accident Mr. Manly was thus the first[1] to recognize the excellence of structure and the literary power of the A-text, which had, since its publication in 1867, been rather cursorily dismissed by literary historians as a mere preliminary sketch of the more voluminous and comprehensive B- and C-texts. The tendency had been to regard C as a revision of B by a man who was past the height of his power, while B was regarded as the work of a middle-aged writer of great ability. Attention consequently had been focused on the B-text. Whatever thorough examination of A and of C had been made had been chiefly for the purpose of discovering so-called autobiographical material, which, in the absence of external testimony concerning the life of the author, was sought for in the poems.

Mr. Manly's reading led him to the conclusion that *the three poems exhibited such remarkable differences in* (1) *technique* (structural and organizing capacity), (2) *interests*, (3) *artistic ability*, (4) *mental qualities*, (5) *psychological characteristics, and* (6) *versification*, that they could scarcely have been the work of one man; and a more careful examination of lesser differences—some of these studies being made by members of his classes—resulted in the conviction that the

[1] Although the belief that A, B, and C were by different men was arrived at independently by Mr. Manly, and was by him first put forth, substantiated with definite evidence, yet it is by no means without interest to observe that B and C had been declared to be by different men, by two scholars to whom B and C were the only versions known: Thomas Wright and George P. Marsh. See *Mod. Philology*, XI, 186, and XIV, 315–16.

poems were by at least four, and perhaps by five, different authors. These results have thus far only been sketched, or at best but partly presented, in Mr. Manly's brief contributions. He has felt it desirable to await the completion of the critical texts of the three versions before publishing the results of the investigations in full. The text of A has now been completed, and it is hoped that no long time will elapse before the texts will be settled for the other versions as well. When this work shall have been finished, scholars will be in a position to judge fairly the comparative merits and qualities of the three texts and of their various parts, and the publication of complete and exhaustive studies may safely follow.

Quite contrary to the erroneous opinion several times expressed by students, Mr. Manly's views did *not* result from his discovery of the break in sense between lines 235 and 236 of passus 5. Nor did they result from a mere comparison of divergent readings of the three texts. That his views do not depend on such scanty evidence as is summarized by Mr. R. W. Chambers in *Modern Language Review*, V, p. 32, can be quickly determined by anyone who will read Mr. Manly's three articles, especially *Modern Philology*, III, p. 360, lines 5–19, and the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, p. 4, first paragraph, pp. 18, 23–24, 28–29, 30–34, etc. (American edition, p. 4, middle paragraph, pp. 26–28, 33, 34–39).

I. INTRODUCTION

Mr. R. W. Chambers, in his paper entitled "The Authorship of 'Piers Plowman,' "[1] has attacked several of the arguments advanced by Mr. Manly. The discussion of those points covered by Mr. Chambers depends little if at all upon the finality of any but the A-text, and his arguments may therefore be examined and answered now.

Several of the contentions urged by Mr. Chambers had already been utilized by Mr. Jusserand in his first contribution to the controversy, and had been shown by Mr. Manly to be insufficient to meet the latter's arguments. As Mr. Chambers adds little or nothing to these already answered points (those contained in sections V and VIII of his paper), I shall in these observations devote very little

[1] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, V, 1–32.

attention to them, but shall confine myself almost entirely to the examination of those of his views which are new or different from those of Mr. Jusserand.

It will be remembered that Mr. Manly has called attention to two striking imperfections in the A-text which were adopted into the B-text: one in passus 5. 235–36 ff. (B 5. 462–63 ff.),[1] where the figure of Sloth, after confessing and vowing amendment, inexplicably promises to make restitution of ill-gotten gains; the other in 7. 71–74, where, into the midst of Piers' speech about preparations for undertaking the pilgrimage, are interpolated the four lines naming the wife, daughter, and son of Piers. If these are imperfections—and practically no one except Mr. Chambers has denied that they are—B's retention of them is a good presumptive reason (among hosts of other reasons), Mr. Manly believes, for regarding the author of B and the author of A as separate persons.

Even so stout a believer in the unity of authorship as Mr. Jusserand had admitted the textual imperfections at these two points, attempting only to show that the author might have inadvertently failed to correct them in the process of revision. Mr. Chambers, on the other hand, denies flatly that there is any textual imperfection at either one of these two points. Sloth, he maintains, was a sin which resulted in the accumulation of wicked winnings. Furthermore, the most pronounced characteristic of Robert the Robber, he claims, is slothfulness, so that a robber is a typical exemplification of Sloth. Finally, he claims, the lines containing the names of Piers' wife and children do not interrupt the passage in which they occur, but fit quite appositely into the sense.

One may be pardoned for examining with interest and curiosity the position which Mr. Chambers proposes to maintain. One may be pardoned, perhaps, for a certain lively skepticism until proof is forthcoming that mediaeval writers on the seven deadly sins, when treating Sloth, attributed to Sloth the increase of his property through the exercise of his besetting sin, and until proof is forthcoming that one of the penalities exacted of the repentant slothful man was the restitution of his "wicked winnings." Proof must

[1] The line-numbers in this article are those of Skeat, E.E.T.S. The quotations are from my critical text, which uses MS Trin. Coll. Camb., R. 3. 14, as a basis.

be adduced that robbers were regarded, not as robbers, but pre-eminently as examples of slothfulness; and that robbery was regarded as the result, not of avarice, but of slothfulness; furthermore, that our particular Robert the Robber is not pictured by the author as a robber, but as an idler. Finally, Mr. Chambers must show convincingly that the names of Piers' family do not interrupt the passage in which they occur, but fit smoothly into the sense and the construction of the lines preceding and following.

Such proof, in spite of a great deal of plausible pleading, speculation, and misinterpretation and mutilation of evidence, has not, I believe, been produced by Mr. Chambers. He has not cited one authority which attributes "wicked winnings" to Sloth. He has not cited one authority which classifies robbery under Sloth. He cannot show that Robert the Robber is drawn by our author as predominantly slothful, rather than as predominantly a robber. Finally, his attempt to show that the "name" passage does not interrupt the context in which it occurs depends on a misinterpretation of his evidence.

In his introductory section, Mr. Chambers, as the basis of his contentions, has offered incomplete, mutilated, and misrepresentative statements of Mr. Manly's published views. He has tacitly substituted Dr. Bradley's views for those of Mr. Manly, or has confused the views of the two, making no distinction as to highly important differences of opinion, but attributing the views of either to the other at random, whenever such substitution or confusion seems to make refutation easier.

Since Mr. Chambers has given an imperfect and confused "composite" of the views of Mr. Manly and of Dr. Bradley (mostly those of the latter), with regard to the restitution-Robber passage, I may perhaps be pardoned for briefly putting again the *whole* case with regard to this interesting problem. I shall therefore give (1) the facts, (2) Mr. Manly's method of accounting for the facts, (3) Dr. Bradley's method, and (4) Mr. Chambers' version of the theory attributed by him to Mr. Manly, with which Mr. Chambers proceeds to take issue.

1. *The facts.*—First, the A-text: In the fifth passus, Conscience, preaching to the field full of folk, and especially to the seven deadly

sins, causes all to repent. Out of the 263 lines in the passus, about 200 are devoted to the deadly sins, in the following order: Pride, Lechery, Envy, Covetousness, Gluttony, Sloth. It will be observed that only six of the customary seven capital sins are introduced. Wrath is omitted, and the account of Envy (No. 3) is imperfect at the end. The last eleven lines of Sloth—the sixth and last of the sins described—are devoted to his vow. He promises that on Sundays he will go to mass, matins, and evensong (five lines), that he will repay all that he has wickedly won (four lines), and that with what he has left over he will go on a pilgrimage to Truth (two lines). An account of the repentance and confession of Robert the Robber follows.

The incompleteness of Envy indicates that some of the text has been lost at that point. The improbability that Sloth should vow restitution of wicked winnings indicates that between the genuine utterances of Sloth and the "restitution" lines, some lines have been lost. Between the two breaks there are 122 lines (in the critical text).

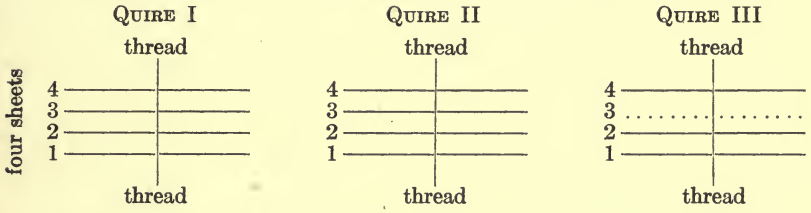
Second, the B-text: In the B-text the incompleteness of Envy has been noticed and remedied by the addition of five lines. An account of Wrath has been inserted after Envy, but the conception is absolutely different from that of the sins in the A-text.[1] The inappropriateness of Sloth's apparent vow of restitution has been noted, and an attempt has been made to motivate it by the preliminary insertion of seven lines (B 5. 429–35) in which Sloth confesses that he refuses to pay his debts and his servant's wages.

2. *Mr. Manly's theory.*—Mr. Manly supposes that the first break in the text of the A-version is caused by the loss, not only of

[1] Mr. Chambers is quite wrong in holding that B's account of Wrath is similar to A's accounts of the other six sins. All of A's sins are represented as men or women who themselves commit the sins. Pride is a proud woman; Lecher is a lecherous man; Glutton is a vast eater and a drunkard, etc. B's Wrath, on the contrary, is not a man himself addicted to wrath. He never himself indulges in the sin he is supposed to represent. On the contrary, his sole object is to stir up angry contention among others. When six sins are characterized as men and women who have indulged in the sins they represent, and the seventh sin, Wrath, is characterized as not indulging in wrath, but as instigating wrath in others, it is difficult to understand how the difference in conception and presentation can escape observation. The very point of the presence of the sins has been missed by B. Conscience preaches to the field full of folk in order to cause them to repent. A proud woman repents; a lecherous man repents; a gluttonous man repents; so also a covetous and a slothful man. In the B-text, a man who himself is never angry repents of inciting anger among others.

the end of Envy, but also of the whole of Wrath. The second break, he believes, is caused by the loss of lines belonging to Sloth, and a passage ultimately leading up to the vow of restitution. The 122 extant lines intervening between the two breaks he thinks filled the inmost fold or sheet (two folios) of a quire. From this quire of four sheets (eight folios) the next to the inmost sheet, containing folios 3 and 6, was lost, thus causing the two breaks in the text.[1] This hypothesis, it will be seen, has the advantage of accounting for all the defects (two breaks and the absence of Wrath) on a single hypothesis.

The accompanying diagram may aid in visualizing the situation.



1 = outside fold or sheet of each quire.
2 = second " " " " " "
3 = third " " " " " "
4 = inside " " " " " "

1,037 lines of the poem fill quires I, II, and III to the end of folio 2*b*, at 29 lines to the page. (Counting titles and Latin lines, this is the number in the critical text. See *New York Nation*, May 13, 1909, p. 483.)

122 lines fill III, 4, at 30½ lines to the page.

Quire III, fold 3, is missing according to the Manly hypothesis, causing the two breaks.

3. *Dr. Bradley's theory.*—Dr. Bradley of course accepts the facts as given above. Formerly he accepted Mr. Manly's theory of one lost folio to account for the incompleteness of Envy and the absence of Wrath, though later he suggested the possibility that this gap may have been caused by the "hipping-over" of a leaf. Dr. Bradley, however, proposes to account for the present position of the restitution lines and the Robert the Robber passage on the supposition that a loose leaf in the author's MS, containing these twenty-four

[1] The fact that there are just enough lines preceding the first break to fill exactly the number of pages required to bring us to the end of the second folio of the third quire of the imperfect archetype is supporting evidence. See my letter, *New York Nation*, May 13, 1909, and Mr. Manly's "Terminal Note," *Mod. Philology*, VII, 140–44.

lines, was accidentally misplaced, and consequently copied in the wrong connection. The correct position of the restitution-Robert passage he believes to be at the end of the confession of Covetousness.

4. *Mr. Chambers' version of a "Manly-Bradley" theory.*— Mr. Chambers' statement of the problem which he intends to discuss is as follows:

> The defects found in the present A-text, and accepted by the B-reviser, are three:
>
> (1) The confession of Robert the Robber comes at the end of the seven deadly sins, following Sloth, although, according to the mediaeval classification, Robbery is a branch of Covetousness. (Dr. Bradley.)
>
> (2) The concluding lines of the confession of Sloth are, it is claimed, more appropriate to Covetousness, and should really be placed under that sin. (Dr. Bradley's modification of Prof. Manly's view.)
>
> (3) Certain lines mentioning Piers' wife and children seem incoherent, and have, it is claimed, been misplaced. (Prof. Manly.)

One may quite legitimately ask what has become of Mr. Manly's view in (1) and (2).

II. WHAT IS SLOTH?

To appreciate the possibility or impossibility of attributing the restitution of wicked winnings to Sloth, and of classifying Robert the Robber as a figure exemplifying Sloth, the reader ought first to get clearly in mind what Sloth was understood to be in the fourteenth century. Mr. Chambers has shown such a misunderstanding on this point that our inspection of his argument must be preceded by full and exact information from documents contemporary with our poems.

Mr. Chambers believes that Sloth is Idleness:

"We may imagine our Robert as an *idle* apprentice, who from *idleness* has fallen into wanhope" (p. 5).

"In the *Ancren Riwle* it is made clear that Sloth does not exclude evil works, but that, on the contrary, *the idle* are the more prompt to do the Devil's bidding" (p. 6).

"Now Accidie being *the neglect of honest industry*" (p. 7).

This is not the mediaeval conception of Sloth. On the contrary, Sloth was regarded and defined as a spiritual deficiency, "a strong indisposition for spiritual good, whereby a man has no delight in

God or in his praises; out of it proceed ignorance, timidity, despair and the like." At least so Archbishop Peckham's *Constitutions* defined it, in 1281, and inasmuch as the *Constitutions* were ordered promulgated throughout England, they were probably influential in forming the thought of the fourteenth century on the subject.[1]

Archbishop Thoresby's *Instruction or Catechism for the People*, published in 1357, and based largely on Peckham, shows the conception contemporary with our poem:

> The sext dedely syn is slauthe or slawnes,
> That is ane hertly anger or anoye til us
> Of any gastely gode that we sal do.
> And of this syn comes sum sere speces;
> Ane is latsumnesse or lite to draw opon lenthe
> Any gode dede that we sal do,
> That mai turne us til help or hele of our saules.
> Anothir is a dulnesse or heuynesse of hert
> That lettes us for to luf our lord god almighten,
> Or any likyng to haue in his seruice.
> The third is yde[l]ship that ouer mikel is haunted,
> That makes men lathe to begyn any godededis,
> *And* lightely dos us to leue when ought is begunnen,
> And thar ar we er kyndely borne for to swink
> Als the foughel is kindly born for to flegh,
> Job. V^to^. ca^o^.
> It haldes us euermare in ese ogaynes our kynd,
> For idelnesse is enmy to cristen man saule
> Stepmodir *and* stamerynge ogayne gode thewes,
> *And* witter wissyng *and* wai till alkyns vices.[2]

Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt* says: "That fourth head of the wicked beast is disinclination. That is, disinclination and vexation to do wel. . . . . This disinclination, that is, sloth, causes that one has evil beginning, and more evil amending, and worse ending."[3]

The other treatises substantially agree.

Sloth, or Accidia, then, is spiritual flabbiness, an exceeding disinclination to do good.

[1] "Acedia est taedium boni spiritualis, ex quo homo nec in Deo, nec in Divinis laudibus delectatur: ex qua sequuntur ignorantia, pusillanimitas, desperatio, et similia." —*Lay Folks' Catechism*, E.E.T.S., 118 (O.S.), pp. 93–95.

[2] *Lay Folks' Catechism*, pp. 92–94.

[3] "Þet uerþe heaued of þe wyckede beste is onlusthede. Þet is onlosthede and tyene to do wel . . . . þis onlosthede, þet is sleuþe, makeþ þet man heþ kueade aginnynge and more kueade amendinge and to wors endinge."—E.E.T.S., 23 (O.S.), p. 31.

Furthermore, in the treatises Sloth is clearly distinguished from Idleness. All authors who treat the subject systematically indicate that many branches belong to Sloth, and that Idleness is merely one of the branches; and in one or two of the briefer treatments Idleness is not even mentioned, as, for instance, in Peckham's *Constitutions*. In no case do we find Accidia defined as Idleness. Idleness is merely one of the results of Accidia.

While we are on this subject, it may be well to determine what is the relation between Sloth, Idleness, and Wanhope. Wanhope, or Despair, is not a result of Idleness. Idleness is one of the early results of Accidia. Dan Michel has it third among eighteen. Despair, on the other hand, he has eighteenth and last—the culmination of Sloth, the "poyn þet brengþ man to his ende."

Finally, does A's conception of Sloth accord with this conception of the fourteenth century treatises? An inspection of the lines will show that it does and that the prime characteristic of the sin, as he conceives it, is not idleness, but spiritual negligence.

Literally translated, the account is:

> Sloth for sorrow fell down in a swoon,
> Till Vigilate the nun fetched water to his eyes,
> And flung it on his face, and quickly cried to him,
> And said, "Beware against Despair, who will betray thee.
> 'I am sorry for my sins,' say to thyself,
> And beat thyself on the breast, and pray God for grace,
> For no guilt here is so great that his goodness is not greater."
> Then sat Sloth up, and crossed himself quickly,
> And made a vow before God against his foul sloth:
> "There shall be no Sunday these seven years, unless sickness causes it,
> That I shall not betake myself ere day to the dear church,
> And hear mass and matins as if I were a monk.
> No ale after meals shall hold me thence,
> Till I have heard evensong, I promise the Rood." [5. 222–35.]

III. IS ROBERT THE ROBBER AN EXEMPLIFICATION OF SLOTH?

In his first section Mr. Chambers, postponing the consideration of the vow of restitution (which in the poem occurs between Sloth and Robert the Robber), discusses Robert the Robber, his purpose being to show that the figure of Robert may quite properly be placed under Sloth. First he aims to show that the name "Robert" is

typically that of an idler; and secondly he maintains that the account of Robert in our poem contains indisputable evidence that it was written to exemplify the sin of idleness, and that the figure, therefore, belongs under Sloth.

In urging his first point Mr. Chambers asserts that Robert's name is conventional, and that it shows that he was a member of a class known as "roberdesmen"; he maintains further that these "roberdesmen" were identical with bidders and beggars and wasters; still further, that beggars and wasters were generally more addicted to idleness than to robbery, and that therefore Robert must be pre-eminently noted for idleness. This once presumed, Robert, according to Mr. Chambers, is an exemplification of Sloth.

1. There can of course be no question that the name "Robert" was a conventional one for robbers. And naturally the term "roberdesmen" was also loosely flung at persons who, though not professional robbers, were not averse to an occasional bit of thieving or robbery.

2. "That the two names [Wasters and 'roberdesmen'] are synonymous is clear from a Statute of Edward III, in which they are mentioned together," says Mr. Chambers. The sentence in which they are "mentioned together" is: "Et diverses roberies, homicides et felonies ont este faitz einz ces heures par gentz qi sont appellez Roberdesmen, Wastoures et Draghlacche." Now is it "clear" from this that "roberdesmen" and "wastoures" are "synonymous"? Merely to ask the question is to answer it in the negative. To insist that "roberdesmen, wastoures and draghlacche" are synonymous terms, merely because they are "mentioned together," is to give equally strong reason for insisting that "roberies, homicides et felonies" are synonymous.

3. Next we are asked to accept the following reasoning: (1) Bidders and beggars are identical with "roberdesmen"; (2) bidders and beggars are said in the poem to be gluttonous, ribald, and slothful; (3) therefore "roberdesmen" are predominantly slothful; and (4) therefore Robert the Robber is exactly the sort of person who would be chosen to exemplify Sloth. Such an argument has only to be stated to exhibit its absurdity. Yet this is exactly Mr. Chambers' argument.

Moreover, let us examine the whole passage, a part of which Mr. Chambers cites in support of his argument that Robert the Robber is predominantly slothful. In the prologue, among other classes in the field full of folk, it is said that

> Bidderis and beggeris faste aboute ȝede
> Til here belyes and here bagges were bretful ycrammid,
> Fayteden for here foode, fouȝten at þe ale,
> In glotonye, God wot, go þei to bedde,
> And risen vp wiþ ribaudie, þese roberdis knaues.
> Slep and sleuþe sewiþ hem euere. [Prol. 40–45.]

These six lines were written, not about robbers at all, but about the bidders and beggars, fat, deceitful, quarrelsome, gluttonous, lazy, and sleepy. It is incomprehensible that this passage should be seriously urged in support of the claim that Robert the Robber is a beggar, and that therefore his predominant characteristic is *Sloth*. If it prove this, it proves just as conclusively that Robert belongs under Gluttony or Wrath or Ribaldry or Lying.

In order to connect Robert with Waster, Mr. Chambers next quotes a passage which seems to support his assertion that Waster "proposes to raid Piers' barn." The speech in the quoted passage, however, was not uttered by Waster. By the suppression of two lines Mr. Chambers has inserted into the mouth of Waster a threat which was actually uttered by "a bretoner, a braggere." The first lines are:

> Þanne gan Wastour arise and wolde haue yfouȝte;
> To Peris þe Plouȝman he profride his gloue.
> A bretoner, a braggere abostide hym also,
> And bad hym go pisse wiþ his plouȝ, pilide shrewe:
> Wilt þou, nilt þou, we wile haue oure wille,
> Of þi flour and of þi flessh fecche whanne vs likeþ,
> And make vs merye þer wiþ maugre þi chekis. [7. 140–46.]

I shall not, however, insist on the significance of this mutilation further than to point out that by the process of reasoning in which Mr. Chambers is indulging himself, the predominant characteristic of Robert might perfectly well be made out to be bragging. Here, again, of course, the proposed seizure of Piers' flour and flesh is a purely incidental matter. The attempt to prove from this mangled

passage that Robert the *Robber* is primarily a waster is as futile as the attempt to prove from the other mangled passage that Robert is primarily a beggar.

But after all, the actual account of Robert himself is the thing which will determine the question whether he was intended to exemplify Sloth. If he is represented as predominantly a victim of Sloth, then he unquestionably belongs under Sloth. If, on the contrary, we find in the account not the slightest stress on his slothfulness or idleness, and if we find that the poet has emphasized the robberies which Robert has committed, his sorrow for his robberies, his grief because he cannot make restitution of what he has stolen, and his resolution to do lifelong penance *for having been a robber*, then unquestionably Robert does *not* belong under Sloth.

Let us examine Mr. Chambers' attempt to show that Robert is not a robber, but an idler.

"It must be noted that in this passage Robert is used almost as a common noun," says Mr. Chambers (p. 4). In observing the accuracy of this assertion, we should note that the word "Robert" is used twice in this passage. In the first instance, in the very first line of the passage, it is quite clearly not used as a common noun. Mr. Chambers quotes this line on p. 5, but he omits the first half of it, which contains the name used as a proper noun. The full line is:

Robert þe robbour on reddite lokide.

Robert, claims Mr. Chambers, "has not even been an industrious robber, seeing he has amassed nothing" (p. 4). It is of course evident enough that the qualities which lead to the accumulation of a fortune are economy and thrift, and not vigorous activity as a robber. A notable circumstance about robbers in every age has been that, rob as much as they may, their extravagance has caused them to amass nothing. That Robert had stolen considerable amounts is surely to be inferred from the fact that the poet represents him in utter despair over the impossibility of making restitution.

Turning now to the eighteen lines devoted by the poet to the account of Robert, let us see whether they were written to illustrate Robert as having given way to the sin of Sloth, or to that of Robbery.

Robert þe robbour on reddite lokide,
Ac for þere was nouȝt where with he wepte swiþe sore. [243.]
Ac ȝet pe synful shrewe seide to hym selue,
"Crist, þat on Caluarie vpon þe cros diȝedist,
Þo Dismas my broþer besouȝte þe of grace,
And þou haddist mercy on þat man for Memento sake,
Þi wil worþ vpon me, as I haue wel deseruid [248.]
To haue helle for euere, ȝif þat hope nere; [249.]
So rewe on þis robert, þat no red haue.
Ne neuere wene to wynne wiþ craft þat I knowe;
But for þi muchel mercy mytygacioun I beseche;
Dampne me nouȝt at domisday for I dede so ille." [253.]
Ac what befel of þis feloun I can not faire shewe.
Wel I woot he wepte faste watire wiþ his eiȝen, [255.]
And knowelechide his gilt to Crist ȝet eft sones, [256.]
Þat Penitencia his pik shulde pulisshe newe, [257.]
And lepe with hym ouer lond al his lif tyme,
For he hadde leiȝe be Latro, Luciferis aunte. [5. 242–59.]

Before proceeding to indicate the material in this confession which he believes renders it a "sequel to Sloth," Mr. Chambers points out that "it would have been easy to make a confession for Robbery which would show how Robbery springs from Covetousness. . . . . But Robert's confession shows nothing of this. It is not quite the case, as Dr. Bradley says, that he 'bewails his crimes, and vows from henceforth to lead an honest life.' He says nothing about his crimes, beyond an admission that he has done ill, nor does he promise to lead an honest life" (p. 4).

Let us analyze the account of Robert:

a) In line 243 Robert weeps bitterly because he cannot make restitution for his crimes.

b) In lines 248–49 he admits, "I haue wel deseruid To haue helle for euere."

c) In line 253 he says, "Dampne me nouȝt at domisday for I dede so ille."

d) In lines 255–56, he "wepte faste," and "knowelechide his gilt to Crist."

e) In lines 257–59 he offers the fact that he had "lain by Latro" as his reason for desiring to do penance.

It is a bit difficult to see how Robert could have said in more than five ways that he had led a criminal life.

"Nor does he promise to lead an honest life," proceeds Mr. Chambers. Again, what does the poem say?

a) In lines 242–43 Robert certainly wishes to begin an honest life with the restitution of the proceeds of his robberies.

b) In lines 256–59 he makes a confession of his wickedness in order that *Penitence* may attend him "*al his lif tyme.*" If the latter lines do not constitute a promise to lead an honest life, what could?

"On the contrary," continues Mr. Chambers, "he [Robert] points out the difficulties which will beset him should he attempt to do so [lead an honest life], and pleads guilty to thriftlessness and ignorance of any craft." Mr. Chambers thinks that in favor of this view are to be discerned two pieces of evidence, one in line 243, in which Robert weeps bitterly because he cannot make restitution, and the other in line 251, in which Robert says that he never weens to win with craft that he knows. I have already pointed out that inability to make restitution does not constitute the slightest indication of idleness in Robert's occupation of robbery. Indeed, Mr. Chambers himself admits (p. 6) that "Robert's lapses into highway robbery, or house-breaking, must have called for great, if intermittent, exertions." As for line 251, it is conceivable that if it stood by itself it might be taken as Mr. Chambers wishes to take it. But it stands in a connection, and taken in that connection, as it must be, it is impossible to see how the poet can have intended it to mean merely that Robert cannot "work for his living." If the reader will glance at the whole passage under discussion, he will see that Robert turns to the example of Dismas *because Robert cannot make restitution* to his victims. He therefore begs Christ to have the same kind of pity on Robert that He had on Dismas ("so rewe on þis Robert"), and incidentally, of course, mentions the reason why—the fact that he himself has no "red" (plan to help himself out of his very present difficulty),[1] and never expects to gain ("wene to wynne")—what? Why, of course, the means of restitution, the lack of which very thing furnishes the immediate and *avowed* motive for his appeal to Christ to have pity on him. We see, therefore, that Dr. Bradley's interpretation of this line is exactly right: "As he [Robert] knows

[1] For "red" meaning "help, plan for help," cf. ME. *Gen. and Ex.*, line 309, where Satan, thinking of tempting Adam and Eve, says: "Get ic wene I can a *red*/ðat hem sal bringen iwel sped." Cf. also *ibid.*, line 3663. Cf. *N.E.D.*, *rede* sb. [1], 3.

no trade he cannot hope ever to earn the means of restoring what he has stolen." So much for the two passages which have been taken by Mr. Chambers to show that Robert is written to exemplify idleness. These lines prove nothing of the kind. On the contrary, both Robert himself and the poet give evidence of Robert's classification: In line 246 Robert says, "þo Dismas my broþer besouȝte þe of grace." Dismas, it is well known, was a thief. Robert calls Dismas his brother. Furthermore, the poet makes specific statement of the crime for which Robert wishes to do penance. Robert confesses to Christ in order that Penitence may accompany him all his lifetime, "For he hadde leiȝe be Latro, Luciferis aunte." I cannot feel that it is pressing these lines very hard to take them as indicating that the poet thought Robert was a robber.

Mr. Chambers next attempts to justify the "Piers Plowman" Sloth-Robber combination by an appeal to Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*. He points out that Robert consoles himself by recalling the penitent thief on the cross, and that the penitent thief is a conventional exemplum against Wanhope, which is a result of Accidia. We are offered what purports to be an outline of the "received text" of A at this point: "(1) l. 222 Introduction of Sleuthe, (2) l. 225 'War the for Wanhope,' (3) ll. 242–59 the case of Robert the Robber, a *felon*, who though he has no reed, and never hopes to earn an honest livelihood, yet (4) ll. 246–48 comforts himself by the example of the penitent thief" (p. 5).

Now to the reader who does not examine the text or the line numbers in Mr. Chambers' outline, this makes the passage under discussion *look* "exactly" parallel to his immediately following outline of part of Chaucer, where he deals with Wanhope and the penitent thief. But as a matter of fact, the outline of the "Piers Plowman" passage misrepresents the text in a very important respect. It omits all consideration of the sixteen lines between line 225, in which Sloth is warned against Wanhope, and line 242, in which Robert is introduced.

In these sixteen intervening lines Sloth is advised by Vigilate, the veil, to say that he is sorry for his sins, to beat himself on the breast, and to pray God for grace, because no guilt is so great that God's goodness is not more; then Sloth sits up, crosses himself,

vows that in spite of his sloth he will for seven years go to church every Sunday before day, and will never allow lingering over the ale to keep him from evensong. Then come six lines in which someone vows restitution of all that he has wickedly won, to be followed by a search for Truth with the residue of his possessions.

At last (line 242) Robert is introduced. In the actual text, then, Robert is *not* introduced as a typical idler under Accidia to constitute an antidote against Wanhope. As a matter of fact, in the treatises on Penitence, Wanhope is never represented as resulting from Idleness, but always from Accidia, which, as we have seen, is something quite different from Idleness.

It remains to examine a few other points which Mr. Chambers makes at the end of this section. "If the Parson's Tale places the thief and traitor Judas under Sloth-Wanhope rather than under Covetousness, there is surely no reason why Robert the Robber should not go under that head also." The connection here depends on the word "thief" as applied to Judas. But Chaucer did not put Judas under Wanhope because Judas was sometimes called a thief.[1] Several of the treatises show why Judas is cited under Wanhope. *The Ayenbite of Inwyt* says: "As a consequence of all these sorrowful points of sloth, the devil gives him the deadly stroke, and puts him into wanhope. Therefore he obtains his death, and slays himself, as despaired."[2] *Jacob's Well* is more explicit: "Seynt Jerom seyth, super Ps. lxx, þat Judas trespacyd more whan he hynge hym-self, þanne whanne he betrayed crist, *and* dyspeyr was cause þat he slewe him-self" (p. 113, lines 11–12). And Robert Mannyng of Brunne, in *Handlyng Synne*, says:

> Whanhope, Gode shelde vs þar fro,
> Hyt steryþ a man hym self to slo;

[1] "Now comth wanhope, that is, despeir of the mercy of God, that comth somtyme of to muche outrageous sorwe, and somtyme of to muche drede; imagininge that he hath doon so muche sinne, that it wol nat availlen him, though he wolde repenten him and forsake sinne; thurgh which despeir or drede he abaundoneth al his herte to every maner sinne, as seith Seint Augustin. Which dampnable sinne, if that it continue unto his ende, it is cleped sinning in the holy gost. This horrible sinne is so perilous, that he that is despeired, ther nis no felonye ne no sinne that he douteth for to do, as shewed wel by Judas."—*C.T.*, I. 692.

[2] "Efter alle þise zorȝuolle poyns of sleuþe him yefþ þe dyeuel þane strok dyadlych and deþ him in to wanhope. Þeruore he porchaceþ his dyaþ and him zelue slaȝþ, ase despayred" (p. 34).

So dede þe treytur Iudas,
And forsoþe wurþy he was.
Why was he moste wurþy?
For he hadde wanhope of Goddys mercy;
For he wende þat Gode ne wulde
Haue forȝyue hym þat he hym solde.
Syþþen lokede Gode vpp on Iudas,
As who sey, "aske mercy for þy trespas."
For ȝyf he hade askede hyt any syþe,
Iesu hadde grauntede hym asswyþe,
For hys mercy faylede noghte
To any man þat hym besoghte. [Lines 5187–5200.]

Obviously Chaucer cites Judas under Wanhope, not to show that theft may proceed from Accidia, but to show that suicide may proceed from Despair.

Robert's "great, if intermittent, exertions" as a robber, says Mr. Chambers, do "not deprive him of his claim to a place under Sloth or Accidie, which is a neglect of God's grace and of honest industry. Sinful exertion rather qualifies than disqualifies. Wyclif emphasizes this: if a man is not doing good, he will be doing evil, 'for sumwhat mot a man do.' So in the *Ancren Riwle* it is made clear that Sloth does not exclude evil works, but that, on the contrary, the idle are the more prompt to do the Devil's bidding" (p. 6).

One who is familiar with passages in Michel and in Chaucer may wonder why they too were not quoted. Michel says:

For when the devil finds a man idle, he puts himself to work, and makes him first think evil and afterwards desire vulgarities, ribaldries, and lecheries, and makes him waste his time and neglect many good deeds which he might do, thru which he might gain paradise.[1]

Chaucer says:

Thanne comth ydelnesse, that is the yate of alle harmes. An ydel man is lyk to a place that hath no walles; the develes may entre on every syde and sheten at him at discovert, by temptacion on every syde. This ydelnesse is the thurrok of alle wikked and vileyns thoghtes and of alle jangles, trufles, and of alle ordure.[2]

[1] "Vor huanne þe dyeuel uynt þane man ydel he hine deþ to worke and deþ him uerst þenche kuead and efterward to wylni uileynies, ribaudyes, lecheries, and his time lyese, and manye guodes þet he miȝte do huerof he miȝte wynne paradis."—*Ayenbite*, p. 31.

[2] *C.T.*, I. 713.

It is rather hard to refrain from thinking that the two latter passages prove too much. For, if Mr. Chambers' reasoning is applied logically, they prove that *every* sinful act—perjury, murder, sexual sin, theft, robbery, or whatnot—the performance of which was conceived by an idle man, would have to be classed as a manifestation of Accidia. This, of course, is a contention which Mr. Chambers would hardly attempt to maintain.

"There would seem then to be no ground for disturbing the order of the MSS, in so far as Robert is concerned," concludes Mr. Chambers. If Mr. Chambers will examine Mr. Manly's article on the "Lost Leaf," my letter to the *Nation* on the same subject, and Mr. Manly's "Terminal Note,"[1] he will discover that Mr. Manly and I not only seek no reason to disturb the order of the MSS, but have steadily maintained, and still maintain, that there is no reason for disturbing that order. What we do believe is that the lines about restitution and those about Robert the Robber do not belong under Sloth, and are not to be directly connected with it, but require for the transition a passage which has unfortunately been lost to us by the disappearance of a leaf at this point.

As to the fitness of Robert the Robber to serve as an exemplification of Sloth or Accidia, that is an entirely different matter, and, as I have shown, on this point there is every reason to disagree with Mr. Chambers' interpretation of his evidence, with his reasoning, and with his conclusions.

IV. SLOTH AND WICKED WINNINGS

Does Sloth result in the accumulation of wicked winnings?

If we accept Mr. Chambers' contentions about the A-text, all the following lines comprise the conclusion of A's Sloth:

> Þanne sat Sleuþe vp and seynide hym faste,
> And made auowe tofore God for his foule slouþe:
> "Shal no Sonneday be þis seuen ȝer, but seknesse it make,
> Þat I ne shal do me er day to þe dere chirche,

[1] *Mod. Philology*, III, 359; *New York Nation*, May, 1909, p. 482; *Mod. Philology*, VII, 140.

And here masse and matynes, as I a monk were.
Shal non ale aftir mete holde me þennis
Til I haue euensong herd, I behote to þe rode. [235.]
And ȝet wile I ȝelde aȝen, ȝif I so muchel haue, [236.]
Al þat I wykkidly wan siþen I wyt hadde,
And þeiȝ my liflode lakke, leten I nille
Þat iche man shal haue his er I hennis wende.
And wiþ þe residue and þe remenaunt, be þe Roode of Chestre,
I wile seke Treuþe er I se Rome. [5. 229–241.]

Mr. Chambers claims that there is no break in sense between lines 235 and 236, and therefore that no gap in the text exists at that point. He admits that here he has to overcome "a more serious difficulty" than attaching Robert the Robber to Sloth. In order to overcome this difficulty he proposes to show first that here A is not very "incoherent" in putting a vow of restitution into the mouth of Sloth, and secondly that A is elsewhere very "incoherent." His reasoning proceeds thus:

1. Since "win" may be used in ME. without conveying the idea of great gain, the size of the "wicked winnings" may conceivably be small.

2. Whatever Sloth wins, he must win wickedly, because he gets it without working for it, or by withholding what is the property of others.

3. The penitence of Sloth might conceivably take the form of restitution of such "wicked winnings" as these.

4. Unintentional misappropriation might very well proceed from slothfulness.

5. The true winnings of the hard-working Piers are "associated with" the prompt repayment of debts.

6. In any event, the author of the A-text is "incoherent" in his accounts of some of the other sins, and elsewhere (pp. 6–9).

Mr. Chambers first wishes to show that the word "win" does "not necessarily convey any idea of great gain." "Win," he maintains, "may mean simply working for one's daily bread. Indeed, *to labour* is the primary meaning of 'win.'" Four quotations are offered by Mr. Chambers in support of his contention. An inspection of these four will show, however, that he was not fortunate in

his choice. His first quotation, two lines long, is taken from the middle of an address *to the rich:*

> For þi I rede þe riche haue reuþe on þe pore.
> Þeiȝ ȝe ben miȝty to mote, beþ mek of ȝour werkis.
> For þe same mesour þat ȝe mete amys oþer ellis,
> ȝe shuln be weiȝe þer wiþ whanne ȝe wende hennes.
> For þeiȝ ȝe be trewe of ȝoure tunge, and treweliche *wynne,*
> And ek as chast as a child þat in chirche wepiþ.
> But ȝif ȝe loue lelly and lene þe pore,
> Of such good as God sent goodlyche parteþ,
> ȝe ne haue no more meryt in masse ne in oures
> Þanne Malkyn of hire maidenhod þat no man desiriþ.
>
> [A 1. 149 ff.]

Obviously, the word here cannot mean "earn a bare living." In his second quotation "wynneþ" clearly means "lay up a surplus for a rainy day."[1] His third quotation merely means that there are different ways of winning, and that taylors, tanners, and tillers of the earth win with their hands.[2]

The fourth piece of evidence is a quotation from a letter by Professor Skeat. "Winner is *worker,*" says the letter. "If not, there's no point in the title of the poem *Winner and Waster.*" It is perfectly apparent that, at the time this letter was written and printed, neither Professor Skeat nor Mr. Chambers had the contents of *Winner and Waster* clearly in mind. I have read the poem several times, and I have failed to discover how the word "winner" in the title can possibly mean "worker, laborer." Henry Bradley has described the contents of the poem, and I take two sentences from his article, which was printed in the *Athenaeum* for April 18, 1903, pp. 498–99. "The real subject of the allegory is the threatened conflict between the wasteful military nobility and the various bodies that were growing rich at its expense." "Wynnere's army consists of the four classes whose greed was about 1352 a general theme of invective—the mixed multitude of alien clerks intruded by the Pope into English

[1] "I warne ȝow werkmen, *wynneþ* while ȝe mowe,
For hungir hiderward hastiþ hym faste.
He shal awake þurh water wastours to chaste." [A 7. 306–8.]

[2] "Websters and walkers, and winners with handen,
As taylors and tanners, and tyliers of erthe." [C 1.222.]

benefices, the lawyers, the friars, and the merchants."[1] Where are the workers, the laborers earning a bare living?[2]

There are, however, several passages in the A-text in which "win" does mean "get a living by hard labor, *earn* a livelihood." There is no passage, however, in the A-text, nor, so far as I have observed, in B or C, in which the word means "be the passive, idle recipient of a bare living." In the sense of "earn a mere living," the idea of hard physical labor, "swink," is inherent.[3] Mr. Chambers himself recognizes this: "Indeed, *to labour* is the primary meaning of 'win' (cf. OE. *winnan*, to work, toil)." Does Mr. Chambers mean to claim that "Accidie, being the neglect of honest industry," is notable as toiling laborer?

[1] Wynnere's army is so described. For alien clerks, see ll. 143–48; lawyers, ll. 149–55; four orders of friars, ll. 156–87; merchants, ll. 188–92.

[2] This passage, a speech by waster to winner, is interesting and to the point:

" 'ȝee, wynnere,' quod wastoure, 'thi wordes are hye;
Bot I schall tell the a tale that tene schall the better:
When thou haste waltered and went and wakede alle þe nyghte,
And iche a wy in this werlde that wonnes the abowte,
And hase werpede thy wyde howses full of wolle sakkes—
The Bemys benden at the Rofe, siche Bakone there hynges,
Stuffed are sterlynges vndere stelen bowndes—
What scholde worthe of that wele if no waste come?
Some rote, some ruste, some Ratons fede.
let be thy cramynge of thi kystes, for cristis lufe of heuen.
late the peple and the pore hafe parte of thi siluere.' "
[*Wynnere and Wastoure*, 246–56.]

[3] In the sense of "earn by hard physical labor" the word occurs in the A-text in the following passages:

"Summe putte hem to þe plouȝ and pleiȝede ful selde,
In settyng and sowyng swonke ful harde
And *wonnen* þat þise wastores wiþ glotonye destroiȝeþ."
[Prol. 20–22—not the critical text, but the reading of several MSS, and of the B-text.]

"He [Conscience] bad wastour go werche what he best couþe,
And *wynne* þat he wastide wiþ sum maner craft." [5. 24–25.]

"And alle maner of men þat be þe mete libbiþ,
Helpiþ hem werche wiȝtly þat *wynne* ȝoure foode." [7. 21–22.]

"Þe sauter seiþ in þe salme of Beati omnes,
Labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis &c.
He þat get his fode here wiþ trauaile of his hondis,
God ȝiueþ hem his blissing þat here liflode here so *wynneþ*." [7. 239.]

"Alle libbyng laboureris þat lyuen be here hondis,
Þat trewely taken and trewely *wynnen*,
And lyuen in loue and in lawe for here lowe hertis,
Hadde þe same absolucioun þat sent was to Peris." [8. 64–67.]

The word is also used with an abstract object (mercy, meed) in 3.230 and 4.63. In 4.53 it is used intransitively of Wisdom and Wit, who "wan" from Wrong as his lawyers in defending him from the consequences of his wicked deeds. It occurs twice in our passage, and once in 7.89.

But even though we see that the word, in some instances, does not convey an idea of great gain, but means "earn a bare living by hard toil," it is still advisable to see whether the word means that in the passage under discussion. It is, on the contrary, perfectly apparent that, as used here, "wan" has exactly the significance which Mr. Chambers is anxious to deprive it of.

> And ȝet wile I ȝelde aȝen, ȝif I so muchel haue,
> Al þat I wykkidly *wan* siþen I wyt hadde,
> And þeiȝ my liflode lakke, leten I nille
> Þat iche man shal haue his er I hennis wende;
> And wiþ þe residue and þe remenaunt, be þe Roode of Chestre,
> I wile seke Treuþe er I se Rome. [5. 236–41.]

In this passage the speaker has quite evidently spent a lifetime in the pursuit of dishonest gain ("Al þat I wykkidly wan siþen I wyt hadde"); he further seems to have accumulated a competence ("þeiȝ my liflode lakke"), which he estimates will suffice ("ȝif I so muchel haue") to repay all that he has won wickedly, and perhaps leave a surplus sufficient to enable him to go on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Truth. Lazy dikers and delvers could hardly talk of having a residue and a remnant, large enough to pay for a pilgrimage, left over from their substance after restoring all the money that they had "won" through their idleness.

"Accidie, being the neglect of honest industry," resumes Mr. Chambers, "it follows that the slothful, above every man, wins wickedly . . . . a man, in so far as he is idle, cannot 'truly win' at all."

Here Mr. Chambers is arguing on the assumption that Accidie, or Sloth, is identical with Idleness. As we have already seen, the terms are not identical. Accidia is not the neglect of honest industry, and A's Sloth is not pictured as Idleness, but as the neglecter of spiritual grace. And even B (whom Mr. Chambers identifies with A) does not understand the lines as Mr. Chambers at the moment wishes to take them. B contrives to have Sloth acquire wicked winnings by withholding wages and by the non-payment of debts, and says nothing about receiving payment for slovenly work.

Mr. Chambers next holds that the restitution of wicked winnings might conceivably be one form of penance or penitence imposed on Sloth to atone for his besetting sin. The remedies prescribed against Sloth in the treatises, we are told, almost invariably include something "variously called *dedbote, satisfaction, besinesse, magnanimity, magnificence.*[1] Could there be a better form of *satisfaction* or *besinesse,*" we are asked, "than for Sloth to make amends to all whom he has wronged thru his slackness? This, at least, is how B understood the passage, and he has made the sense clearer by inserting lines above (B v. 429–35) showing how Sloth had failed to pay for that which he had borrowed."

This attempt to justify restitution as a part of Sloth's repentance depends upon the meaning of *dedbote* and *besinesse.* Mr. Chambers frankly admits that *dedbote* and *satisfaction* "of course need mean no more than penance or perhaps even penitence." But furthermore, neither word indicates a concrete kind of penance especially adapted to Sloth. Chaucer's Parson, at the beginning of his Tale, says of Penitence in general: "Verray parfit Penitence . . . . stant on thre thinges; Contricioun of herte, Confessioun of mouth, and Satisfaccion."[2] "Cordis contritio, oris confessio, operis satisfactio," is the way the Roman penitentials put it. Dan Michel agrees.[3] *Dedbote* is exactly the same thing as *satisfaction,* according to Michel.[4] They constitute merely the third and general step in true penitence for any sin whatever.

Besinesse means simply praising and adoring God, praying for amendment, and the "werkes of penitence."[5]

[1] As Mr. Chambers does not rely on "magnanimity" and "magnificence" to establish his point, we need not mention them here. See Chaucer, *C.T.*, I. 730–40; and *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, pp. 164, 168.

[2] *C.T.*, I. 106.

[3] *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, p. 170.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 32, line 1, and p. 33, lines 1–2.

[5] "Thanne is Accidie enemy to everich estaat of man; for certes, the estaat of man is in three maneres. Outher it is thestaat of innocence, as was thestaat of Adam biforn that he fil into sinne; in which estaat he was holden to wirche, as in heryinge and adouringe of God. Another estaat is the estaat of sinful men, in which estaat men been holden to laboure in preyinge to God for amendement of hir sinnes, and that he wole graunte hem to arysen out of hir sinnes. Another estaat is thestaat of grace, in which estaat he is holden to werkes of penitence; and certes, to alle thise thinges is Accidie enemy and contrary. For he loveth no *bisinesse* at al."—Chaucer, *C.T.*, I. 680 ff.

As well as we can judge, then—for Mr. Chambers gives no citation to support his purely speculative interpretation—*satisfaction* and *besinesse*, so far as they apply to Sloth, do not signify or imply restitution. It is naïve or devious to assert that they *may*, and then to proceed on the assumption that they *do*. At any rate, it is upon this tenuous possibility that Mr. Chambers builds his case.[1] Upon this, and one passage from the *Ancren Riwle*.

"In the *Ancren Riwle*, whilst the withholding of wages is equated with robbery and placed under Avarice, *carelessness with regard to pledges* is put under Sloth." [Italics mine.]

The passage is:

Whoever does not warn another of his harm or of his loss, is it not sluggish carelessness or poisonous spite? False tithing, with-holding a pledge, or an object found, or a loan, is it not covetousness or theft? With-holding another's wage beyond its right term, is it not strong robbery? That is under covetousness. Or, if one takes worse care of anything lent or entrusted to his care than he knows it deserves [*or*, than he knows he ought], is it not treachery or the carelessness of sloth?[2]

Mr. Chambers' argument here obviously depends on the meaning of the phrase which he believes signifies "carelessness with regard to pledges." Clearly none of the first four sentences can be regarded as containing any reference to that subject. The last sentence, then, I take it, is the one upon which the argument depends. Literally

[1] G. G. Coulton, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VII, 372–73, has published a passage in which sloth is mentioned in connection with covetousness. In the so-called "Wycliffite adaptation" of Archbishop Thoresby's catechism, covetousness is said to consist in wrongfully getting or wrongfully holding; wrongfully holding is defined as not giving to God, or to holy church, or to our even-Christian, what we ought to give according to debt and according to law, "but holding what we have to our own ease." Here is inserted a line, "not only we sin in covetousness, but also in sloth." This line is not in the parallel passage of Thoresby, published in 1357. It is quite obviously an afterthought of the later adapter, suggested by the phrase "to our own ease." (I can find no evidence concerning the date of the Wycliffite adaptation or of the MSS in which it is preserved.) There is, of course, a wide difference between a wealthy covetous man's falling into slothful habits, and, on the other hand, the notion of a slothful man's falling into the sin of covetousness. In the Wycliffite adaptation, the sin of sloth is explicitly described as spiritual negligence. "With-holding" is not mentioned in the account of sloth.

[2] "Þe þet ne warneð oðer of his vuel oðer of his lure nis hit slouh ȝemeleste oðer attri onde? Mis-iteoðeget, etholden cwide, oðer fundles, oðer lone, nis hit ȝiscunge oðer þeofte? Etholden oðres hure ouer his rihte terme, nis hit strong reflac? Þet is under ȝiscunge. Oðer ȝif me ȝemeð wurse ei þing ileaned oðer biteih to witene þen he wene þet hit ouh, nis hit tricherie oðer ȝemeleaste of slouhðe?"—*Ancren Riwle*, ed. Morton, p. 208.

translated, the sentence means: "Or, if one takes worse care of anything lent or entrusted to his care than he knows it deserves [*or*, than he knows he ought], is it not treachery or the carelessness of sloth?"

It is difficult to believe that Mr. Chambers could have inferred that careless guardianship of an object lent or intrusted to one's care is the equivalent of "unintentional misappropriation." But he obviously has inferred it. And the reason is, I think, that he drew his conclusion not from the ME. original, but from Morton's awkwardly worded translation on the opposite page: "Or, if any one keeps anything lent,/or committed to his care, worse than he thinks that he ought—is it not treachery, or slothful negligence?" Was not Mr. Chambers misled by the commas and by the line's end coming after "lent," into taking the first verb "keeps" as separate from the adverb "worse" which qualifies it? Did he think therefore that "keeps" meant "retain wrongfully"?

Still worse for his case, however, is the strong evidence against him contained in the second and third sentences of the extract: "Withholding a loan, is it not covetousness or theft? Withholding another's wage beyond its right term, is it not strong robbery? That is under covetousness." And the *Parson's Tale*,[1] *Jacob's Well*,[2] the *Ayenbite*,[3] and *Handlyng Synne*,[4] all bear explicit evidence to the same effect.

Moreover, Mr. Chambers has insisted so strongly that "the intention must count" that we have a right to examine the intention. Does the author of the B-text (who alone attributes to Sloth withholding wages and loans) represent Sloth as indulging in "unintentional misappropriation"?

> ȝif I bigge and borwe it, but ȝif it be ytailled,
> I forȝete it as ȝerne, and ȝif men me it axe,
> Sixe sithes or seuene I forsake it with othes,
> And þus tene I trewe men ten hundreth tymes.
> And my seruauntz some tyme here salarye is bihynde;
> Reuthe it is to here [þe] rekenynge whan we shal rede acomptes;
> So with wikked wille and wraththe my werkmen I paye.
>
> [5. 429–35.]

[1] *C.T.*, I, 799.
[2] P. 129.
[3] Pp. 34–37.
[4] Lines 2409 ff. and 2435 ff.

Sloth, according to B, forgets his debts *eagerly* unless they are tallied; he denies them with oaths six or seven times; he is testy and wrathful when he is finally forced to pay his servants' hire. Where is the "unintentional misappropriation"?[1]

Finally, what was the mediaeval opinion of the effect of Sloth upon one's property? Did the fourteenth century believe that the idleness and negligence which proceeded from Sloth caused such an unintentional increase as to require restitution? Read the *Parson's Tale:* "Now certes this foule sinne, accidie, is eek a ful greet enemy to the lyflode of the body, for it ne hath no purveaunce agayn temporel necessitee, for it forsleweth and forsluggeth, and destroyeth alle goodes temporeles by reccheleesnesse."[2]

However that may be, Mr. Chambers believes that he has found in the A-text some evidence that A may have "associated" wicked winning with Sloth. It is true that he does not find any passage which does "associate" wicked winning with Sloth. What he finds is a passage in which "true winning" is "associated with" repayment of debts. Piers, in making his will, says:

> My wyf shal haue of þat I wan wiþ treuþe and namore.
> And dele among my frendis and my dere children,
> For þeiȝ I deiȝe today my dettis ben quytte.
> I bar hom þat I borewide er I to bedde ȝede. [7. 89–92.]

Here, Mr. Chambers believes, we have evidence that to Sloth may rightly be attributed the non-payment of debts and the withholding of servants' wages. In this passage, he says, "Our author associates prompt repayment with 'true winning.' Yet it is asserted to be incredible that by 'wicked winning' he can have meant slackness in repayment of debt."

This is unfair. No one has ever maintained that unpaid money —debts and servants' wages—is anything except "wicked winnings." All I maintain is that, outside the B-text, no mediaeval writer, so far as I (and apparently Mr. Chambers) can discover, attributes these particular "wicked winnings," or indeed any others,

[1] Mr. Manly pointed this out six months before Mr. Chambers' paper appeared. See *Mod. Philology*, July, 1909, pp. 28–29.

[2] *C.T.*, I. 685.

to Sloth. And quite evidently B is simply trying by an interpolation to make the best of an inexplicable situation that attributes "wicked winning" to Sloth (by a textual accident, of course, of the history of which B knew nothing).

Moreover, it is to be observed that the passage in the will says nothing about "*wicked winnings*" *and Sloth.* It only says that when Piers dies, his wife, who will be his executrix, will be able to distribute to his heirs *all* that he leaves, because no outstanding debts will deplete his estate.

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[*To be concluded*]

A FURTHER STUDY OF THE HEROIC TETRAMETER

There is a type of line in heroic verse which, like the rest of heroic verse, is usually classed as a pentameter, but which to my mind is properly a tetrameter. Examples of this type are found in the lines:

A thing of beauty is a joy forever;
To point a moral or adorn a tale;
The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power;
Battle's magnificently stern array;
And all went merry as a marriage bell;
Trip the pert fairies and the dapper elves;
And, like Limander, am I trusty still.
And I, like Helen, till the Fates me kill;
And sometimes lurk I in a gossip's bowl
In very likeness of a roasted crab;
Remould it, nearer to the heart's desire;
Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York;
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.

In two earlier papers[1] I have presented evidence that the line is a tetrameter, and in this paper further evidence will be presented to support the same position.

But if the line is a tetrameter, what then? Why, to say that the line is a tetrameter implies a fundamental criticism of the commonly accepted ways of studying metrics. It means that we have been using a system of measurement which has not enabled us to distinguish between four and five feet except in simple cases, say between

The stag at eve had drunk his fill

and

The curfew tolls the knell of parting day.

In the more difficult case, to be discussed, we have accepted the judgment of tradition that the line is a pentameter, without questioning this judgment any too closely. We have defined pentameter lines as those lines which tradition has called pentameter.

[1] "A Type of Four-Stress Verse in Shakespeare," *New Shakespeareana*, January, 1911; "A Scientific Basis for Metrics," *Modern Language Notes*, May, 1913.

But now, in departing from tradition, let us state at once the definitions and assumptions on which our work is based. They are as follows:

1. A line may not be classed until it has been read, or at least is supposed to have been read. In defense of this principle, we may say that it is verse *as it sounds* which concerns us; verse as it looks has nothing to do with meters. In terms of print it is difficult to say what tetrameter means. In terms of sound, then:

2. A line will be called *tetrameter* if a given reading suggests four equal time-parts, called *feet* or measures. Here is a definition which means something, no matter how objectionable it may be to some readers, for we *can* read lines so as to suggest four equal time-parts. A crude way of doing this would be to read the line

The stág at éve had drúnk his fíll

so as to make the *stressed vowels* (that is, the vowels which divide the verse) coincide with consecutive beats of a metronome. But it is not necessary to read our poetry to a metronome in order to suggest equal time-parts any more than to play our music in this way. Gabrilowitsch brings out Chopin's rhythms rather well, but he would make a poor showing by the side of a metronome, if we should allow the metronome to judge.

The objection may be raised that time-parts and measures are all very well for music, but we are dealing with verse, and the phenomena of verse may not be explained in terms of time-parts and measures. Anyone who believes this, and thinks with Mr. Saintsbury that time is "a word of fear in prosody" and that by its use "great and unnecessary mischief is likely to be done," will not be interested further in this paper, for it will seem to him that a classification of verse with respect to time is of no importance.

But, taking the time basis for granted, let us define the given type[1] as a tetrameter which becomes a heroic pentameter if the second foot is read as two feet of two syllables each. For example,

A thíng of béauty is a jóy foréver

[1] Professor Gummere (F. B. Gummere, "On the Translation of Beowulf," *American Journal of Philology*, VII [1896], 57 ff.), writing from a different point of view and on a different problem, describes lines of this type by saying that they have four strong stresses, a heaping up of light syllables in the middle of the line, and a weak stress. He would count this weak stress in the middle of the line as one of five stresses, still calling the lines pentameter. Without discussing Professor Gummere's definitions, or his interesting and

is a heroic tetrameter, because if we read the second foot as two feet,

A thing of beauty is a joy forever,

we have the familiar heroic pentameter.[1]

Let us distinguish the heroic tetrameter from certain other lines. In general it has ten syllables, but the definition "a tetrameter line of ten syllables" would not be exact, for the reason that there are other ten-syllable tetrameters, for example, the doggerel line

Fell over the threshold and broke my shin.
[*Love's Labour's Lost.*]

Again, not in heroic verse,

To a speeding wind and a bounding wave;
[Browning, Song, *Paracelsus.*]

Sentencing to exile the bright Sun-God.
[Meredith, *Phoebus.*]

In heroic verse, Shakespeare and Milton write a number of ten-syllable tetrameters that are not of our type; for example:

Thank me no thankings, nor proud me no prouds;
[*Romeo and Juliet.*]

To the garden of bliss, thy seat prepared;
[*Paradise Lost.*]

and Donne is fond of using in heroic verse a tetrameter which again is not of our type, for example:

Will have me cut up to survey each part.

The reason we discard these lines in forming our definition is that no one of them is used often enough to give it the distinction of a norm, while the line that we are considering is found in every type of heroic verse, in blank verse, couplets, quatrains, sonnets.

valuable article, I reach a different conclusion in terms of my own definitions, since I make these lines tetrameters, and Professor Gummere's "weak stress" becomes in my classification no stress at all. This does not mean necessarily a contradiction of Professor Gummere's results, since I am using the word "stress" in a different sense.

[1] It would be quite possible, of course, to turn a pentameter into a tetrameter by doubling up, say, the third and fourth feet instead of the second and third, for example:

Here falling houses thunder on your heads

(cf. Gummere, *loc. cit.;* the stresses are mine), but the usage among readers is not so common. Readers do not make heroic lines tetrameters just because they happen to have four "strong stresses," for if so, about two-thirds of heroic verse would be read tetrameter and this is not the case (Gummere, *loc. cit.;* also E. A. Abbott, *A Shakespearean Grammar*, p. 330). Instead of two lines in three only about one line in ten is read tetrameter.

So much in order to distinguish the given line from other tetrameters. But may the line be fairly called a tetrameter? It is a tetrameter if readers and poets make it so. What evidence have we at hand?

First, an experiment in the psychological laboratory[1] showed that, as a matter of actual time taken in the reading, three readers divided lines of the given type into four parts approximately equal, rather than into five, thus making certain readings of heroic lines tetrameters on the objective evidence of the recording instrument. Let us consider also evidence on the subjective side. As far as my observation has gone during the last eight years, every reader of heroic verse makes heroic tetrameter of certain lines; but this much is noteworthy, that, in general (with the exception of musicians, who are accustomed to measure time-values with the ear), the more clearly a line has been read tetrameter, the more stoutly the reader insists that he has read it pentameter. In general, the better the reader the worse his analysis, until his attention is caught by some such device as the following. Consider Milton's couplet

Ánd from rebéllion shall derîve his náme
Thóugh of rebéllion óthers hé accúse.

The metrical importance of "others" is so great that the line containing it is read pentameter. The metrical importance of "shall" is so slight that the line containing it is read tetrameter. To show the difference between the lines, suppose that we reverse the scansion:

Ánd from rebéllion shâll derîve his náme
Thóugh of rebéllion others hé accúse.

The reading will probably be found unnatural and highly artificial, and probably we should never hear the passage read in this way, except as an exercise. We should all read as pentameter Milton's line of eleven syllables

Distúrbed not, waîting clóse the approach of mórn.
[*Paradise Lost.*]

But suppose that we omit the syllable "close." The remaining line,

Distúrbed not, waîting the approach of mórn,

is a heroic line in good and regular standing—but a tetrameter.

[1] University of Michigan, August, 1912. The readers were Professors Meader and Sheppard and the writer, and twenty-two readings were taken, most of them by Meader and Sheppard. See "A Scientific Basis for Metrics," *Modern Language Notes*, May, 1913.

We have noticed that readers, more or less unconsciously, have made our line a tetrameter. It is probable that poets also, more or less unconsciously, have made it a tetrameter. A reader often argues that the line is pentameter because he can scan it as pentameter,

Tee-tum tee-tum tee-tum tee-tum tee-tum
A thing of beauty is a joy forever,

being wholly influenced by the bugaboo of classic scansion, and quite regardless of the fact that he does not *read* the line in this way at all. So, probably, a poet using heroic tetrameters unconsciously, calls them pentameters because they might be read so, and not because he would like to have them read so.

The first evidence that poets have used the heroic tetrameter as a tetrameter is one stated in an earlier paper, that Shakespeare seems to have used the line as a formal relief from monotony when his verse was most rigid. It occurs oftener, therefore, in the earlier plays, and so furnishes a chronology test for the plays.[1] When there were

[1] *New Shakespeareana*, January, 1911, p. 14.

Play	Approximate Date	Percentage
**Love's Labour's Lost*	1589	12.1
Titus Andronicus	1584–89	13.4
Comedy of Errors	1589–91	15.2
2 Henry VI	1591–92	14.8
3 Henry VI	1591–92	13.8
Two Gentlemen of Verona	1593	14.2
Richard III	1593	16
Richard II	1593	14.2
Midsummer-Night's Dream	1594	13.2
Romeo and Juliet	1594	11.4
King John	1595	14.2
1 Henry IV	1596	14.6
Merchant of Venice	1596	11.9
2 Henry IV	1598	14.5
Henry V	1599	12.9
As You Like It	1599	10.8
†*Merry Wives of Windsor*	1599	6.4
Much Ado about Nothing	1599	12
Twelfth Night	1600	10.9
Hamlet	1600	10.4
Julius Caesar	1600	10.2
All's Well	1601	10.1
Troilus and Cressida	1599–1605	10.6
Measure for Measure	1603	9.7
Othello	1604	9.5
King Lear	1605	7.1
Macbeth	1606	8.6
Antony and Cleopatra	1608	7.7
Coriolanus	1609	6.2
Winter's Tale	1610	7.4
Cymbeline	1610	6.9
‡*Henry VIII*	1611	7.3
Tempest	1612	6.1

* Corrected in 1597.

† 266 verses.

‡ Act I, scenes 1, 2; Act II, scene 3; Act III, scene 2 to King's exit; Act V, scene 1.

fewer run-on lines, fewer lines with light endings, and so on, Shakespeare relieved his verse by occasionally passing to another meter, using a line that had been allowed in heroic verse from the time of Chaucer.

In order to appreciate the value of this relief, let us consider a passage that neglects it entirely, taken from the *Steele Glas* by George Gascoigne, 1576. So far as I have read (not far) Gascoigne does not use the heroic tetrameter at all. He follows consistently the rule that "we vse none other order but a foote of two sillables, wherof the first is depressed or made short, and the second is eleuate or made long: and that sound or scanning continueth throughout the verse." Gascoigne himself must have been conscious of the monotony of his verses, for he says a few lines later, "And surely I can lament that wee are fallen into suche a playne and simple manner of wrything, that there is none other foote vsed but one. . . . . But since it is so, let vs take the forde as we finde it." As a result of taking the ford as he finds it, Gascoigne writes hundreds of verses of which the following are typical:

> The Nightingale, whose happy noble hart,
> No dole can daunt, nor feareful force affright,
> Whose chereful voice, doth comfort saddest wights,
> When she hir self, hath little cause to sing.
> Whom louers loue, bicause she plaines their greues,
> She wraies their woes, and yet relieues their payne,
> Whom worthy mindes, alwayes esteemed much,
> And grauest years, haue not disdainde hir notes;
> (Only that king, proud Tereus by his name,
> With murdring knife, did carue hir pleasant tong,
> To couer so, his owne foule filthy fault).

The opening lines of *Richard III* are practically all end-stopped, like the Gascoigne lines, but in the first thirteen lines Shakespeare has put five heroic tetrameters, so that any Gascoigne monotony is at once out of the question. This monotony could be restored, in large measure, by arbitrarily reading all the tetrameters as pentameters:

> Now is the winter of our discontent
> Made glorious summer by this sun of York—

a thing we are by no means willing to do, although we have been quite willing to *scan* the lines as pentameters.

As a second evidence that poets have considered our line a tetrameter, we may notice certain cases in which two consecutive dimeter lines combined make a heroic tetrameter. Then, if twice two is four in this field of investigation, we have an illustration of our law. We have in recognized dimeter the following couplets:

Comes this way sailing
Like a stately ship;
[Milton, *Samson.*]

The pleasant waters
Of the river Lee
. . . . . .
Their thunder rolling
From the Vatican;
[Mahony, *Bells of Shandon*]

They see the Centaurs
In the upper glens;
[M. Arnold, *Strayed Reveller.*]

The three blind sisters
With their lamps of gold.
[Schütze, *Translation of Maeterlinck.*]

Each of the foregoing illustrations gives us a pair of dimeter lines which may be read as a single heroic line, and in this line it is the "evident intention of the poet" that there should be four feet and not five. We have evidence, then, that certain poets have recognized the heroic tetrameter, albeit in two parts.

This evidence is particularly clear in the following illustration, taken from Matthew Arnold's "Voice." We have the passage

Prayers that tomorrow shall in vain be sped,

and ten lines later,

Strains of glad music at a funeral.

Now one of these passages is written by the poet as a dimeter couplet and one as a single heroic line. If the reader is not too familiar with the poem, it might interest him to determine which is the couplet and which the single line, and to ask himself whether the two forms might not be interchanged without affecting the sound of the passage in the least.

Besides the dimeter couplets, there are lines of our type in recognized tetrameter which would pass for heroic lines if found in heroic verse. Consider the line

Three days the flowers of the garden fair

in connection with the line

To rain a shower of commanded tears.

If the context were not known, I doubt if one could tell with certainty whether both lines occur in tetrameter, or both in pentameter, or whether one line is of one kind and one of the other. In order to strengthen this impression, I omit the references, and only wish that the lines were less familiar.

If the reader has satisfied himself with regard to these lines, let him consider the following:

When spite of cormorant devouring Time

and

Black as a cormorant the screaming blast,

and let him answer to his own satisfaction the same questions regarding them: Are both lines in pentameter or both in tetrameter? And if one is in pentameter and one in tetrameter, which is which?

But the following lines are surely heroic tetrameters in the midst of ordinary tetrameters:

I shake the hours in the hour glass;
[A. Symons, *Dance of Seven Deadly Sins.*]

Each evolution of perfecting plan;
[R. H. McCarthney, *Anti-Christ.*]

When France was glorious and blood red, fair;
[Swinburne, *Les Noyades.*]

That he was never on a woman born;
[From Percy Fol. MS (modernized).]

Carry us over on your nice white back;
[Grimm's *Household Stories*, trans. by Lucy Crane.]

I may pray different from other men
. . . .
To hell with Texas and the skew-ball black.
[Lomax, *Cowboy Songs.*]

Such use, however, is not common. To find the line used more frequently in this way, we turn to "The Congo" by Vachel Lindsay.

The rhythm of this poem is set up as tetrameter by such uncompromising lines as:

Mumbo-jumbo will hoo-doo you

and

Boom-lay, boom-lay, boom-lay boom.

In the third part of the poem, still tetrameter, we have a passage where the heroic tetrameters follow each other in rapid succession (the theme at this point is not heroic):

A good old negro in the slums of the town
Preached at a sister for her velvet gown.
Howled at a brother for his low-down ways
His prowling, guzzling, sneak-thief days.
Beat on the Bible till he wore it out
Starting the jubilee revival shout.
And some had visions, as they stood on chairs
And sang of Jacob, and the golden stairs.

Lindsay also uses the heroic tetrameter in heroic verse. For example:

Into the acres of the new-born state
He poured his strength and plowed his ancient name;
[*The Proud Farmer.*]

Worn out with honors and apart from her
They died as many a self made exile dies.
[*The Hearth Eternal.*]

There is another interesting evidence of a poet's using the heroic tetrameter as a tetrameter. In his poem of five stanzas, "Corinna's Going A-Maying," Herrick writes a heroic couplet in the middle of each stanza with the exception of the fifth, but in the fifth the first line is a heroic tetrameter, and the second an eight-syllable tetrameter:

And as a vapour or a drop of rain
Once lost can ne'er be found again.

Inasmuch as this is the only metrical irregularity in the poem, and as Herrick's verse is well known for its fineness of finish, is it not clear that the second line was written, consciously or unconsciously, as a metrical equivalent for the first? If this is so, the poet must have conceived of the line

And as a vapour or a drop of rain

as a tetrameter.

Charles W. Cobb

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NOTE ON THE *CARDENIO–DOUBLE FALSEHOOD* PROBLEM

Owing to the fact that the author was unable to read the proof of "The *Cardenio-Double Falsehood* Problem" (*Modern Philology*, September, 1916), an error is apparent in each of the two tables used on pages 276 and 278. In the former, the percentage of feminine caesural line pauses in the parts of the play designated as "by another" should be 23.3 instead of 13.3. Only when this correction is made, is the statement accompanying the table true, namely, that the parts by another author show a larger percentage of all the peculiarities of style except feminine endings. In the same way, the statements regarding the table on page 278 do not hold true unless the proportion of weak and light endings in *Two Noble Kinsmen* is corrected. It is 0.23, not 23. The footnote on page 277, giving the division employed by Neilson and Thorndike, should read "assigned I, iv (28 ff.)."

WALTER GRAHAM

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Common Conditions. Edited by TUCKER BROOKE. Elizabethan Club Reprints, No. 1. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915. Pp. xv+90.

Professor Brooke's publication of *Common Conditions* from a complete quarto text found in Lord Mostyn's library renders an important service to students of the Elizabethan drama. Except for obvious corrections furnished by the fragmentary quarto or based on misprints, the text is a type facsimile in black letter. The introduction, notes, appendixes, and variant readings afford much material of permanent value. Nevertheless, the handsome volume remains rather the basis for a study of the problems of the play than a final critical edition. Most notable among the problems still demanding solution are the questions of authorship, of source, and of the curiously truncated ending.

Already Professor Brooke has supplemented his introduction with a discussion in *Modern Language Notes* (December, 1916) of the source pointed out by Miss Gothein—Piccolomini's *L'Amor costante.* Earlier Dr. L. M. Ellison in his still unpublished dissertation for the University of Chicago, *The Early Romantic Drama at the English Court,* had noted many marked resemblances between *Common Conditions* and the eighth novel of the fifth day of Cinthio's *Hecatommithi.* Both studies indicate that the Italian play and novella rather belong to the same saga as the English play than furnish the source,[1] and Dr. Ellison discovers in *Common Conditions* many conventions of Greek romance. It remains to be determined whether there was another source closer to the English play or whether one of the known Italian forms of the story was used with free adaptations of romantic conventions. For the latter view there is some evidence in the parallels to *Common Conditions* to be found in *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes, Hymenaeus, Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune,* and *Hispanus.*

The meaning of the unsatisfactory ending is discussed by Professor Brooke in a note, where he broaches the possibility that the play is only a first part, but seems inclined to a theory that the incompleteness is due to excisions by the Master of the Revels. There is nothing in *Common Conditions,* however, to suggest a type of material that would call for cuts, particularly in this climax; whereas reasonable ground exists for considering the play only

[1] The story became popular in French drama with Louis le Jars' *Lucelle,* 1576, an adaptation of *L'Amor costante.* Cf. Lancaster, *The French Tragi-Comedy,* pp. 62, 63, and 164 for bibliography.

the first of two parts. The entry on the Stationers' Register with its fee of twelve pence is a strong indication of a two-part play. Of the numerous entries on the Register before 1600 no single play, unless it be *Common Conditions*, is entered for more than four pence (the standard fee till about the time of *Common Conditions*) or six pence (the standard fee later), but around 1600 several plays in two parts are entered at a cost of twelve pence.

The entry fee is not decisive, for irregularities in fees are frequent, but the strong evidence of the register is supported by the play itself. In the first place, the incomplete ending and the excuse given in the epilogue were prepared, not at the time of printing the play, but at the time of acting it, for the prologue and epilogue were written for an audience, not for readers. Both, but particularly the prologue, seem to have been couched in general terms suitable for recitation anywhere. The prologue asking a favorable reception begs the audience to "bide the last as well as first to see." The request is made in order that the audience may not condemn the production before seeing it through, and would apply naturally enough to a play with only one part, but it fits in with the idea of a two-part play. At the moment when Lamphedon has apparently died from poison and Metrea has drunk of the same cup, the speaker of the epilogue steps forward and halts the actors with the plea:

> As wee are now by Time cut of from farther time to spende.
> So time saith to vs seace now here, your audience mutch ye wrong
> If farther now to weary them the time ye do prolonge.

Then addressing the audience he says:

> Offence we trust we haue none made, but if ought haue scapt a mis
> we pardon aske, and will amend when we know what it is.

While most plays with two parts have some reference to the second at the close of the first, and while we should not expect an Elizabethan dramatist to conclude a first part at the exact climax after the manner of a modern continued story, it is really easier to regard *Common Conditions* as having its resolution in a complementary play than to regard it as having no resolution at all. At any rate, I believe that the conclusion was planned with a view to a second part, that "first" and "last" of the prologue may refer to the two parts, and that "now" of the epilogue was emphasized to indicate a temporary break in the drama, perhaps in the middle of a festival day. The promise of amendment, also, while entirely conventional, may glance at a happy termination of the poisoning scene, which most audiences would take amiss.

Again, aside from its abrupt ending, *Common Conditions* shows signs of a failure to develop the threads of the plot according to the dramatist's design. Obviously additional action was planned for Sabia and her father Mountagos, the physician. Mountagos promises his daughter her lover, a promise which might well have been fulfilled in a second part much as the

very similar physician of *The Rare Triumphs* brings about a happy ending of his son's love affair. Moreover, the separation of Galiarbus' family, the meeting without a recognition of each other, and the love of both father and brother for Clarisia demand revelations and adjustments of love affairs as in *Menaphon* and many another sixteenth-century story. In two other points the text of *Common Conditions* suggests a continuation. Practically at the end of the play (l. 1810) the Vice promises a new disguise, but nothing comes of it. Further, the title-page speaks of Leostines (presumably Galiarbus in disguise) as a lover of Metrea—that is, of his own daughter. This motive is carefully prepared for in the play by his regard for Metrea and his intense passion at the discovery of her love affair, but it is only in the next to the last line that he breaks out in a cry of love. The play itself, then, seems to me to indicate that the drug is only a sleeping potion to be explained by later revelations.

This is just what contemporary literature would lead one to look for. Even on the basis of the two somewhat unsatisfactory sources suggested for *Common Conditions*, a continuation of the play would be expected. Indeed, *L'Amore costante* and the French *Lucelle* mentioned above deal with the poisoning scene exactly as I believe that the complete *Common Conditions* did. Further, the conventionality of the sleeping potion as a complicating element in the romantic stories and plays of the Renaissance points as strongly toward a second play. The story of Romeo and Juliet, dramatized as early as 1562, though tragic, represents the fatal drug as only a sleeping potion. Among the accidents that beset the course of true love in the Cambridge play *Hymenaeus*, 1579, is the lover's drinking, by mistake, with supposedly fatal results, a sleeping potion brewed by the physician Pantomagus, who resembles Mountagos of *Common Conditions*. In the later Cambridge *Machiavellus*, 1597, and in Dekker's *Honest Whore*, Part I, one of the complicating forces in a romantic love plot is that the girl, who has been drugged with a sleeping potion, is taken for dead by her lover. Another motive of *Common Conditions*, the father's condemning to death his own daughter and her lover, is found not infrequently in the romantic plots of the period, as in the Cambridge play *Hispanus*, 1597, or in *Arcadia*, where it is a son and his betrothed who are condemned by the father. But convention demands that the situation shall be saved in the end.

Conventions of romantic story, then, would seem to call for a second part of *Common Conditions*, in which the lovers revive, the subsidiary love affair is worked out, and revelations of kinship are made. *Common Conditions* advances from one startling incident to another, and we should expect the complicated entanglements with which the present play closes to be unraveled with something like the same epic ampleness of treatment.

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A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1400. By JOHN EDWIN WELLS, M.L., M.A., PH.D., Professor of English Literature in Beloit College. Published under the Auspices of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, MDCCCCXVI. Pp. xv+941. $5.00 net.

This manual, says the Preface, makes the first attempt to treat all the writings in print, from single lines to the most extensive pieces, composed between 1050 and 1400. It is unique in that besides attempting to deal with all such pieces, it groups each piece with others of its kind; indicates its probable date, its MS or MSS (with dates), its form, extent, original dialect, and sources (when known); presents comments on each longer production, with an abstract of its contents, and supplies a bibliography of each composition.

That so extensive an undertaking as this should be entirely free from misprints, misapprehensions, and omissions is not humanly possible, and the author himself did not dare hope for impeccability. But the work as a whole is executed with amazing industry, conscientiousness, impartiality, learning, and intelligence, and it would be both invidious and useless to list the comparatively few slips which have attracted the attention of the present reviewer. It is to be hoped that the author himself, and other scholars by communicating with him, will prepare for the revised edition which certainly ought to be necessary in five or ten years; for the work as it stands far surpasses every other bibliographical aid in its field and is absolutely indispensable to all serious students of English literature.

Many years ago Professor F. I. Carpenter and I planned a bibliographical history of English literature somewhat along the lines of the Teuffel-Schwabe *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*. Various causes prevented us from doing more than making a few futile preparations for this stupendous undertaking, and perhaps it is too ambitious a task to be successfully carried out *primo impetu*, even with the aid of the members of large classes in bibliography. It is gratifying to note the number of important contributions to such a history which have been published recently or are in press, such as this volume, Professor Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, and Professor C. S. Northup's *Bibliography of Bibliographies of English Literature*. Perhaps the solution of the problem lies in the production of a series of volumes similar to Professor Wells's. Surely no more useful gift could be made to students of the history of literature in England.

It is noteworthy that the present volume was made possible financially by the aid of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, which has a long and honorable record for such munificence. Professor Brown's *Register* is financed by the Bibliographical Society of London and Professor Northup's

is to be published by the Bibliographical Society of America. In England and America such volumes can rarely be published without such financial guaranties. It is to be hoped that universities as well as learned societies will more and more foster research by financing important publications.

JOHN M. MANLY

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A History of American Literature since 1870. By FRED LEWIS PATTEE. New York: The Century Company, 1915. Pp. 449.

There are encouraging signs from various quarters that American literature is on the way to receiving some fair share of attention from the American scholar. The small but distinguished series from the Columbia University Press is uninterrupted. There are rumors of further studies on Whitman, American verse, American drama, and American poetry. The *Cambridge History* volumes are ready for publication. The first approach at a valuation of the magazine in America is recently out; even a life of the much-debated O. Henry; and, more important than these, Professor Pattee's *History of American Literature since 1870.*

There is no question as to the pertinence of a book on this subject. Great reaches in this extensive field have been left almost without a survey; and no other adequate map has been made to show the relative importance of its various parts, or to display the whole period in relation to our earlier intellectual history. The chapters on "The Laughter of the West," "The Discovery of Pike County," and "The Era of Southern Themes and Southern Writers" present fresh material with fresh enthusiasm. The discussion of "The Transition Poets" puts Taylor, Stoddard, Stedman, and Aldrich quite in their proper and subordinate pigeonhole, and "The Recorders of the New England Decline" does a similar judicial service to Mrs. Stowe and her successors. Moreover, the underlying thesis of the book is well maintained: that since 1870 American literature has been in degree and in quantity more largely indigenous than in the earlier periods. For these reasons the book is instructive and suggestive.

In fact, the thesis is so clearly demonstrable, that Professor Pattee's very enthusiasm for it is somewhat unfortunate. We should be ready to admit that he was "the first that ever burst into that silent sea" without the asseverations in his preface. When we read his inscription "with full heart" to his college teachers and associates, we can't help feeling that too often in the ardor of composition it overflowed. The work is blemished at many points with the defects that result from an excess of zeal.

In the first place, it is spotted with the inaccuracies of overemphasis. In the effort to "ride his formula roughshod" through the book, Professor Pattee omits the non-collegians Alcott and Bryant from a list of "leading

authors" which includes Parker "with his honorary M.A." among the college men, in spite of the fact that he never attended a class at Harvard. He numbers Emerson in a "whole school" who "lived in the old lands of culture and . . . . visited these lands as often as they could." He makes Harte, Clemens, and Cable stumble upon the tremendous fact "that America was full of borderlands where the old régime had yielded to the new"—a fact already recorded in an imposing pile of books by Simms and Cooper. He gives Thoreau, who died in 1862, a posthumous membership in the period after 1870 by a process of chronological extradition which, to say the least, is cruel and unusual.

This forensic method of writing appears not only in the book at large; it is pursued in the discussion of individual authors, as, for example, in the treatment of Mark Twain, to whom much space is very properly devoted. Professor Pattee says (p. 45) that with him "American literature became for the first time really national," although he elsewhere says of Whitman's poems (p. 171), which appeared twelve years earlier, that "they are American absolutely, in spirit, in color, in outlook." He makes the extraordinary statement that Mark Twain removed from the West "*so as to see it in its true perspective.*" He ignores his fifteen months in New York and Philadelphia when he says that Clemens lived till he was thirty in parts of America where, as Hawthorne has put it, "the damned shadow of Europe had never fallen." He forgets all the fine prose poetry in his books of travel when saying that Twain's books nowhere rise into the pure serene of literature unless touched at some point by the Mississippi River. He accredits pioneership to the author of *Innocents Abroad* for things written by Irving in *The Salmagundi Papers* and by Emerson in the verses on Naples and Rome. He forgets "Evangeline" in enthusiasm for Mark Twain's vast canvases. Furthermore, in this as in other parts of the book Professor Pattee lays his more sober judgments open to question. He excludes *Prince and Pauper* and *Joan of Arc* from the list of his contributions to American classics, apparently on the sole ground that they are not on American subject-matter, while including *Innocents Abroad* with its no more striking American point of view. And again he shows carelessness in attributing to Mark Twain a passage in *The Gilded Age* (p. 6) which was written by his collaborator, Charles Dudley Warner.

Finally, Professor Pattee supplies in this chapter such characteristic slips in sentence structure as the following: "There is in all he wrote a lack of refinement, kept at a minimum, to be sure, by his wife, who for years was his editor and severest critic, but likely at any moment to crop out"; and "He struck out into the Toulumne Hills with Jim Gillis as a pocket miner."

Toward the end of the book the author seems to have forgotten the nationalism which so absorbed his attention in the early chapters. On no other ground can one understand the scant and unsatisfactory treatment of those who should have been the central figures in the chapter on "The

Later Poets." No mention is made of E. R. Sill's leavening influence as a culture medium of the East, the Pacific Slope, and the Middle West; none, of Gilder's stirring songs of civic life, many of them in free verse; none, of Hovey's excited militarism in response to the bugle notes of the Spanish War. And no mention of any sort is made of the one indubitable major poet since 1870—William Vaughn Moody.

This brief comment has dealt perforce with the defects of the work in hand; and now the available space is used up. It remains to be said at the end as at the beginning that in spite of these defects this *History of American Literature since 1870* contains a great deal of information, and offers a survey which as yet can be found nowhere else.

PERCY H. BOYNTON

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Jacke Jugeler. Edited by W. H. WILLIAMS. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914. Pp. xxii+75.

In form and presswork Professor William's edition of *Jacke Jugeler* is very artistic. In the main the editing is excellent. The text seems to be an exact reprint of the unique original except for a few less essential details such as the failure to mark the folios of the original and to indicate the expansion of ampersand. The only known fragment from a later edition is printed in an appendix. A valuable series of notes is replete with citations of the passages from Plautus which influenced the wording of the play and with illustrations from contemporary literature to explain the colloquialisms and slang expressions that abound. In the introduction are presented the actual facts known in regard to the date and production of the play, and here the editor has also attempted to establish Udall's authorship of the interlude—but without success, I think.

The evidence for Udall's authorship is primarily that of parallel phrases. Features indicating individual peculiarities, such as the unusual spellings listed in the introduction and the Chaucerian expressions traced in the notes, suggest a field for study not utilized by the editor, but the parallels to Udall's phraseology listed offer no example of the individuality that marks an author as a phrase-builder. Indeed, the editor's own notes show that the greater number of these parallels are well established bits of comic patter, and doubtless others traced here only in Udall's work could be found elsewhere. "Arayed," for instance, is used in the same sense by Skelton. Without some tangible bit of evidence that the play is by Udall, the long argument that in the epilogue Udall represents himself as having been made a scapegoat in his conviction and dismissal from Eton has no value. Udall's own words confessing guilt can hardly be interpreted as favorably as Professor Williams would interpret them. On the other hand, the explanation of the

epilogue as a veiled attack on Catholicism with allusions to transubstantiation (Boas, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, V, 120) seems to fit both the time of the production of the interlude and the wording of the epilogue.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO C. R. BASKERVILL

Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama. A Study in Stage Tradition. By VICTOR OSCAR FREEBURG. New York: Columbia University Press, 1915. Pp. ix+241.

Dr. Freeburg's *Disguise Plots* is a book full of valuable material. Hundreds of European stories and plays are either analyzed or listed. The general plan of the volume, too, is excellent—to discuss the dramatic value of disguise, then to give a history of the development of the various conventions, and finally to classify the uses of disguise in the Elizabethan drama. But the expectation of a scientific study and classification of disguise motives raised by such a plan and such a bulk of material is only partly realized. One can ordinarily pardon many shortcomings in the handling of a vast body of material, but in this particular case little value attaches to a discussion of the well known conventions of disguise—commonplaces to the student of the drama—unless the treatment is made final. The artificial limit to plays before 1616 leaves the study incomplete—an incompleteness emphasized by the author's constant references to later plays—and the failure to discuss disguise conventions that are not included in his six categories causes him to relegate some plays to notes or passing reference. *The Alchemist* and *Eastwarde Hoe*, for example, are not definitely placed. But the chapter on "Origin and Extent" is the weakest in the book. Instead of a definite study of conventions that influenced the Elizabethan drama, an eclectic method is followed by which whatever has come within the author's range is accumulated, and relations are indicated in haphazard fashion. Rogue literature is neglected in connection with "multiple disguise." Of the *Ingannati* plot and its numerous congeners down to *Twelfth Night* the author says, "It would require considerable time and skill to analyze and study those plots thoroughly, and to ascertain their relations with *Twelfth Night*" (p. 47). But surely this early modification of the Plautine twin idea by the disguise motive in the interest of romantic comedy is exceedingly important for the fusion of classical comedy and romantic story, and should be placed in its relation to the extensive romantic comedy of the Renaissance in England. In connection with the discussion of origins, a more systematic classification of all disguise material from which the Elizabethan drama drew should have been made, and at least a brief classification of other motives to which the disguise motive is readily added should have been given. Only then would a discriminating discussion of Elizabethan conventions be possible.

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THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE *KINDER- UND HAUSMÄRCHEN* OF THE BROTHERS GRIMM. I

PREFATORY NOTE

The following history of the external development of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm was begun early in 1912, as a slight contribution to the centenary of the publication of the first volume of the collection. At that time Bolte and Polívka's splendid *Anmerkungen* had not appeared, and Panzer's reprint of the first edition was not yet issued. I had not gone far in my work when a domestic bereavement and the unexpected recall to active academic life took me from all scholarly work for over a year. When I was able to resume my labors, I experienced the usual difficulty in obtaining my materials. The first seven editions of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, the only editions of value for the text or of interest for the history of the individual tales, are all scarce, some of them excessively so. A visit to Munich in the summer of 1914 afforded me an opportunity to examine the first edition in the copy used by Panzer for his reprint. The second edition, 1819, I have seen in the copies belonging to Harvard College Library and to the Boston Athenaeum Library. The third edition, 1837, was kindly collated for me by Mr. J. A. Herbert from the copy in the British Museum. The fourth edition, 1840, is extremely scarce, and I have to thank Dr. Johannes Bolte of Berlin for a collation of it from the copy in the Provinzialbibliothek of Hanover, as there was, apparently, no copy in Berlin. There is a copy of the fifth edition, 1843, in the Library of Congress,

which I have used. The sixth edition, 1850, was collated for me in the summer of 1914 by my colleague, Professor P. R. Pope, from the copy in the Heidelberg Library. Professor B. J. Vos of the Indiana University kindly loaned me his copy of this edition. Professor Vos, I may remark, is the fortunate owner of the second, fifth, sixth, and seventh editions. The seventh edition, 1857 (with third volume of *Notes*, third edition, 1856), the so-called "Grosse Ausgabe," or definitive edition, is not so scarce as the others, and I have used the copy in the Cornell University Library, which came from the Library of Friedrich Zarncke.

The publication of Bolte and Polívka's *Anmerkungen* and Panzer's reprint in 1913 and 1915 were of great help to me, and at the same time made me hesitate about continuing my work. But, valuable as the above-mentioned works are, the information contained in them is so scattered that it is difficult for the student to form a clear idea of the formal development of the collection. Besides it is uncertain when the monumental work of Bolte and Polívka will be completed. The second volume stops with the 120th story. The editors promise for the last volume a survey of the literature used by them, a list of incidents (*Motivregister*), a systematic index of the subject-matter of the tales (*systematisches Verzeichnis der Märchenstoffe*), and a "brief account of the way in which the imperishable, youthful work of the Brothers Grimm was accomplished and its influence on readers (*Geniessende*) and scholars."

My purpose in the following article is a very modest and unoriginal one. I intend, as well as I can, to give an account of the inception of the collection, its purpose, and the outward changes it underwent until it reached in 1857 its definitive form. I have not treated the questions of the literary origins of the individual stories, or of the stylistic revision to which the editors subjected their work for many years. These questions have already been thoroughly discussed by Hermann Hamann, *Die literarischen Vorlagen der Kinder- und Hausmärchen und ihre Bearbeitung durch die Brüder Grimm*, Berlin, 1906 (*Palaestra*, XLVII), and by Ernest Tonnelat, *Les contes des frères Grimm. Etude sur la composition et le style du recueil des Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Paris, 1912. The latter subject is treated more briefly by Panzer in his reprint of the first edition.

In addition to the works mentioned above I am greatly indebted to the admirable book of Ernest Tonnelat, *Les frères Grimm. Leur œuvre de jeunesse*, Paris, 1912. The biographical material which I have used consists largely of the fragmentary "Selbstbiographie" of Jacob and Wilhelm, to be found in their *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1864, Vol. I, 1–24; Berlin, 1881, Vol. I, 1–27; the eulogy pronounced in 1860 on Wilhelm by Jacob, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 163–77; and the correspondence: *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm aus der Jugendzeit*, Weimar, 1881, *Freundesbriefe von Wilhelm und Jacob Grimm*, Heilbronn, 1878. Especially valuable is Reinhold Steig's *Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen. Dritter Band, Achim von Arnim und Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1894. There is a peculiarly delightful account of the brothers' youth in Ludwig Emil Grimm's *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 29–94. The documents concerning the service of Jacob and Wilhelm in Hesse are to be found in E. Stengel's *Private und amtliche Beziehungen der Brüder Grimm zu Hessen*, Vol. II, Marburg, 1886. I have also consulted the biographies by Albert Duncker, *Die Brüder Grimm*, Kassel, 1884, Wilhelm Scherer, *Jacob Grimm*, zweite Auflage, Berlin, 1885, and especially *Die Brüder Grimm* (Erinnerungen von Herman Grimm), printed as an *Anleitung* to the *Jubiläums-Auflage* of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, besorgt von Reinhold Steig, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1912.

I must ask kindly consideration for an article prepared so fitfully and amid so many distractions, but I trust this account of the inception and development of an immortal work, although it is confined to its external history, may attract students to the enjoyment of its perennial freshness and unchanging beauty.

I. THE EXTERNAL HISTORY

In the year 1915 occurred the anniversaries of the completion of two of the most entertaining and popular books of the world. I allude to the three hundredth anniversary of the publication of the second part of *Don Quixote*, and the hundredth anniversary of the publication of the second volume of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm. It is not inappropriate in these troublous times to dwell at some length on the work which was put

forth in the fateful years of 1812 to 1815, when Germany was in truth fighting for her national existence. I hope at some later day to consider the immortal romance which was penned by a very noble soldier who believed that the true end of war was the attainment of peace.

The two brothers, who were to confer on their country imperishable glory and set an undying example of fraternal affection and unselfish devotion to intellectual pursuits, were born at Hanau in Hesse, Jacob on January 4, 1785, and Wilhelm on February 24, 1786. Of a family of nine children, six survived infancy, a sister and five brothers, one of whom, Ludwig, was later distinguished as an artist and died only a few months before his brother Jacob, who outlived all the others. In 1791 the family removed to Steinau, where the father had been appointed district magistrate, and where the grandfather was pastor and inspector of pastors for forty-seven years.[1]

Many years later, Wilhelm visited Steinau and revived the recollections of his childhood. He got the key of the church where his grandfather, nearly a century before, had preached his first sermon. The sunlight fell through the lofty windows upon the pavement of the church, which was covered with tombstones, some dating back to the sixteenth century. There Wilhelm saw the names of two uncles, and between the altar and the pulpit the stone which covered the grave of his grandmother, over which, he says, his grandfather must have walked every Sunday for twenty years to reach his pulpit.[2]

Jacob's memory of his childhood was very vivid, and in a letter to his brother Ferdinand he relates how one winter night he accompanied his father to a neighboring village where he had to examine some people in a room dimly lighted and filled with peasants and tobacco smoke. He also recalled standing by the window at his father's side early in the morning and watching the maids in the street carrying on their heads pails of water in which the sunbeams were reflected.[3]

[1] A delightful account of the early history of the Grimm family may be found in Ludwig Emil Grimm's *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, Leipzig, 1911. The work contains portraits of the family and their friends and of the abodes occupied by them in Steinau and Cassel.

W. Grimm, "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 7.

[3] J. Grimm, "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 23.

The father died in 1796, and the eleven-year-old Jacob always remembered the black coffin and the bearers with lemons and rosemary in their hands.[1] The mother's means were small and the rearing of the six little children was a heavy burden. Two years after their father's death, thanks to the generosity of an aunt, who was in the service of the landgravine, Jacob and Wilhelm were sent to Cassel to the lyceum, where they spent four strenuous years in preparation for the university. While grateful for the many things he learned in this period, Jacob, later, had no very high opinion of the school, and it always rankled in his mind that one of the teachers addressed him in the third person, *er*, while all his comrades from the city received the *Sie*. Only one of the teachers, the rector Richter, made an impression on Jacob, and he was weakened by extreme old age.[2]

In the spring of 1802, a year sooner than Wilhelm, who was long and dangerously ill at this time, Jacob entered the University of Marburg. The lad of seventeen had no pronounced tastes, but prepared himself for a legal career, partly because it had been his father's profession, and partly because it was his mother's wish. "What do children or youths," he wrote later, "at the time when they make such definite resolutions, understand of the true importance of such a study? There is, however, in this clinging to a father's profession something natural, harmless, and even advisable. Much later in life I would have been inclined to no other science, unless perhaps to botany."[3]

Although Jacob's mother was the widow of a state official and brought up five sons for the public service, none of them received any state aid. On the other hand, one of Jacob's school comrades, a member of the nobility and destined to become some day one of the wealthiest landed proprietors, received the richest stipends. Jacob says, what has been the experience of so many other students, that "poverty spurs one to diligence and labor, protects from many distractions, and inspires a not ignoble pride, which maintains a consciousness of one's own merits in contrast to those which rank and wealth bestow." He then makes a remark of great interest for the present: "I might even make my statement more general and

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 3. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

attribute much of what the Germans have accomplished to the fact that they are not a rich people. They work from the bottom up and open for themselves many paths peculiarly their own, whereas other nations travel more upon a broad, smooth highway."[1]

The unformed lad arrived at Marburg thinking that there was no difference between the professors, and believing that all were equally good. But his eyes were opened and his whole future life decided (although he never became a jurist) when he entered the classroom of Friedrich Karl von Savigny, then privat dozent in law, and little more than five years older than his pupil. He had taken his degree at Marburg in 1800, and three years later was appointed extraordinary professor and published his epoch-making treatise *Das Recht des Besitzes.*

Savigny was of a noble and wealthy family and married in 1804 Kunigunde Brentano, the sister of Clemens and Elisabeth ("Bettina"), the latter of whom lived with the Savignys at Marburg from 1804 to 1806. What an important bearing all this had on Jacob and Wilhelm will presently appear. The impression which Savigny made on Jacob was overpowering. In an essay in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of Savigny's doctorate Jacob says: "I came to Marburg knowing nothing of any difference between professors and believing all equally good. Soon I imperceptibly learned that your lectures were the dearest to me, all the others were not half so dear, and I not only listened to you, I stamped upon my memory your looks and gestures, and afterwards in Paris, whither you had summoned me, walking or working with you I kept my eyes constantly directed at you as my shining example." In the same article he says: "I confess myself your pupil, yet the pupil has become unlike his teacher, dissimilar in almost everything. By the breath of your kind instruction you awakened my mind so that it assumed a scientific temper, and since all sciences at bottom are one, and the four faculties combine in one great one, your influence on me has lasted, your example impelled me where my desire of learning settled on fields which your own feet never trod. The Roman law, it is true, did not long attract me, but an inward call and the presence of outward events diverted me from it."[2]

[1] J. Grimm, "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 5. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

Over the chasm of half a century Jacob could still see the tall slight figure of his beloved teacher, his gray coat, his brown silk waistcoat with blue stripes, his dark hair hanging straight down. The cordial encouragement, the proffers of aid, the refined manners, the cheerful humor, the free and independent personality, could never be forgotten, or how he stood before his class at his desk, with his students hanging on his every word.[1]

Never to be forgotten, too, was the summer day in 1803 when Jacob visited his professor in his house, that was perched like a nest on the steep hillside of Marburg. The sunny rooms, the floors of fir boards, the white walls hung with engravings, above all, the shelves of books, made an indelible impression on the needy scholar who had seen few books besides his schoolbooks and those his father had left. Jacob recalled even the way in which the books were arranged, mostly in the usual order, but some in a reversed one, "as Hebrew is written from right to left." Savigny defended his method and told his pupil to climb the ladder and look more closely. "Then," writes Jacob, "my eyes beheld what they had never seen before; I remember that as you entered the door, just behind it, on the wall to the right stood a quarto volume, Bodmer's collection of the *Minnelieder*, which I seized and opened for the first time. There was to be read 'Her Jacob von Warte,' and 'Her Kristan von Hamle,' with poems in strange, half-incomprehensible German, that filled me with a strange presentiment. Who could then have told me that I should read this book through from beginning to end twenty times perhaps and never be without it! It stood on your shelves in idle display: you surely have never read it. Then, however, my incipient inclination did not venture to borrow it from you; but it remained so fixed in my memory that a few years later in the Paris library I did not cease to call for the manuscript which was its source, to gaze upon its attractive illuminations and to copy passages from it. Such glimpses kept alive in me the greatest desire to read and understand our old poets."[2]

Jacob would not have been so moved by the sight of Bodmer's volume had he not already made some acquaintance with his future

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 116. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

field of study. In the above-mentioned year, 1803, appeared *Minnelieder aus dem Schwäbischen Zeitalter neu bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Ludwig Tieck.* Many years later Tieck said of this work: "In the solitude of the country I chanced upon the study of the *Minnesänger* collected by Manesse, after I had already read with diligence and care the *Niebelungen* and the *Heldenbuch.* These charming songs intoxicated me with joy and delight. I tried to translate them in my way and prepared the introduction according to my knowledge at that time. Since then much has been done for these studies, but with the exception of some earlier appeals, mine was the first exhortation and encouragement to the knowledge of this literature. Jacob Grimm confessed to me that this work first directed his attention to this world of poetry and incited him to devote his labors to this field of study."[1] Jacob himself expressly states in his autobiography that it was Tieck's book and its enchanting preface which has aroused his interest in Bodmer's work.[2]

The vocation of the brothers was definitely decided by two causes: the intimacy with Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano and the political events which resulted in the creation of the kingdom of Westphalia. Savigny, as has already been stated, married Brentano's sister Kunigunde, and his house became for a time the home of another sister, Elisabeth, famous in German literature as "Bettina," who married Achim von Arnim in 1811. Clemens was much in Marburg between 1800 and 1804, and during this period was engaged with his future brother-in-law in collecting the materials for *Des Knaben Wunderhorn.* The friendship which Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm then formed with Achim von Arnim and "Bettina" lasted for life, and, as we shall presently see, the first edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* was dedicated to "Elisabeth von Arnim für den kleinen Johannes Freimund" (her infant son).[3]

The first part of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* appeared in the autumn of 1805. What share, if any, the Grimms had in it does not appear. In July of the following year Brentano wrote to Arnim:

[1] L. Tieck, *Kritische Schriften*, Leipzig, 1848, Vol. I, p. ix.

[2] J. Grimm, "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 6.

[3] The relation of the Grimms to the von Arnims is the subject of Reinhold Steig's masterly work *Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen.* Dritter Band. *Achim von Arnim und Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm.* Stuttgart und Berlin, 1904.

"When you are in Cassel look up the secretary of war, Grimm, who was with Savigny in Paris; he is a good-natured man and is collecting songs for us."[1]

The reference to Paris takes us back to an important episode in Jacob's life. Savigny left Marburg in 1804 to undertake a literary journey to Paris. He had already collected for his proposed history of the Roman law a great mass of important materials, which he unfortunately lost in his travels. To repair this serious loss he invited Jacob to come to Paris and assist him in his work. Jacob accepted this invitation with delight and spent seven happy months in Paris making for Savigny excerpts from manuscripts and books at the library. He did not neglect his opportunity for self-improvement and visited the galleries and theaters. He found the comedies "flat" and the classical tragedy *langweilig*. For music and art he did not evince much taste. There are evidences that his interest in mediaeval German literature was not weakened by his legal studies and social distractions. In one of his earliest letters to Wilhelm (March 1, 1805) he says: "Here is something to put in our edition of the *Minnelieder*," and Wilhelm replies (March 24): "I have been thinking whether you could not look among the manuscripts in Paris for old German poetry, perhaps you might discover something unknown and remarkable."[2]

Even more important perhaps for the future studies of the brothers were the political events to which I have referred above. With only one of these events are we now concerned, and its effect on Jacob is indicated in a letter from Paris (July 12 or 13, 1805) to his aunt: "My inclinations, that is, the studies which I could embrace with pleasure and love are at variance with my connections, family, and other circumstances. My relatives bind me to my fatherland, without them I could not be happy abroad; on the other hand, there are in Hesse so few chances for a learned and exact study of jurisprudence (the new code has destroyed all my hopes). . . . . " How could a pupil of Savigny who had been brought upon the

[1] See first volume of above-mentioned work: *Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano*, 1894, p. 185.

[2] For Jacob's first visit to Paris see "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 8, and especially the correspondence of Jacob and Wilhelm: *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm aus der Jugendzeit*, Weimar, 1881, pp. 5–70.

historical method endure the thought of accepting as the basis for his work the Code Napoléon, fresh from the hands of its makers!

In the letter just cited he confesses that he has no inclination for business, and greatly dislikes the external conditions of professorial life. He is determined, however, to remain in Hesse and to wish for nothing more than a position which would not consume his entire day, but would leave him time to continue his favorite studies, "for I confess," he says, "that without these I should be pretty unhappy." A position as assessor (legal adviser to a judge), or something of the kind was all he could think of. A lawyer he did not want to be on account of his indefinite labors.

Of equal interest is the determination expressed in a letter of about the same date never to be separated from his brother Wilhelm. He says with deep feeling: "Never, my dear Wilhelm, will we part, and if one of us were called to another place, the other must at once give warning. We have become so used to this companionship, that separation could grieve me to death."

In September Jacob returned to Cassel where his mother had removed from Steinau in order to be with her children. Efforts were made during the winter to obtain for Jacob a position of the kind referred to above, and about the beginning of 1806 he succeeded in getting an assistant secretaryship in the war department of the Electorate of Hesse at a salary of one hundred thalers a year. The work was arduous and dull, and the luckless secretary had to wear a stiff uniform and powder his pigtail. Even so, he says, he was contented and devoted all his leisure to the study of the literature and poetry of the Middle Ages, for which, as we have seen, his inclination had been fostered in Paris by the sight and use of certain manuscripts as well as by the purchase of rare books.[1]

A year had scarcely passed when the war with France changed the aspect of things and turned Jacob's position into that of an officer of the commissariat for the whole state. His knowledge of French increased the burden of his duties, and he resigned his position as soon as possible. Then he tried to obtain a place as librarian in the public library of Cassel, for which position, he says, he felt himself competent on account of his familiarity with manuscripts

[1] "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 8.

and knowledge of literary history. He was confident that he could make great advances in this profession, whereas the study of the French law into which the German jurisprudence threatened to change was quite hateful to him. He failed to obtain the coveted position and was out of employment for about a year. His distress was increased by the death of "the best of mothers" in May, 1808, "the deepest sorrow which has overwhelmed me in all my life." Not one of the six children who stood by her deathbed was provided for. "Had she lived only a few months longer," says Jacob, "how she would have rejoiced at my improved situation."[1]

The kingdom of Westphalia had been created and Joseph Bonaparte made its head with his capital at Cassel. There in Wilhelmshöhe (for a time dubbed "Napoleonshöhe") the royal private library was established, and Johannes von Müller, the famous Swiss historian, recommended to the king's secretary Jacob Grimm as librarian. Jacob remarks that there could not have been any other favored candidates or he would never have obtained such a position. No one thought of examining his qualifications, and his only instruction from the royal secretary to whom he owed his appointment was: "Vous ferez mettre en grands caractères sur la porte: Bibliothèque particulière du Roi." The salary was two thousand francs, increased in a few months to three thousand, "presumably because they were satisfied with me," and shortly afterward the king himself announced to Jacob that he had named him *auditeur* to the Council of State, with the additional pay of a thousand francs, so that from February 17, 1809, he enjoyed a salary of over a thousand thalers, "I who a year before hadn't drawn a penny." It must all have seemed to him like one of the fairy tales which he and his brother Wilhelm were collecting about this time.[2]

It is not my intention to write a biography of the brothers beyond the period of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, so I will content myself with saying that Jacob held his enviable position until the return of the Elector in 1813. His duties were light. He had to be in the library or Cabinet Chamber a few hours a day, and during this time he could quietly read and copy after he had entered the new books. The king seldom asked for books or excerpts, and of course no books

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 9. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

were loaned to others. All his leisure time, Jacob says, was devoted to the study of the old German language and poetry. As a councilor of state he had to wear an embroidered dress uniform and attend the meetings of the Council, but he soon noticed, he says, that it was not necessary that he should always appear when the king did not preside in person.[1]

It was under conditions such as have been described above that the collection of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* was made between 1806 and 1812. There had been many collections of fairy tales made in Germany and foreign lands since Straparola's *Piacevoli Notti* (Venice, 1550), and Basile's *Pentamerone* (Naples, 1637); but the collection of the Grimms was the first made with a scientific aim. The fairy tale became fashionable in consequence of the popularity of Perrault's collection (Paris, 1697), and for many years was made the vehicle of moral and satirical teaching. Perrault was an incomparable editor and in an artificial age struck the true note of popular simplicity. His imitators, however, created a literary genre, and until the advent of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, the fairy tale was merely a theme for literary development or a medium for moral instruction. The rôle which the fairy tale played in the Romantic school of Germany is too well known to dwell on here, and has been well described in Richard Benz's *Märchen-Dichtung der Romantiker*, Gotha, 1908.

The Grimms approached the subject in an entirely different way. For them the *Märchen* was a part of the national literature of their country and belonged to the class of *Naturpoesie*. A year before the first volume was published, Wilhelm said in the preface of his translations of the *Altdänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Märchen*, Heidelberg, 1811: "These *Märchen* deserve closer attention than has been bestowed upon them hitherto, not only on account of their poetry, which has a peculiar charm and imparts to everyone who has heard them in his childhood a precious lesson and a happy memory throughout his life, but also because they belong to our national poetry, since it can be proved that they have lived for centuries among the people."[2] In the preface to the first edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Wilhelm further says: "Their existence alone is

[1] J. Grimm, *loc. cit.*, p. 11.

[2] This preface is reprinted in W. Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 176–203. The passage in question is p. 190.

enough to defend them. What has delighted, moved, and taught in such a manifold and ever fresh manner, has within it its necessary being, and certainly has sprung from that eternal source which bedews all life, and if it is only a single drop held in a little leaf, that drop sparkles in the first rays of the dawn."[1]

Shortly after the first volume was published, Jacob wrote to Arnim (January 28, 1813): "I did not write the story-book for children, although I rejoice that it is welcome to them; but I would not have worked over it with pleasure if I had not believed that it might appear and be important for poetry, mythology, and history to the most serious and elderly people as well as to myself."[2] Many years later Jacob, in his touching eulogy of his brother, said: "If we shall receive for all our trouble and care any thanks which may survive us, it will be for the collection of stories, which affords not only an enduring nourishment for youth and every impartial reader, but also, as searching investigation has shown, contains in itself a great treasure of antiquity indispensable for research."[3] The theories of the brothers as to the origin and diffusion of popular tales, which have given such an impulse to their collection and study, were not formulated until the publication of the second edition in 1819, and appeared in an introduction by Wilhelm, "Ueber das Wesen der Märchen." I shall return to this subject later.

In Albert Duncker's essay on "The Brothers Grimm" (Cassel, 1884) is a woodcut of the house in Cassel occupied by them from 1805 to 1809, which now bears an inscription stating that in this house the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm wrote their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*.[4] The significance of the word "wrote" we shall consider later; meanwhile we are concerned with the stories of oral origin. These were collected by the brothers themselves almost exclusively in Hesse and in the Main and Kinzig regions in the county of Hanau; or were communicated to them by their friends, notably Arnim and

[1] This preface is reprinted in W. Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 320–28. The passage in question is p. 321. It is in Panzer's reprint, I, 3.

[2] Steig, III, 271.

[3] J. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 177.

[4] There is a better picture of the house in Ludwig Grimm's *Erinnerungen*, p. 128. See also what Steig says in his article "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Märchen und Sagen der Brüder Grimm," in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CVII, 276.

the Haxthausen family. A considerable number of stories in the second volume were related by a peasant woman, Frau Viehmännin, whose portrait, engraved by Ludwig Grimm, appears for the first time in the second volume of the second edition (1819), and is reproduced in *Die Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm in ihrer Urgestalt herausgegeben von Friedrich Panzer*, Munich, 1913, 2 vols.

In the preface to a somewhat later work, *Deutsche Sagen* (1816–18), the brothers speak of the joy of collecting popular traditions in these beautiful and enthusiastic words: "The business of collecting, when one sets about it in earnest, soon repays the trouble, and approaches the nearest to that innocent pleasure of childhood when it suddenly surprises in moss and bushes a little bird brooding on its nest. Here also with traditions there is a gentle lifting of the leaves and a careful bending aside of the branches, in order not to disturb the folk, and to be able to catch a stolen glance into the strange realm of nature which modestly nestles in itself and smells of leaves, meadow-grass and newly fallen rain."[1]

The brothers felt that it was high time to collect these precious remains of popular tradition and "to preserve them from vanishing like the dew in the hot sun, or like fire quenched in the well, to be forever silent in the tumult of our times."[2] A few intimate details of the collection of the *Märchen* have been preserved in notes made by Wilhelm in his copy of the first volume. Among the names of those who related the tales occurs that of Dorothea Wild, a girl of sixteen in 1811, who later became the wife of Wilhelm. Her father was a well-to-do apothecary, who lived with his large family near the Grimms, and owned gardens and landed property in the vicinity of Cassel. In the notes referred to above occur such allusions as the following: "Dortchen, September 29, 1811, in the garden [to story No. 34, 'Hansens Trine,' the name of which was in the second and subsequent editions changed to 'Die kluge Else'], Dortchen, October 1, 1811 [to story No. 30, 'Tischen deck dich'], Dortchen, October 13, 1811, in the garden [to No. 24, 'Frau Hölle']." On January 19, 1812, "Die sechs Schwäne," "Die singende Knochen," and "Der liebste Roland" were related "around the stove in the summer-house."

[1] *Deutsche Sagen*, Berlin, 1816, p. xxv.

[2] Cited by Scherer in his *Jacob Grimm*, 2d ed., Berlin, 1885, p. 103.

Dorothea's mother and sister Gretchen furnished several stories, and some of the best in the first volume came from "Alte Marie," a servant of the Wilds' from whom Dorothea and Gretchen probably heard the *Märchen* they related to Wilhelm.[1]

Two other families, the Hassenpflugs and Haxthausens, were connected by ties of intimate friendship and marriage with the Grimms. Ludwig Hassenpflug, afterward Lotte Grimm's husband, was the minister of the last elector of Hesse, and his two sisters, Amalie and Jeannette, were friends of Dorothea Wild and Lotte Grimm.[2] Many of the stories in the first volume are due to Jeannette, whose mother, of French origin, furnished the stories of "Bluebeard" and "Puss in Boots," which were omitted after the first edition as being derived from foreign sources. The friendship with the Haxthausens began in 1809, when Wilhelm made the acquaintance at Halle of the Westphalian Freiherr Werner von Haxthausen. The home of the large family was at Bökendorf, where Wilhelm and Jacob were frequent visitors, and the friendship lasted, as was usually the case, for life. The correspondence of the brothers with the family begins in January, 1812, with a letter from Wilhelm to Fräulein L. von Haxthausen accompanying a copy of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* published a few days before.[3] In this letter Wilhelm asks for contributions for the future volume, new stories or additions, and corrections of the old ones. "I have no doubt," the writer says, "that you can still communicate much to us, and from the peculiarly fine manner in which popular poetry still lives among you, I am sure that it will be collected just as is most pleasing to me, namely, true and exact, with all the peculiarities even of the dialect, without additions and so-called embellishments." In the following year (March 12, 1813) the brothers wrote to thank August von Haxthausen for an abundant inclosure of stories and

[1] The notes made by Wilhelm in his copy are cited in Herman Grimm's essay "Die Brüder Grimm," printed as an introduction to the *Jubiläums-Auflage* of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* prepared by R. Steig, 32d ed., Stuttgart und Berlin, 1912, pp. xxiii ff. These notes and others are used by Bolte and Polívka in their monumental *Anmerkungen*, 1913–15.

[2] For the Hassenpflugs see Ludwig Grimm's *Erinnerungen*, p. 573.

[3] The correspondence in question is found in *Freundesbriefe von Wilhelm und Jacob Grimm*, Heilbronn, 1878. An account of the friendship of the brothers with the Haxthausen family is given by the editor, Dr. A. Reifferscheid, pp. 193–98.

songs. Wilhelm says: "I have no criticism to make of the way in which you have taken them down; it is true and simple, as I desire, and if you continue, as you have promised me to do, you will have no small share in the continuation of the book." Some forty-eight stories are due wholly or in part to the members of the Haxthausen family, who also contributed seven of the ten "Kinderlegenden." But we have not space to mention all those who furnished stories of oral origin, and must hasten to the circumstances of the publication of the first volume. Before doing so, however, we must allude to the pathetic history of one of the stories, No. 21 in the edition of 1815, "Die Krähen," later replaced in 1819 by No. 107, "Die beiden Wanderer." The story was told one night in the spring of 1813 to August von Haxthausen while on duty at one of the outposts near the Danish frontier by a comrade of his in a regiment of hussars who the next day was shot dead behind his friend.[1]

In the dedication of the third edition (1837) to Frau Bettina von Arnim, Wilhelm Grimm says: "Dear Bettine, this book returns to you again like a dove which seeks its home and suns itself there in peace. Twenty-five years ago Arnim laid it among the Christmas presents, bound in green with gilt edges. We were delighted that he prized it so highly, and he could have given us no finer thanks. He it was who while spending a few weeks with us in Cassel at that time urged us to publish the book. Of all our collections these stories pleased him the most. He thought we should not keep them back too long, since in the effort for completeness the matter might remain in abeyance. 'It is all so neatly and clearly written,' he added with good-natured irony, for with the bold, not very legible, characters of his own handwriting, he did not seem to attach much importance to legibility. Striding up and down the room he read separate sheets, while a tame canary bird balanced itself with graceful movements of its wings upon his head and seemed to take its ease in the thick locks of his hair. That noble head has rested for years in the grave, but even today the memory of it moves me as if I had seen him only yesterday for the last time, as if he still stood upon the green earth like a tree waving its head in the morning sun."[2]

[1] See *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, p. 223, and Steig, III, 314.

[2] The dedication of the editions of 1837, 1840, and 1843, signed "Wilhelm Grimm," may be found in his *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 317–19.

Arnim made arrangements with Reimer of Berlin to publish the book, with a certain honorarium when a fixed number of copies were sold. The manuscript went to Berlin toward the end of September, 1812, so that the *Märchen* would be ready for Christmas. The first copy was sent by the publishers at the Grimms' request to Arnim. By an annoying mistake (let students of *Don Quixote* take notice) the last story of the volume, No. 68, "Der Fuchs und die Gänse," was omitted, although it was commented upon in the appendix. Arnim wrote to the brothers: "Reimer does not know what has become of it. I suspect his children have torn it up as they recently did a letter which he had received for me."[1] The intended illustration was also missing and was not sent to the publisher to be issued with the omitted story as the brothers proposed. This volume, as well as the second, is excessively rare and the student will have to content himself with Friedrich Panzer's excellent reproduction. I have seen in the Royal Library at Munich the copy of the original used by Panzer. It is oblong in form, about six inches long by three and a half wide, with the following pagination: Title and Preface, i–xxviii, Stories, 1–388, Appendix, i–lx, with the later Supplement, lxx, and an unnumbered page of Errata.

The stories were dedicated "An die Frau Elisabeth von Arnim für den kleinen Johannes Freimund," and Arnim wrote to Jacob, December 24: "I have just received from Reimer your story-book for my wife. It is handsomely bound and is to be given to her on Christmas Eve. I have hidden it at Savigny's and have been able to turn over a few pages only on account of the gilt edges. I thank you heartily in the name of my child. It is a very excellent book and will have a long sale. One thing I would have advised you had I known the arrangement of the book to print preface and appendix in a periodical, now in your own, and to have your brother engrave some illustrations for the stories. The lack of cuts and the erudition surrounding the book exclude it from the class of children's books and hinder its wider circulation. I should not be surprised if a Leipzig speculator should make a choice of the most entertaining stories and print it with illustrations."[2]

[1] Steig, III, 264, see also p. 253.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

The brothers answered Arnim at once, expressing their pleasure at his appreciation of the book, "on which they had reckoned, as it contained profound and admirable things." They also warmly defended the preface and notes. In regard to the former, they say that those who don't want to read it can skip it, and the price of the book was only slightly increased by it. On the other hand, the appendix defends the book against many attacks and inspires a sort of respect for its contents. A considerable class of readers, the editors are convinced, will purchase the book on account of the appendix. It also contains occasionally fine variants which might have been included among the *Märchen* in the text, and from these variants those who wish to collect contributions for the continuation of the work can learn what importance the editors attach even to minute details. This could not otherwise have been made so clear. Finally, in regard to the notes, Herder employed notes to his *Volkslieder* without harm, and the Englishmen, Percy and Scott, used many more and placed them directly under the text. The omission of illustrations is explained on the ground that the editors at first thought they would impair the simple and unpretentious nature of the work.[1]

Arnim later criticized a number of things in the language and contents of the tales. A mother, he said, had complained to him that she could not put the book into her children's hands on account of the story "Wie Kinder Schlachtens mit einander gespielt haben." Jacob replied, in regard to the last point, that the story in question belonged to the class of tragic events which no foresight or calculation can guard against, for evil seeks and finds ways of which no soul had ever thought, and good goes blindly past those which lie open to others. "I believe," he says, "that all children can read in God's name the whole of the book and be left to themselves while doing so."[2] The story, for all Jacob's defense, was omitted in the second edition (1819). The question, however, of the changes which subsequent editions underwent will be more properly considered with the completed work.

The success of the first volume was immediate and great. Three years later Wilhelm wrote to Jacob (then in Vienna): "Ferdinand

[1] Steig, III, 253.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 270, see also p. 262.

writes to me that the nine hundred copies of the first volume of the *Märchen* were soon sold out, and another edition is needed,"[1] and a few months later he says in another letter to Jacob (then in Paris): "The *Märchen* have made us known to everybody."[2] The first volume had contained all the material at that time in the hands of the brothers, but the task of collection for the second volume was an easier one and proceeded more rapidly. The work was largely in Wilhelm's hands, as political and military events engrossed Jacob for a time. In 1813 the Elector returned to Cassel and Jacob received an appointment as secretary of legation and accompanied the Hessian ambassador to the headquarters of the allied army.[3] The next year he was in Paris, and from October, 1814, to June, 1815, in attendance on the Congress of Vienna, a period, he says, "not unprofitable for my private studies and which made me acquainted with a number of scholars."[4] Meanwhile Wilhelm obtained (February 15, 1814) from the Elector the position of secretary in the library at Cassel.

Before Jacob left Cassel, however, he was able to write to F. D. Gräter (January 9, 1813): "With the collecting and contributions it is going so prosperously that contrary to our expectations we think of issuing within a year a second volume as weighty as the first."[5] In May, 1814, Wilhelm wrote to Ludwine von Haxthausen: "You can't believe what delight I am taking in the collection of the second volume on account of the sympathy and aid we have received. The first volume we two [Jacob and he] alone collected quite solitary and hence very slowly in six years; now things are going much better and faster."[6] Besides the contributions of friends the brothers were fortunate enough to discover a peasant woman from Zwehrn near Cassel, Frau Viehmännin, whose portrait, engraved by Ludwig Grimm, first appeared as a frontispiece to the second volume of the second edition (1819) and has since been repeated in the five following

[1] *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, p. 452.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 475.

[3] J. Grimm, "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 12.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[5] *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob Grimm und F. D. Gräter aus den Jahren 1810–1813*, herausgegeben von H. Fischer, Heilbronn, 1877, p. 58.

[6] *Freundesbriefe*, pp. 23 ff.

editions. Wilhelm says in the preface to the second volume: "This woman, still vigorous and not much over fifty years old, is named Viehmännin, possesses a strong and pleasing countenance, a clear, sharp glance, and was probably handsome in her youth. She preserves these old traditions firm in her memory, a gift, as she says, not granted to everyone and which many cannot retain. Withal she relates her stories deliberately, surely, and in an unusually lively manner, taking pleasure herself in them; at first quite freely, then, if one desires, more slowly, so that after some practice one can take down her words. In this way much has been literally preserved, the truth of which is unmistakable. Those who believe as a rule in the easy falsification of tradition, carelessness of preservation, and hence in the impossibility of long duration, should hear how exact she always is in relating the same story, and how anxious she is about her accuracy. She never makes any substantial alteration while repeating anything, and as soon as she perceives it corrects a mistake herself at once in the midst of her words."[1]

It was in stirring times, indeed, that the preparation of the second volume went on. Jacob was with his ambassador at the headquarters of the allied army, Reimer the publisher was also in military service. Wilhelm wrote to Jacob, January 18, 1814, that he intended soon to ask Reimer if he could have the second volume ready by the following Christmas, providing that he could have the manuscript in June. Jacob, who was then at Vesoul in France, in a letter of March 10, expressed his pleasure at Wilhelm's labors for the second volume. Some days later Wilhelm writes that he has heard from Reimer who is very favorably inclined to undertake the second volume, which could appear as early as Michaelmas (September 29).

Jacob returned to Cassel at the beginning of July, and remained there until he departed for the Congress of Vienna in the middle of September. In August he complained to his old school-fellow Paul Wigand (Panzer, I, xxii) of the mass of work in which he was involved, for the *Edda*, *Der arme Heinrich*, and a second volume of the *Kinder-Märchen* must be prepared for the press. Wilhelm kept urging his friends to send in their contributions, as the last manuscript must be in the hands of the printer by September 20 (in a letter to Wigand,

[1] J. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 328–32.

by October 12). The preface by Wilhelm is dated September 30, but it was not until October 13 that he announced to Jacob that the *Märchen* were finished, appendix and supplement. The printing began in October, and was finished December 19, and we can follow the progress of the work in the frequent and lengthy letters of Wilhelm to Jacob, who did not allow the Vienna Congress to interfere with his private studies and scholarly interests. Wilhelm received twenty copies of the *Märchen* on January 30; but Jacob did not see the completed work until January 18, and was not altogether pleased with paper and print, which were not as good as in the first volume, and the price was the same (1 Thaler and 18 Groschen), although the volume was thinner. Jacob also thought that the second volume lacked novelty as compared with the first, and did not like it that Wilhelm had not used all the material he had sent him for the notes.[1]

Before entering on the history of the subsequent editions of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* until the final constitution of the text in 1857, it may be well to examine briefly some of the more general questions connected with the work, and first as to the share of the two brothers in its inception, collection, and annotation. We have seen how slowly the material for the first volume was gathered by the brothers in common. Six years were spent in the task, while only two were needed for the second volume, during a large part of which time Jacob was absent from Cassel. It is true he followed the enterprise with the keenest interest and furnished materials for the volume. In all the subsequent editions, as we shall soon see, Wilhelm played the more important part, and it was not surprising that the impression later prevailed that he was largely responsible for the inception and prosecution of the undertaking. Scherer in his *Life of Jacob Grimm* (2d ed., 1885) says: "The share of the two brothers in the first form of the *Märchen* was equally great. On their walks together they probably collected them, sometimes one, sometimes the other, wrote them down, and each gave his opinion and advice in regard to the wording. From the second edition on, that is, since 1819, the book seems to have been left to the exclusive care of Wilhelm. The many additions (some fifty in number), improvements,

[1] *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, p. 414.

and radical changes which have since then been made in the collection and which have gradually made it what it is at present, as well as the largest part of the materials and the entire composition of the essays, seem to be due to Wilhelm, so that, in fact, greater merit for the *Märchen* must be ascribed to him than to his brother Jacob."

A few weeks after Wilhelm's death Jacob wrote (February 19, 1860) to Professor Pfeiffer: "I am more concerned with not allowing another opinion that crops up now and then to thrive, namely, that the *Märchen* originated chiefly with my brother and not with me. For the origin of the work and the early editions I have done precisely as much as he, perhaps still more (it had long been my plan to publish special investigations into the nature of *Märchen*) and I recognized at once the value of these traditions for mythology, and have laid great stress upon the fidelity of the collection and rejected embellishments. For the later editions, because I was absorbed in grammatical work, I allowed Wilhelm to edit and write the introductions, without relaxing my care for the collection and explanation of the *Märchen*. I believe that Wilhelm once in some polemic expressed himself in regard to his share in the work in a way which caused the misunderstanding. Would to God he were yet alive. I would gladly yield to him all my rights!"[1]

We have already quoted from the noble eulogy which Jacob pronounced on Wilhelm in the Royal Academy at Berlin in July, 1860. As printed in the *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 177, the conclusion is lacking; Jacob apparently was not satisfied with what he had originally written and intended to change it. At any rate the last leaf of the manuscript is missing. It must have dealt with the *Märchen*, for the passage we have cited earlier in this article stands at the end of the eulogy. Scherer in his *Life of Jacob Grimm* quotes the following conclusion which he may have heard from someone present: "As often as I take the story-book in my hands, it moves and touches me, for on every page his image stands before me and I recognize the traces of his prevailing influence."

The second question of even greater interest concerns the method of editing employed by the brothers. In view of their early recognition of the scientific value of the *Märchen* it seems strange to us that

[1] *Germania*, XI, 249.

there should be any doubt about the method. Since the days of the Grimms, and thanks to the impetus which their collection gave, popular tales have been collected in every quarter of the globe. Sometimes the stories have been taken down in shorthand (as by V. Imbriani in his *Novellaja Fiorentina*, Leghorn, 1877), in order to secure greater literalness. In all cases at present the collector endeavors to give the exact words of the narrator. The result is that many of the modern collections are merely materials for scientific study and are devoid of all literary interest. What the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* would have been like if its collectors had pursued this method we can have some idea of by a comparison of the first volume of the first edition with the second, and of both with the subsequent editions. For all their scientific interest the brothers, especially Wilhelm, could not escape the influence of their literary *milieu*. The result is that the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* is a great literary work which has had a profound influence upon the language and literary forms of Germany. This result was not gained at once, but was the consequence of nearly fifty years of patient revision.

The impression made by the first volume on some of the collectors' friends was not favorable. Brentano, who had really given the impetus to the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* by his *Wunderhorn* and personal influence, wrote early in 1813 to Arnim: "I bought Grimms' *Märchen* a few days ago. The preface contains fine words, and many *Märchen* have been got together; but the whole gives me less pleasure than I expected. I find the narration on account of its fidelity exceedingly negligent and slovenly, and in many places for that reason very tiresome, even where the stories are brief. Why are the tales not as well told as those of Runge? They are perfect of their kind. If one wants to exhibit a child's dress, it can be done with all honesty without showing one that has all the buttons off, is covered with mud and has the shirt sticking out of the breeches. If the pious editors wanted to satisfy themselves they should have preceded every story by a psychological biography of the child or of the old woman who at all events related it badly. I could, for example, relate full twenty of the best of these tales as I recently heard them in Bohemia faithfully and much better, or badly in quite a different way. The learned notes are disconnected, and too much

is assumed in the reader, which he neither knows nor can learn from these notes. A dissertation on the *Märchen* in general, a physiology of the *Märchen*, would have been much more useful, if there had to be any learning. As it now is, the erudition has the appearance of being the *omnium-gatherum* printed from the papers of deceased scholars. I have clearly felt from this book how entirely right we have proceeded with the *Wunderhorn*, and that from us could have been expected at most greater talent. For such fidelity as is shown here in the *Kindermärchen* is very paltry, and Basile who is so much praised is anything but exact in his *Pentamerone* or *Cunto delli Cunti*, which is held up as a model, as he not only places his *Märchen* in a narrative framework, but has larded them with all sorts of elegant reminiscences and even verses from Petrarch."[1]

In the preface to the first volume the aim of the editors is stated as follows: "We have endeavored to present these *Märchen* as exactly as possible. In many the narrative is interrupted by rhymes and verses which often are clearly alliterative but are never sung during the narration, and these are precisely the oldest and best. No detail is added or embellished and changed, for we should have shrunk from augmenting traditions so rich in themselves with corresponding analogies or reminiscences; they are not capable of invention. In this sense there is not yet any collection in Germany. They have been almost always used as material from which to draw more extensive stories, which arbitrarily enlarged and altered, whatever their value might otherwise have been, snatch their property from the hands of the children and give them nothing in exchange. Even those who gave them any thought could not avoid mingling with their stories affectations borrowed from contemporary poetry. Almost always there has been a lack of industry in collecting, and a few stories accidentally written down were at once made known."[2] In conclusion the editors express their opinion that the stories would have gained if they could have been told in a definite dialect.

We have seen that Arnim made various criticisms, some of which were taken into account in the second edition. These criticisms concerned the character of the individual stories, the language

[1] *Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano*, p. 309.

[2] W. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 327.

employed by the editors, the method of narration, etc. The brothers answered these criticisms in detail, and Wilhelm makes the following interesting statement of their views: "If we had made any changes or additions we should have been answerable for them. When you say that there is a certain development and individual influence which cannot be avoided, and cite the confessedly weakest story in the volume, I reply that I have never wished to deny it. It is natural when we ourselves have felt anything that this feeling should be perceptible and have its own expression. For this reason I have made no difficulty about expressions, arrangements of similes, etc., and have spoken as I like at the moment—still the chief fault in the book is the clumsiness in poetical composition, which you perhaps and whoever especially loves the subject overlook the easiest. But it is somewhat different with intentional combinations, alterations, etc."[1]

When the second volume appeared in 1815, Arnim wrote to Wilhelm: "You have been fortunate in your collecting, often you have been very fortunate in lending a helping hand (of course you do not tell Jacob this); you should have done this oftener and many stories would have had a more satisfactory conclusion. I mean, in the way that Runge treated his two tales, you should have had the Paderborn stories in particular related orally until all in them that belongs to our time was apparent. You may say that children do not need that, but *Märchen* were not invented for children alone, but as an intermediate diversion (*Zwischenspiel*) between children and adults, so that both alike can get much out of them, and both apparently be equally fascinated while each is taking delight in something different."[2]

The final statement of their method is to be found in the preface to the second edition, dated Cassel, July 3, 1819. This is not reprinted in the *Kleinere Schriften* and would therefore seem to be the joint work of the brothers. It has not been reprinted in the Reclam edition, but is to be found in the various editions of the *Grosse Ausgabe*. "Our first aim in collecting these stories has been exactness and truth. We have added nothing of our own, have embellished no incident or feature of the story, but have given its substance just as we ourselves received it. It will, of course, be understood that the mode of telling and carrying out of particular

[1] Steig, III, 267. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 419.

details is principally due to us, but we have striven to retain everything that we knew to be characteristic, that in this respect also we might leave in the collection the many-sidedness of nature. For the rest, every one engaged on a work of this kind will know that this cannot be looked on as a careless or indifferent method of collection, but that, on the contrary, a care and skill which can only be gained by time are required to distinguish the version of the story which is simpler, purer, and yet more complete in itself from the falsified one. Whenever we found that varying stories completed each other, and that no contradictory parts had to be cut out before they could be joined together, we have given them as one, but when they differed, we have given the preference to that which was the better, and have kept the other for the notes. . . . . We have gladly retained a definite dialect. If this could have happened everywhere the narrative would undoubtedly have gained by it. It is the case where the cultivation, refinement, and art which the language has attained result in loss, and one feels that a refined literary language, no matter how capable it may be in everything else, has grown clearer and more lucid, but has also lost in flavor and no longer has such a firm grasp of the pith of the matter."

It is unfortunately impossible to follow the changes made by the brothers in their material of oral origin. In an interesting article Dr. Johannes Bolte says, referring to Hamann's and Tonnelat's works: "More profitable results might be expected from a comparison of the original versions from the lips of the Hessian, Westphalian, Austrian, and other authorities of the Brothers Grimm, if such were still before us. Unfortunately, the papers left by the brothers and preserved in the Grimm Cabinet in the Royal Library in Berlin do not allow us to hope for much in this direction. Among the seven packages of papers relating to *Märchen* the copy for the first volume (1812) is missing with the exception of a few extracts from printed works and some variants utilized later in the notes; the stories of Frau Viehmännin of Zwehrn near Cassel are also lacking. On the other hand the contributions of the Haxthausen family are carefully preserved so far as they are written in the Westphalian dialect."[1] The papers also contain the Low German stories

[1] *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde in Berlin*, 1915, pp. 31–51.

in the second volume, and some other versions and variants. It does not appear, from what Dr. Bolte says, that these papers throw much light upon the question of the brothers' method of editing, and we are practically restricted to the changes, chiefly stylistic, made in the literary sources and other versions in the various editions from 1812 to 1857. It is not the purpose of this article to dwell upon this question, especially as the student will find all he needs in the works of Hamann and Tonnelat cited above, and the general reader will find a pleasant account of the more important changes in Panzer's introduction to his reprint of the first edition. Our purpose is to give merely a history of the outward form of the work until it assumed its definite shape in the edition of 1857.

We have seen that Jacob was at the Congress of Vienna when the second volume of the *Märchen* was published, but even before that he was already thinking of a third volume and wrote to Wilhelm on November 23, 1814: "I am setting everyone to work on contributions for the third volume, for it will surely come to that."[1] On December 10, he writes: "I have a fine story of the 'Krautesel,' which we entirely lacked, and several persons promise me material for the third volume. Many stories and variants have been told me."[2] In the same letter in which he acknowledged the receipt of the second volume (January 18, 1815) he says: "I am rejoicing at the idea of the third volume, for which I have already three or four big, good, new *Märchen*, besides many fragments."[3] Wilhelm, too, was making ready for the proposed third volume and writes to Arnim on January 26, 1815: "I have already laid the foundation for the collection of a third volume, for which Jacob, in Vienna, has been promised contributions from German-Hungary and Moravia."[4]

The proposed third volume of *Märchen* was never completed. Jacob became interested in his grammatical studies as early as 1816, and from this time on left the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* largely in Wilhelm's hands. The latter apparently found enough to do with the revision of the two volumes without undertaking a third. Besides this, the preparation of the notes and introductory matter for the second edition (1819, notes 1822) involved much labor.

[1] *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, p. 390.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 393. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 415. [4] Steig, III, 315.

Another project announced in the preface of the first volume (1812) was not carried out. In the preface by Wilhelm, just mentioned, a brief review of the literature of fairy tales in other lands is given and especial mention is made of Straparola and Basile. The *Pentamerone* of the latter is characterized as "a work as well known and popular in Italy as it is rare and unknown in Germany, written in the Neapolitan dialect, and in every respect a capital book. The contents are almost without gaps and spurious additions, the style overflowing with good expressions and sayings . . . . we propose to translate it in the second volume of the present collection in which everything else that has been preserved in foreign sources will find a place." At the end of the preface of the second volume, likewise by Wilhelm, he says: "The translation of the *Pentamerone* promised at the beginning for this second volume, as well as the compilation of those contained in the *Gesta Romanorum*, necessarily give place to the indigenous tales."

The promise of a translation of the *Pentamerone* was partly redeemed in the third volume devoted entirely to the *Notes* which appeared in 1822 and which will be described more fully later on. In this volume pp. 276–369 are devoted to a full and careful analysis of the *Pentamerone*, and on pp. 370–71 is given a survey of the forty-eight Italian stories which correspond more or less to the German ones. The *Piacevoli Notti* of Straparola and the *Gesta Romanorum* are treated more briefly. In the second and last edition of the *Notes* (1856) reference is made to the German translation of the *Pentamerone* by Felix Liebrecht (Breslau, 1846, 2 vols.) and the English version by John Edward Taylor (London, 1848), which render unnecessary any abstract in the present volume and therefore only the survey of corresponding stories is given.

Before proceeding to the external history of the first seven editions it will be best to dispose now as briefly as possible of the question of the notes and prefatory matter. We have already seen that Arnim thought it would have been better to print the preface and appendix containing the notes in a learned periodical, and that Brentano criticized the learned notes as disconnected. The brothers warmly defended the preface and notes and thought that the latter would inspire respect for the contents of the book. Arnim and

Brentano, of course, judged the work solely from the literary standpoint, whereas the editors, especially Jacob, wished to lay as much emphasis as possible upon the scientific worth of the work. When we read at this day the preface and notes of the first edition, we are amazed at the enormous development of studies which owe their inception to these two volumes. The editors justly claimed that theirs was the first collection in Germany which represented correctly the oral traditions of the people. They might have claimed more, for the only foreign works which might be associated with the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* were the *Piacevoli Notti* of Straparola, the *Pentamerone* of Basile and the *Contes* of Perrault. Only the last named could justly be regarded as popular in the strict sense; the other two are precious repertoires of popular incidents, often disfigured by the literary use to which they were put. Even the *Gesta Romanorum*, on which the brothers laid great stress, contains surprisingly few *Märchen* or *Märchen*-incidents. It is a great collection of moralized *exempla*, probably intended largely for the use of preachers, and it is curious how seldom in this or in the numerous similar collections fairy tales are mentioned.

In the independent volume of *Notes* (1822) the literature of the subject fills pp. 271–441, reprinted in the edition of 1856, pp. 285–351, with the omission of the extensive analysis of the *Pentamerone*. In the preface to the volume the editors say: "The section which shows the literature may hope for the approval even of those who do not have time for a closer consideration of the subject. If previous works could have been used it would perhaps have been fuller, but we have been obliged to read and hunt up everything ourselves." A glance at this literary survey will show how inconsiderable was the material at the disposal of the annotators even seven years after the appearance of the second volume of the first edition. For example, here is all that is said of Spain: "There can be no doubt in regard to the existence of *Märchen*. A passage of Cervantes, cited among the authorities, speaks of them, and a fragment of a story about giants in Calderon is mentioned in the notes to No. 112. A passage in the comedy *It is worse than it was* (translated by Malsburg, 1, 335) seems based upon a popular tale." This is all that was known of Spanish (and Portuguese, for the matter of that) popular tales in 1822.

There were no Russian or modern Greek collections, and only a few Servian, Bohemian, Polish, and Hungarian stories are mentioned.

To return now to the prefaces and notes of the first edition from which we have already quoted several passages, Wilhelm compares the collection of the *Märchen* to gleaning the scattered ears of corn, which, in some sheltered spot, have survived the storm or blight that has laid waste the field of grain. More has survived than the collectors imagined, although it was high time to gather them for they were rapidly disappearing. Many situations in the stories are so simple that they might well have been found in life, such as children abandoned by parents on account of poverty, harsh treatment by stepmothers, etc. As in mythology, all nature is animated, the sun, moon, and stars are accessible and bestow their gifts; plants and stones speak. The stories easily supply moral teaching, but that is not their purpose, nor were they invented for it, "but it grows out of them like good fruit from a sound blossom without the aid of man." In their outer nature these stories resemble all popular and legendary lore, never stationary, changing in every locality, almost in every mouth, yet preserving the same substance. They differ from local popular legends which are excluded from the present collection. Sometimes various forms of the same story are given on account of their interesting and peculiar variations. It is certain that the *Märchen* in the course of time is constantly produced anew. Some are shown to be at least three hundred years old, although there is no doubt that they are really much older.

Because this poetry lies so close to the earliest and simplest life, we can see the reason for its universal diffusion, for there are no people entirely without it. The negroes in West Africa amuse their children with stories; Strabo shows that the Greeks were fond of them. This explains the extensive diffusion of the German stories. They equal in this respect not only the heroic legends of Siegfried the dragon-slayer, but they surpass them, for we find them, exactly the same, all over Europe, so that in them is revealed the relationship of the noblest nations. Denmark, England, Norway, and Sweden are rich in popular traditions. The southern lands are poorer. We know nothing of those of Spain, although a passage in Cervantes leaves no doubt of their existence. France has certainly

more than those published by Perrault. Richer than all others are the older Italian collections of Straparola and Basile. Then follows the passage in regard to the method pursued by the brothers in their collecting, which has been quoted above.

The preface to the second volume mentions the greater rapidity with which the materials for this volume were collected, and describes at length the peasant woman from Zwehrn near Cassel, Frau Viehmännin, from whom a considerable number of *Märchen* were obtained. Then follow some remarks on the relation of the *Märchen* to the German epic poetry. The editors say: "The inner intrinsic value of these *Märchen* is indeed to be estimated highly, for they throw on our primitive epic poetry a new light and such as could not otherwise have been effected. 'Dornröschen,' who has fallen asleep after being pricked by the spindle, is Brunhilde thrown into a sleep by the thorn; 'Schneewitchen' slumbers with the color of life in her cheeks, like Snäfridr, the fairest of all women, by whose coffin Haraldr with the beautiful hair sits three years, like the faithful dwarfs, watching and guarding the maiden living in death. The apple-core in her mouth is a sleeping-charm (*Schlafkunz*) or sleep-apple. The legend of the golden feather dropped by the bird for which the king has search made throughout the world, is nothing but the legend of King Mark in Tristan, to whom the bird brings the golden hair of the princess, for whom the king is now filled with desire. We can better understand how Loki hangs fast on the gigantic eagle by the story of the 'Golden Goose,' to which maids and men who touch it stick fast; and who does not recognize the story of Sigurd in the *Märchen* of the wicked goldsmith, the talking bird, and the eaten heart? . . . . Nothing is more convincing and at the same time surer than that which again flows together from two sources which, early separated from each other, have followed their own channels; in these folk-tales lie pure old German myths, which were held to be lost, and we are convinced that if search will now be made in all parts of our country despised treasures will be transformed into incredible ones, which will help to found the science of the origin of our poetry. It is precisely so with the many dialects of our language, in which the larger part of the words and peculiarities which have long been considered extinct still live on ignored."

The purpose of the editors is then explained to be not only to do a service to poetry, but to make their collection a real educational work, and they strenuously defend the book against the objections made to it on the ground of containing stories improper for children to hear. The editors say in conclusion: "Moreover, we know of no sound and vigorous book which has edified the people, if we place the Bible first, in which such scruples do not arise in incomparably greater measure; the proper use finds nothing evil in them, but only as a fine expression says, a testimony of our hearts. Children can point at the stars without fear, while others, according to the belief of the people, offend the angels by so doing.

"Variants as well as all kinds of notes have again been put in the appendix. Those who are indifferent to these things can skip them easier than the editors could have omitted them; they belong to the book so far as it is a contribution to the history of the German popular poetry. These variants seem more remarkable to the editors than to those who see in them merely changes or distortions of an original which once really existed, whereas, on the contrary, they may be attempts to attain in a manifold way an inexhaustible ideal which is present only in the imagination. Repetition of individual sentences, phrases, and introductions are to be regarded as epic lines, which recur as soon as the tone is struck in their key, and are not to be understood in any other sense. Everything that has been collected from oral tradition is both as to its origin and development (with the single exception, perhaps, of 'Puss in Boots') purely German and not borrowed, and this can easily be proved from external evidence if it is questioned in individual cases. Arguments which are adduced for the borrowing from Italian, French, or oriental books which are unread by the people, especially in the country, are precisely like those which are given for the recent invention of stories on account of the presence in them of soldiers, apprentices, or cannon, pipes, and other modern things. These very things, like expressions in the language of the present day, are changed in the mouths of the narrators, and one can surely depend upon it that in the sixteenth century instead of soldiers and cannon they used *Landsknechte* and muskets, and the invisible hat was a *Tarnhelm* in the age of chivalry."

In the notes to the first volume no reference is made to the locality from which the story comes, a fault which was repaired in the second volume. Eighteen stories in the first, and thirteen in the second, volume are without parallels or references; the *Pentamerone* is cited in the notes to thirteen stories in the first, and to five in the second, volume; Straparola is mentioned six times in the first, and three times in the second, volume; the *Gesta Romanorum* is cited once in the first, and three times in the second, volume; Perrault is mentioned six times, all in the first volume; Madame D'Aulnay twice in the first volume, and Mlle L'Heritier once. There are seven references to Scotch ballads, etc., in the first volume, and one in the second. There are two mentions of English sources in the first volume. There were few German collections of popular tales in existence at that time; Büsching's *Volkssagen*, Musäus' *Volksmärchen*, *Kindermärchen*, Erfurt, 1787, *Feenmärchen*, Braunschweig, 1801, are the ones most frequently cited.

The sources of the stories of literary origin are given with care, and it was not difficult to find parallels for this class. There are eleven such stories in the first, and fourteen in the second, volume. Some of these were taken from German collections of *facetiae*, such as Montanus' *Wegkürzer* (No. 20, "Von einem tapfern Schneider"), Frey's *Gartengesellschaft* (No. 32, "Der gescheite Hans"), Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst* (II, No. 59, "Der undankbare Sohn," II, No. 65, "Die drei Faulen"), Hans Sachs (II, No. 61, "Das junggeglühte Männlein," II, No. 62, "Des Herrn und des Teufels Gethier"). The editors also made use of mediaeval Latin poems (II, No. 58, "Das Eselein," II, No. 60, "Die Rübe"), old German plays (II, No. 24, "Der Jud in Dorn"), Old High German poems (II, No. 67, "Schlauraffenland"), as well as memoirs, anecdotes, *Volksbücher*, etc. In some cases the editors went far for their material. No. 6, "Von der Nachtigal und der Blindschleiche," is taken from the *Mémoires de l'Académie celtique*, and No. 8, "Die Hand mit dem Messer," from Mrs. A. Grant's *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*, London, 1811.

In a passage from the preface to the first volume (*Kleinere Schriften*, I, 324) the editors say: "It is also certain that in the course of time the *Märchen* continually reproduce themselves. For this

reason their basis must be very old, as is proved, in some cases, for nearly three hundred years by traces in Fischart and Rollenhagen. It is beyond doubt, however, that they are much older, even if the lack of notices makes direct proof impossible. A single but sure proof follows from their connection with the great heroic epic and the indigenous animal fable."

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[*To be continued*]

GERMANIC COIN-NAMES

III

XX. Often Coins Are Named from the Use Which Is Made of Them—*Continued*

26. OE. *mancus* monetary unit, thirty pence, ME. *manke* coin, OLG. *mancus* Goldmünze, das Viertel einer Mark, OHG., MHG. *mancus* Goldmünze, MLat. *mancus, mancusa, mancusus* mark, certain weight in gold or silver: MLat. *mancusus* ornamentum muliebre ex auro vel argento, *f.* armilla. Or just the other way—a ring or bracelet used for money. Cf. ON. *baugr* ring; armlet; money. Cf. also No. 28.

27. Hess. *mīse* doppelter Weisspfennig; weil so viel der einfache Einsatz (fr. *mise*) in das unter der Regierung bestehende Lotto betrug.

28. MHG. *œse-rinc*, MLG. *ōse-rink* eine Münze. Perhaps a coin much used as an ornament, that is, a ring (*rinc*) with a hook (*ōse*) in it for wearing; a coin used both as a means of exchange and as an ornament.

29. Du. dial. (Antw.) *post-stuk* five-franc piece: *post*. Cf. No. 19.

30. WFlem. *pandoer, pandoerken* an old coin; game of cards; Fr. *pandour* type of Hungarian soldier. Cf. esp. No. 9.

31. OHG. *quāz, chwāz* eine Münze, nummus, denarius, didrachma, stater: possibly same as MHG. *quāz*, MLG. *quās* Gastmahl, Gasterei, Schlemmerei: *quāz-phenninc*. Cf. esp. Nos. 2 and 24.

32. MDan. *skenker* kind of coin: MSw. *skänker* cup-bearer. Perhaps a coin given as a gratuity.

33. OE. *scot, sceot*, ME. *scot* scot, tribute, payment; portion of money assessed or paid; customary tax or contribution, MLG. *schot* der 24. Teil einer Mark, OFris. *skot, schot* Schoss, census, tributum, MDu. *schot* name of Prussian coin, one twenty-fourth part of a mark, MDan. *skot* id., MSw. *skut* tribute, tax; price paid to defray the expenses of a banquet, etc., Pruss. *skott, skotter, schotter* alte preussische Rechnungsmünze, ein Vierundzwanzigstel der ebenfalls nicht ausgemünzten Mark: originally the amount of a contribution or tax.

34. MLG. *torch-ortich* Marktschilling (ON. *torg-örtig*).

35. NE. *trade-dollar* former silver coin in the United States, intended chiefly for the uses of trade with China and Japan.

36. MDu. *tuun* inclosure; hedge, garden; gold or silver chain; name of a small silver coin; *witte tuyn, Wilhelmus tuyn.*

37. Swiss *urfer* kleine Münze:MHG. *urvar* Überfahrt, Fähre; die kleine Münze, die man als Fährgeld bezahlen musste.

38. Styr. *wetschpfennig* Wiener Pfennig; Abgabe der Untertanen in Wiener Pfennigen:*wetsch* Gerichtsdiener, (rotw.) Büttel.

XXI. Name of Country, Region, District, City, etc., in Which the Coin Was First Issued, or in Which It Was Current, from Which It Was Introduced, etc.

1. MSw. *abosker, aboesker* from Åbo, *sb.* penny from Åbo, *abomynt* coin struck in Åbo, *abopäningar* money, coin struck in Åbo.

2. MDu. *ageleen, ageleer* small Austrian coin, Styr. *agleier, aglar* (*pfennig*) kleine Münze:*Aquileja,* later *Agelei, Aglei, Aglar.*

3. OFris. *agripīnisk panning* agripinische (kölnische) Münze.

4. Westf. *ækermark* Aachener Mark, eine Münze:*åken* Aachen.

5. Swab. *augsburger* (*pfennige*) Augsburger Pfennige.

6. Swab. *augustiner* eine angeblich von Augustus 'der Stadt Augusta zu Eren' geschlagene Goldmünze, MHG. *ougustīner* Augsburgischer Pfennig. Also to XXV.

7. Bav. *bayrischer taler, baiertaler, bayrischer gulden,* etc., bayrische (einheimische) Münzen.

8. Swiss *basler-hälbling* eine Münze, *basel-pfänning* Münze, *basler-piessle* Dreizehnbatzenstück, *basel-, basler-rapp* in Basel geprägter Rappen, *basel-vierer* fünf Heller.

9. WFris. *bels* (a Belgian); Belgian cent.

10. MHG. *berner, berner pfenninc,* Bav. *berner* denarius Veronensis, Swiss *berner* eine Münze, Swab. *berner* kleine Münze, Tirol. *berner* denarius Veronensis, Car. *berner* Berner Pfennig:*Bern,* also Wälsch-Bern (Verona).

Swiss *bern(er)-batzen* in Bern geprägter Batzen, Swab. *bärenbatzen* Vierkreuzerstück.

Swiss *bären-funfzehner* 15-Kreuzerstück.

Swiss *bern-, bären-, berner-chrüzer* in Bern geprägter Kreuzer.

Undoubtedly a confusion of 'Bern' and 'Bär.' Cf. XXIX, No. 2, where some of the foregoing forms may properly belong.

11. ON. *bīsundr*, OE. *bizant*, *bezant*, ME. *besant* Byzantine coin, MDu. *bisant* Byzantine gold coin; also, silver coin, MHG. *bīsant*, *bȳsant* Goldmünze (von Byzanz), *bisantinc* id., MLat. *byzantius* (*nummus*) Byzantine coin.

12. Styr. *böhm* das kupferne Vierkreuzerstück, Swiss *behemsch* Münzname, böhmischer Groschen, *bömsch*, *bēmbst* Münznamen, Swab. *bömischer groschen*, Bav. *bēhaimisch*, *bēhamisch* (*grosch*, *plappart*, etc.) gewisse Münzen, Hess. *böhme* böhmischer Groschen: *Böhme*, *böhmisch*.

13. Swiss *bononier* Name einer Münze, Swab. *bononier* Münzsorte aus Bononia, Bologna, ?Styr. *wolangin* Name einer Bologneser Silbermünze.

14. NE. *Boston*, *Bay shilling* silver coin of Massachusetts, bearing a device of a pine: *Boston*, *Bay*.

15. MDu. *brabantsch* of Brabant, *sb.* name of a small coin, Du. *brabander* one from Brabant; coin of Brabant, WFris. *brabander* from Brabant or Belgium, *sb.* Belgian two-centime piece, Swiss *brabanter* Brabantertaler, Swab. *brabantertaler* Münze, WFris. *brabanske sinten* Belgian two-centime pieces.

16. MHG. *prīsgouwer* Breisgauerpfennig, Swiss *brīsger*, Swab. *brisger* Pfennig aus Freiburg i. B.: *Breisgau*.

17. NE. *Britain crown* English gold coin first issued under James I: *Britain*.

18. Swiss *bündnerbatzen* Münze, der 15. Teil eines Bündnerguldens: *Graubünden*.

19. NE. *easterling* native of some country lying eastward of another; name given to the English silver pennies of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, ME. *sterling* sterling penny, NE. *sterling* silver coin struck by English (and Scottish) kings from the time of Richard I, *pound sterling*, *penny sterling* standard British coinage, MLG. *ōsterlink* der von Osten her ist, Morgenländer; Bürger einer nordöstlichen Hansestadt; eine Münze, später eine Rechnungsmünze, MDu. *esterlinc*, *ester* name of a small coin, *schillinc*, *penninc*, *groot sterlinc* coin used in Hanse-trade, MHG. *sterling* Sterling, eine Münze. Lit. 'coin from the east.'

Cf. MLG. *ōsten* kleine Münze:*ōsten(e)* Osten.

20. MDu. *engelsch* English, *sb.* name of a small silver coin; small weight for gold and silver, MDan. *engelsk* little coin, OFris. *engelsk panning* gewisse Münze, *eng(e)leske merk* englische Mark.

21. Tirol. *etsch-kreuzer* eine Münze, Styr. *etschkreuzer* Name einer im 16. Jhd. in Steiermark üblichen Münze, Swab. *etschkreuzer* Tiroler Münze, in den Münzstätten, Verona und Meran geschlagen, Swiss *etschchrüzer* eine Münze; Tirol. *etsch-grosch* Münzsorte; Swiss *etsch-vierer* quadrans, Swab. *etsch-vierer* kleine Tiroler Münze; Swiss *etsch-pfänning* Münze aus dem Etschland; *etsch-plappart* eine Münze, and perhaps *esper* eine Münze.

22. Styr. *euldukaten* Dukaten, geprägt in Eule in Böhmen mit dem Bilde einer Eule. Also to XXIX.

23. Swiss *florenzer* Gulden, Bav. *florenzer* der in Florenz geschlagne guldene Pfennig, MHG. *flōrenzer*, *flōrenzier* Floren; ME., NE. *florence* an English gold coin, usually called *florin*. Cf. XXX, 2.

24. MDu. *franke*, *franc* name of a silver coin, MLG. *vranke* Frank, die französ. Münze, MHG. *franke*, NHG. *Frank* französ. Silbermünze, etc.:MLG. *vranke* francus, franco, MHG. *franke* fränkischer Wein, MDu. *vrancsch* French, i.e., Frankish, French coin; MLG. *vrankesch krone* eine französ. Münze; MDu. *vrancrijcsche schilt* silver coin; Swab. *frankentaler* Fünffrankenstück; Swiss *frankrīcher* Franzose; Münze französ. Ursprungs.

25. Swiss. *friburger-pfänning* eine Münze (aus Freiburg).

26. Styr. *friesacher* Friesacherpfennig, zu Friesach gemünzt.

27. OFris. *frieseske merk* eine Art Mark (einheimische, friesische Münze).

28. Swiss *genauer*, *genueser* Guldensorte; *jenesier*, *jenueser* Genueser; Name einer Münzsorte:*Genua*, (*Genouw*). Cf. No. 35.

29. Swiss *genfer-batzen* Genfer Batzen.

30. MDu. *gosseler* name of a coin of the value of eight plaks:so called from the city of Goslar.

31. OFris. *groninga sceld* der Groninger Schild, eine Münze.

32. NE. *guinea* English gold coin. So called because first coined by gold brought from Guinea on the west coast of Africa.

33. MHG. *haller*, *häller*, *heller* Heller, bennant nach der Reichsstadt Schwäbisch-Hall, wo diese Münze zuerst geprägt wurde, NHG.

Heller kleinste Kupfermünze, OFris. *haller* denarius hallensis, Heller, MDu. *haller* penning, penny, MLat. (*denarius*) *Hallensis*.

Swiss *haller-pfänning* eine Münze.

34. MDu. *hollantsch* of or pertaining to Holland, *sb.* a coin.

35. NE. *jane, jean* small silver coin of Genoa imported into England by foreign merchants. Cf. ME. *Janeway*, OFr. *Janne(s)*, Fr. *Gênes* Genoa.

36. Swiss *kolmar-rapp* Rappen aus Kolmar oder in Kolmar geprägt.

37. OFris. *kolniske merk* Kölner Münze, MHG. *kolscher-schillinc* Münze aus Köln: *kolnisk; kolsch, köllisch, kölnisch* kölnisch.

38. Swiss *konstanzer-pfänning, -batzen* Konstanzer Münzen, perhaps *kostenzer haller* teruncius, *chostenzer* Name einer Münzsorte.

39. Swiss *kue-plappert* spöttische Bezeichnung der Schweizer (Berner) Plapparte von Seiten der Konstanzer (*kue*: Schweizer).

40. Pruss. *kulmischer pfennig* ehemalige Münze in Preussen, die in Kulm geschlagen wurde.

41. Swiss *churer-piessli, -pfänning, -bätzi* Churer Münzen.

42. OFris. *liowerder* fifth of a groat (*grāta*): *Leeuwarden*.

43. OFris. *lonscher* Londoner; kleine Münze: OE. *lundenisc, Lunden*.

44. NE. *lundress* a sterling silver penny coined in London: Fr. *Londres* London.

45. MDu. *lovenaer, lovensche* small coin: *loven* old form of the name of the city of Leuwen (Louvain).

46. Swiss *losner* einer, etwas aus Lausanne; Pfennigmünze.

47. NE. *lushburg, lushborrow*, also *lussheborue sterling* coin of base metal made (chiefly in Luxemburg) in imitation of the English silver penny, and illegally imported into England in the reign of Edward III: *Lushburg* an English form of the name Luxemburg.

48. Swiss *lutzer*, (*lutzer-schilling*) alte Luzerner Scheidemünze im Werte von ½ Plappart oder 6 Pfennigen: perhaps simply *Luzerner Schilling*.

49. MSw. *lybisker* coin struck in Lübeck or named for Lübeck.

50. Swiss *marengīn* Napoleon d'or: *Marengo*.

51. Swiss *markgräfler* Rappen aus der Markgrafschaft (Baden).

52. MHG. *marrobortin*, MLat. *marrobotinus*, *marabotinus* altspanische, maurische Münze: *morābitin* arabascher Volksname.

53. MHG. *meischner* kleine Münzgattung: *Meissen.*

54. MHG. *metz-blanke* Silbermünze von Metz, Swiss *metz-blankener* Blanc der Stadt Metz.

55. Swiss *österrīcher* österreichische Münze, Sechskreuzerstück: *Österreich.*

56. NE. *Oxford crown* crown with a small view of Oxford on the obverse, in addition to the ordinary type.

57. MHG. *parīsīs* Pariser Münze: MLat. *parisiensis* coin of Paris.

58. Swab. *pfalzgräfler* Münze (aus der Pfalzgrafschaft).

59. Pruss. *pillkauer* Name für die alten Fünfschillinger: perhaps for *pillkaller*, and to the place-name *Pillkallen.*

60. MDu. *poitevijn* from or of Poitou, *sb.* copper coin.

61. MLG. *porte-*, *portugaleser*, *-loyser* einer aus Portugal; Goldmünze, Swab. *portugaleser* Münzsorte, MDan. *portugalǿs* coin.

62. Swiss *prüss* Volksname, Preussen; Bezeichnung für eine Münze. Cf. Swab. *preussischer* taler, etc.

63. MSw. *räflisker* from or of Reval, *sb.* penny of Reval.

64. MHG. *regensburger* (*phenninc*), Bav. *regensburger* Regensburger Pfennig.

65. Swiss *rīfen-örtli* alt-zürcher Silbermünze. Supposed to be named from *Ryffentobel*, the place presumably where it was coined by a counterfeiter.

66. MLG. *rīnsche* rheinischer Gulden, Bav. *gulden rheinisch*, *rheiner* Goldstück, MDu. *rijnschgulden* gold gulden of the Rhine district, *rinsgulden* coin from the Rhine district.

67. MDu. *rosebeker* name of various coins: *Roozebeke* place-name.

68. Swiss *salzburger-batzen* Batzen (aus Salzburg).

69. E. dial. *Saxon shilling* shilling of English money: *Saxon.*

70. Swiss *schaffhuser-örtli* Viertelbätzler (aus Schaffhausen).

71. Thur. *schneeberger* Neunpfennigstück: *Schneeberg.*

72. MLG. *schreckenberger* eine grössere Münze, vom Schreckenberge in Meissen, wo sie geprägt wurde, Swiss *schreckenberger* Name einer Scheidemünze, Hess. *schreckenberger* eine in Kursachsen geprägte Münze.

73. Swiss *schwīzer-rapp*, *-batzen* Schweizer Münzen.

74. Berlin *schweden* Taler: *Schweden?*

75. E. dial. *pound Scots* twelfth part of a pound sterling, former Scottish money of account; *Scotch penny* the thick English penny of 1797.

76. OFris. *sneke, sneze* Sneeker, aus der friesischen Stadt Sneek; Sneeker Groten, in the phrase *sex sneza grāta.*

77. MHG. *stefninger* eine burgundische Münze (moneta stephaniensis), von der Cathedrale S. Stephan in Besançon.

78. MSw. *stokholms mynt, stokholms pänningar* coin, pennies coined in Stockholm.

79. Swiss *strässburger-pfänning, strässburger* Strassburger Pfennig, *strässburger-räppler* in Strassburg geprägtes Rappenstück.

80. MHG. *taler,* NHG. *Taler* Silbermünze verschiedenen Wertes, whence Westf. *dāler,* MDu. *Joachimdaler* silver coin, Du. *daalder* old coin, still used as a money of account, WFris. *daelder* old coin, NE. *dollar* monetary unit or standard of value in the United States and Canada; in England, a five-shilling piece, MDan. *Jo(a)kim(s)dale(r)* a coin, MSw. *dalr,* Sw. *daler,* Nor. *dalar* coin name, NIcel. *dalur* (*rīkis-*) Danish dollar. Shortened form of *Joachims-taler* (*gulden*), that is gulden from Joachimstal in Bohemia.

81. Swiss *tiroler-rapp* Tiroler Münze.

82. Berlin *tiroler* Taler. To the above, or formed after 'Taler.'

83. MDu. *tornoys* from Tours, *sb.* name of various coins, MHG. *turnos, turnes* (ohne oder mit *grosse*) grossus Turonensis, Bav. *turneis, turnis* grossus Turonensis, Turnose, alte französ. Silbermünze, Hess. *turnes, turnos* Münze, welche in Tours geprägt wurde, Swab. *turnes* alte französ. Silbermünze, Waldeck *turnos* alte Münze, NE. *turney* piece of black or copper money current in Ireland in the reign of Edward III, coined at Tours and surreptitiously introduced, perhaps *turner* Scottish copper coin issued by James VI and by later sovereigns: *Tours.*

84. Swiss *tschamarien-plappert* Plappart aus Chambéry.

85. Swiss *ungar* Goldmünze, ungarischer Gulden, Bav. *üngerlein* fremde Scheidemünze von ungefähr zwei Kreuzern.

86. Swiss *venediger* Venetianer; venetianische Münze.

87. MDu. *pont vlaemsch* weight of forty groats Flemish, or twenty shillings, Du. *pond Vlaamsch* money of account six guldens, OFris. *twee flamske* zwei flämische Groten, etc.

88. Swiss *walliser-batzen* Walliser Münze: *Wallis* (Kanton der Südschweiz).

89. Bav. *wiener* Wiener Pfennig: *Wien.*

90. Swiss *wiblisburger* Pfennigmünze: *wiflisburg* deutscher Name für Avenches (Aventicum).

91. Du. *zeeuw* native of the Dutch province Zeeland, a Zeeuw; formerly, rix-dollar of Zeeland, Zeeuwsche rijksdaalder, WFris. *sieu, seau* imperial dollar of Zeeland, former silver coin.

92. MHG. *zesīn* Dukaten, NHG. *Zechine,* It. *zecchino: la zecca* Name des Münzhauses zu Venedig, wo diese Goldmünze zuerst 1280 geprägt wurde (Weig.[5]).

93. Swiss *zovinger-pfänning* Münze (aus Zofingen).

94. Swiss *zuger-chrüzer, zuger-pfänning* gewisse Zuger Münzen.

95. Swiss *zürich-book, -batzen, züricher-rapp* Züricher Münzen.

XXII. Coin of the Realm, Passing in Certain Cities, Between Certain Countries, etc.

1. MDu. *drielander* a silver coin struck by agreement of the three provinces (Brabant, Hainault, Holland).

2. Styr. *dreilandlergroschen* Münze im Werte eines Groschens, die die Wappen von Steiermark, Kärnten und Krain zeigte.

3. MDan. *firleyœ mønt* certain coin passing in the four Hanseatic cities (Lübeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar): MLG. *fērleie* viererlei. Cf. Kalkar I, 546.

4. Swiss *helvēti-batzen* zur Zeit der Helvetik geprägter Batzen.

5. Swiss *land-guldin* Gulden, im Gegensatz zum ausländischen; *land-batzen* einheimischer Batzen; Bav. *landmünz* ehemals ein Münzstück, zehn Pfennige; Styr. *landpfennig* im Lande übliche und gangbare Münze, etc.

6. Swiss *länder-münz* Münze der 'Länder.'

7. OFris. *liod-merk* Volksmark: *liod* Volk.

8. NHG. *Reichstaler* Taler zu 24 guten Groschen, Du. *rijksdaalder, riks, riksje* name of a certain coin, Sw. *riksdaler,* Dan. *rigsdaler* rix-dollar, NIcel. *ríkis-dalur* rix-dollar: NHG. *Reich,* etc.

MLG. *rīx-ōrt, ōrt-rīkes* Viertel eines Reichstalers, Swiss *rīchs-ort* vierter Teil eines Reichsguldens, Dan. *rigsort* 50 øre.

Sw. *riksgulden* imperial gulden, Dan. *rigsgylden* id., Styr. *reichsguldiner* Reichsgulden.

Als. *reichspfennig* Reichspfennig.

MDan. *rigsmark* certain coin.

9. MSw. *städher-skillinger, städher-pänninger* certain coins struck for the use of the Hanse cities (*städher-*).

10. NE. *unite* English gold coin issued by James I; a jacobus: with reference to the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland alluded to on the coin in the motto "Faciam eos in gentem unam."

XXIII. IMPERIAL, ROYAL, NOBLE

1. ME. *emparāle* imperial (coin), MHG. *imperial* imperialis, Kaisermünze, Goldmünze, MLat. *imperiālis* imperial, royal (coin).

2. ME. *noble* coin, NE. *noble* old English coin, first minted by Edward III, MDu. *nobel* name of gold coins, MLG. *nobele, nabele* eine (ursprünglich englische) Münze, MHG. *nōbel*, id., MSw. *nobel* kind of gold coin, MDan. *nobel* gold coin, Fr. *noble*, MLat. *nob(u)lus, nobelus*: E. *noble*.

3. Swiss *real, reiol* (Silber-) Münze, MDu. *reael* name of various coins, *royael* gold coin, Du. dial. *royaal* old coin, NE. *royal* royal person; gold coin formerly current in England, *ryal* former English gold coin; Scottish gold coin; large silver coin issued by Mary Stuart: Sp. *real* royal, *sb.* gold coin, Fr. *royal* regalis.

XXIV. PRINCE, RULER, BISHOP, ETC., UNDER WHOM THE COIN WAS ISSUED, WHOSE LIKENESS APPEARED ON THE COIN, ETC.

1. Styr. *bischoffünzehner* Fünfzehnerkreuzerstück: *bischof*.

2. MHG. *ducāte*, NHG. *Dukaten* Goldmünze, Swab. *dukate* alte Münze, Bav. *dukaten* gewisse Goldmünze, Westf. *dicke-tunne* (as if 'dicke Tonne') Krontaler, Waldeck *dik(e)-tun(e)* Münze, Hess. *dicketonne* id., OFris. *dukaten* Ducaten, Goldgulden, Du. *dukaton* old Dutch silver coin, *dukaat* gold coin, WFris. *dūkaet* former gold coin, *dikketon* ducat, old silver coin, Gron. *diktun* ducat, WFlem. *dukaat* coin, ME. *doket*, NE. *ducat*, Sw., Dan. *dukat*, MLat. *ducatus*. So called because first coined by an Italian duke (*duca*), and having the inscription: *Sit tibi, Christe, datus, quem tu regis, iste ducatus.*

3. Styr. *fürstengroschen* eine Münze; Fürstentaler zur Feier der Erhebung in den Reichsfürstenstand geprägt.

4. MDu. *gravenschilt* Flemish coin:*grave* count.

5. MDu. *herengroot* coin (*groot*) struck by the sovereign (*here*).

6. MDu. *coorvorst* name of a gold coin:*coorvorst* elector.

7. MDu. *coninсsschilt* silver coin:*coninc* king.

8. OE. *cāsering* a coin; OHG. *cheisuring* Kaisermünze, byzantinische Goldmünze.

9. MDu. *keiserschilt* name of a coin struck by Ludwig of Bavaria.

10. WFris. *keizers-goune* old silver coin.

11. Styr. *kaisertaler* Speziestaler; *kaisergroschen* silbernes Dreikreuzerstück; *kaisergulden* alter österr. Gulden.

12. Swiss *bāpst* Papst; pästliche Münze, spec. die verrufene päpstliche Lira, *bāpstler* Anhänger des Papstes; päpstlicher Gulden.

13. MLG. *postulatsgulden* Goldmünze, von dem postulierten Bischof Rudolf von Utrecht geprägt, später auch von andern geistlichen Herren, MDu. *postulaetgulden, postulaetsche gulden* name of various gold coins, OFris. *postulatus-gelden* Postulatusgulden.

14. Du. *souverein* commander, prince, sovereign; gold coin on which the likeness of Holland's sovereign was represented. Cf. the following.

15. NE. *sovereign* gold coin of Great Britain, bearing the effigy of the monarch (*sovereign*) on the obverse.

XXV. Name of Prince, Ruler, Saint, etc., Who Issued the Coin, Who Was Represented on the Coin, Whose Coat-of-Arms Was on the Coin, etc.; Name of a Mint-Master Who Devised the Coin, etc.

1. Swiss *ambrosier* eine mailändische Münze, It. *ambrosino* silver coin, bearing the effigy of Saint Ambrose.

2. MDu. *andries-gulden, andries* gold coin:*Andries*. Cf. No. 48.

3. MDu. *arnoldusgulden* gold coin, MS. *arnoldusgylden* kind of coin; MLat. *arnaldensis* monetae species:*Arnoldus, Arnaldus*.

4. NE. *atcheson, atchison* copper coin struck in the reign of James VI:*Atcheson*, an assay-master in the Scottish mint at the time of the issuing of the coin.

5. NE. *bawbee, baubee* Scottish billon coin. Supposed to be an abbreviation of the name of the laird of Sillebawby, a contemporary mint-master.

6. NE. *bodle, boddle* small copper coin, worth two pennies Scots; bad farthing: said to be derived from the name of the mint-master Bothwell, Bodwell. Cf. the foregoing.

7. Swiss *benedictus-pfänning* (ovale) messingene Münze mit dem Bildnis des heiligen Benedict.

8. NE. *Edward shovel-board* shilling of Edward VI, used in playing shovel-board.

9. Dan. *frederik* (*d'or*) certain gold coin: *Frederik*.

10. NHG. *Friedrichsdor* ehemalige preussische Goldmünze, zuerst 1713 unter Friederich Wilhelm I. geprägt, Swab. *friderichs-d'or* Goldmünze.

11. NE. *George* coin bearing the image of St. George; a half-crown, *George-noble* English gold coin, with the figure of St. George on the obverse, (*yellow*) *George, Geordie*, a guinea.

12. NE. *king George* halfpenny of the time of King George.

13. Styr. *georgenguldiner* Name einer alten Münze: *Georg*. Cf. the following.

14. Styr. *jörgen-gulden* Gulden oder Schaumünze mit dem Bilde des heiligen Georg: *jörgel* Koseform zu Georg.

15. Swab. *gunzenpfennig* Münze nach einem schwäbischen Herzog Gunzo genannt.

16. NE. *Harry-groat* groat coined in the reign of Henry VIII; *Harry-noble* gold coin of Henry VII; *Harry-sovereign* sovereign of Henry VII, or Henry VIII: *Harry* familiar equivalent for Henry.

17. NE. *Harrington* copper farthing-token, coined by John, Lord Harrington.

18. NE. *jacobus* English gold coin struck in the reign of James I: *Jacobus* (on the coin).

19. NE. *jack* a farthing: *Jack*. Cf. the above.

20. NE. *joe, joey* fourpenny-piece: so called from Joseph Hume who advocated its coinage: *Joe, Joey* familiar form of Joseph.

21. Waldeck *jöstchen* frühere osnabrückische Münze, Westf. *jôsken* ehemalige kleine Silbermünze: Westf. *jōst*, Bremen *joost* Mannsname, Jobst, Jodocus.

22. Swiss *julier* italien. Münze, It. *giulio* coin formerly current in Italy: *Giulio* Julius.

23. Styr. *justiner* venedigische Silbermünze aus dem 17. Jhd., Swiss *justine* venetianische Silbermünze (Prägung des heiligen Justina, des Schutzheiligen Venedigs?).

24. MHG. *karlīn*, NHG. *Karolin*, *Karlin* Goldstück, Waldeck *karlīn(e)* Goldmünze, MSw. *karlin* kind of gold coin, etc.: MLat. *Carolus*, *Karlus* Karl, nach dem prägendem Fürsten benannt. Cf. the following.

25. MDu. *caerlinkin* Carolingian, descendant of Charles (the Great); name of a small coin. Cf. the above.

26. Swiss *caroler* Karlin, caroleus nummus.

27. NE. *carolus* name of a gold coin of Charles I of England.

28. MDu. *carolus* (*gulden*) name of a gulden struck by Charles the Bold.

29. Waldeck *kilianer* frühere waldeckische Münze mit dem Brustbild des heiligen Kilian auf der Vorderseite.

30. MDu. *coppenole* name of a silver coin: *Coppenole* a proper name. Cf. Verwijs-Verdam, *Mndl. Wb.* 3, 1889.

31. Dan. *Christian*, *Christian d'or* gold coin of Denmark, first struck in 1775 by Christian VII.

32. Du. *christus-daalder* various coins and medallions on which the birth of Christ is represented.

33. Swiss *lienhart* Leonhard; Name einer kleinen Münze, aus frz. *liard* umgedeutet.

34. Styr. *lepoldi-groschel* alter Silbergroschel: *Leopold.*

35. NE. *Lord-Baltimore penny* penny coined by Lord Baltimore.

36. Swiss *margrētli*, *margrētler* gewisse Münzen: *margrēta* Frauenname.

37. NHG. *Mariengroschen* Silbermünze (mit dem Bilde der Jungfrau Maria), Bav. *mariengroschen*, Waldeck *mārjengroschen* id.

38. MHG. *marzel*, *marzelle* eine Münze, Bav. *marzell* venetianische Silbermünze, *marschell* id., Swiss *marzell(e)* eine Münze, Styr. *marzell* alte venedegische Münze, It. *marcello* Venetian coin, first struck by the doge Marcello.

39. MLG. *mat(h)ier* kleine Münze (Goslarer Groschen mit dem Bilde des heiligen Mathias), Westf. *mattēr* Münze, Bremen *mattier* eine Münze (in Hannover).

40. Bav. *maxdor*, *max* Goldstück unter dem Kurfürsten Maximilian Emanuel geprägt, *max'n*, Tirol. *maxen* (pl.) Geld.

41. Swiss *napolīon*, *napoleon d'or* Zwanzigfrankstück, *näppi* verächtlich für Napoleon; Napoleon d'or, Als. *napoleong* goldenes Zwanzigfrankstück mit dem Bildnis Napoleons III.

42. E. dial. *onion-penny* a Roman coin dug up from the ground: *Onion* name of a giant.

43. Swiss *pauler* Name einer Münze, It. *paolo* toskan. Münze, ungefähr zwei Kreuzer wert. Cf. Styr. *pauliner* italien. Münze, die zuerst in Bolognia von Paul III. geprägt war.

44. MDu. *philippus gulden* name of a gold coin, *philippus stuver*: *Philippus*.

45. MHG. *pēter* Münze mit dem Bilde des heiligen Petrus geprägt. Cf. Nos. 46 and 47.

46. MDu. *pēter*, *pieter*, *peterman* name of a gold and silver coin, named after the apostle Peter, Du. (*pieterman*), *pietje* coin of $6\frac{1}{2}$ stivers, WFris. *pytsje* id. Cf. Swiss *pietrus-gold* fremde Geldsorte zur Zeit der Burgunderkriege.

47. Als. *petermännel* Münze aus Köln und Trier, Westf. *pētermänneken* alte Trierer Münze, Waldeck *petermännchen* alte Münze.

48. NE. *Saint Andrew* Scottish gold coin, bearing the saint's effigy on the reverse.

49. NHG. *Schlickentaler* Joachimstaler, von den Grafen von Schlick geschlagen.

50. Pruss. *timpf* Einfünftel-Talerstück, Achtzehner: weil diese Münzsorte von einem Münzpächter Andreas Tympf zuerst geprägt wurde.

51. MLG. *vites-kop* Pfennig von Corvey und Höxter mit dem Kopfe des heiligen Vitus.

52. NHG. *Wallensteiner* Münze mit dem Wappen Wallensteins als Münzbild.

53. Du. *gouden Willem* ten-gulden piece, WFris. *willemke* golden ten-gulden piece, Antw. *willem* old Dutch coin on which there was a W (or this last form to the following): *Willem*. man's name. Cf. the following.

54. Cologne *wellemche*, *wellmche* kleiner Wilhelm, holländisches Centstück. Cf. the above.

55. ON. *gunnars-peningr* name of an old coin: *Gunnarr*.

56. NE. *ned, neddy* an English guinea: *Ned, Neddy.*

57. NE. *simon* an English sixpence: *Simon.*

58. Like these is NE. *galley-halfpenny, galy-halfpenny* silver coin of Genoa, once much imported into England, and so called because introduced by Italian merchants, commonly called galley-men, *gale* copper coin.

XXVI. Head (of Ruler, Bishop, etc.) on the Coin

1. Swiss *antlitz-pfänning* Scheidemünze, worauf das Antlitz eines Prälaten usw. geprägt war.

2. MDu. *hoofdekijn* name of a coin: *hovet, hooft* head, that is, small coin with a head as part of its type.

3. MDu. *copstuc* name of a small coin, Du. *kopstuck* coin with the head of a ruler represented thereon, EFris. *kopstück* Kopfstück, Cologne *koppstöck* Sechstel Taler, NHG. *Kopfstück* Münze im Werte von zwänzig Kreuzern rheinisch, benannt nach dem aufgeprägten Kopfe des Landesherrn, später auch bloss gedachte Rechnungsmünze in Mitteldeutschland und Schwaben, Bav. *kopfstück* Münze mit einem Kopfe im Bild, nam. ein österr. Zwanziger, Styr. *kopfstück* Zwanzigkreuzerstück älterer Zeit; Thur. *kopf, köpfchen* Kopfstück, ehedem ein Silberstück im Werte von zwanzig Kreuzern.

4. OFris. *kopkin* Münze, MLG. *kopken, koppken* kleine Münze, MDu. *coppeken, coppiken* fourth of a penny, half-shilling: *kop.* Cf. the above.

5. Bav. *katzenkopf* Name einer Münze: perhaps so called from the resemblance of the figure on the coin to that of a cat's head.

6. Swiss *münchschopf* eine Münze: coin on which there was the head of a monk, or other clerical person.

7. NE. *teston, testoon* silver coin of Louis XII of France; shilling coined by Henry VIII, from its resemblance in appearance and value to the French coin, *tester* (influenced by *tester* [Fr. *têtière*] head-piece, helmet) shilling of Henry VIII; also applied later to sixpence, early NE. *testern(e), testorn, testril,* hence *tizzy* a sixpence; OFr. *teston* a coin, so called from having the figure of a head (*teste*).

Cf. Als. *kopf* Kopf; Kopfseite der Münze; NE. *heads* (*and tails*) sides of coins on which there is a head; E. dial. *king's picture* money; NHG. dial. *monarchen* Gelder: from the likeness of the ruler on the

(large) coins; Fr. *bajaire* Küssmünze, Münze mit Doppelköpfen als Gepräge (Körting, *Et. Wb.* 35), whence Swiss *baschor* Name einer Münze, rotw. *boscher* Groschen, etc.

XXVII. ANGEL, KNIGHT, ETC., REPRESENTED ON THE COIN

1. Du. *baardmannetje* certain old coin on which a man with a beard was represented.

2. MDan. *enbener* rix-dollar upon which there was a man with one leg. Cf. NE. *leg dollar* Scottish coin of the 17th century, bearing a man in armor with one leg, the other being covered by a shield containing a coat-of-arms.

3. MLG. *engels* Münze, MDu. *engel* angel; gold coin, Du. dial. (Antw.) *engel* angel; Swiss silver coin, NE. *angel* (*angel-noble*) new issue of the noble, bearing a figure of the Archangel Michael defeating the dragon; an English coin, OFr. *angele* angel, dim. *angelet* angel; coin bearing the image of an angel, MLG. *engelot* Goldmünze mit dem Bilde eines Engels, MDu. *angelot* gold coin, Du. *engelot* former gold coin with the Archangel Michael, late ME. *angelett* gold coin, NE. *angelet* small angel; gold coin like the angel in device, *angelot* French gold coin; coin struck by the English for use in the French dominions, MDan. *engelot* gold coin, Swab. *engelotten* ausländische Münzen, Styr. *engelot* englische Goldmünze.

MDan. *engeldaler* dollar with an angel represented thereon: Styr. *engelbatzen* Vierkreuzerstück, das auf der Rückseite zwei die ungarische Stefanskrone haltende Engel zeigte, *engelgulden* silbernes Guldenstück, *engelkreuzer* Münze, etc.

Swab. *engel-länder* alte Landvogteimünze. Perhaps originally from England and at the same time with an angel as part of its type. Cf. *engelotten* above.

4. NHG. *Fettmännchen* ehemalige kölnische ½ Stüber geltende Kupfermünze, Westf. *fettmännken* halber Stüber: *Fettmännchen*, and this formed over after *Fettmönch*, so called from the representation on the coin. Cf. Weigend[5] *s.v.*

5. Swiss *frauler* Münze mit dem Bilde 'unsrer lieben Frau' mit dem Kinde darauf.

6. MLG. *hinkeman* kleine Münze: perhaps to *hinken*, i.e., 'hinkender Mann,' and having reference to some image on the coin.

7. NE. *horse-and-jockey* name for the George III sovereign which had St. George and the dragon on the reverse side.

8. Swiss *krag-hälsler* eine gewisse Münze, wahrscheinlich so genannt, weil sie das Bild eines Fürsten mit grosser Halskrause (Kragen) trug.

9. MDu. *mannekijn* diminutive person; gold and silver coin, *negenmannekijn* name of a silver coin, Kil. *neghenmanneken* sextans, triens, Antw. *negenmanneken* little old coin, ninth of a stiver.

10. Du. *pop* small child, doll; gulden:so called from the figure on the coin.

11. Bav. *rebeller* Rebelle; (beim gemeinen Volke) bayrisches, unter Max II., und auch noch von Karl Albrecht, geschlagnes Goldstück.

12. Swiss *rössler* Münze verschiedenen Wertes mit Pferd und Reiter als Prägbild. Cf. *ross*, XXIX, No. 23.

13. MHG. *rīter* Münze mit dem Bilde eines Reiters, MLG. *rīder* Reiter; Münze, OFris. *ridder* Ritter; Münze mit daraufgeprägtem Reiter, MDu. *rider* Reiter, Ritter; Name verschiedener Goldmünzen, Du. *gouden rijder, zilveren rijder* names of old coins, WFris. *rider, sulveren rider, gouden rider* names of various coins, on which a man on horseback was represented, MDan. *rytter* name of a certain coin, NE. *rider* gold coin of Scotland, issued by James VI; rider, person upon a horse.

MLG. *rider-gulden* Name für eine gewisse Münze.

Styr. *ritter-gulden* Georgshalbtaler.

Styr. *ritter-taler* Georgstaler.

WFris. *hynsterider* rider, knight, *in sechteheal mei inhynsterider* old coin, upon which a knight upon a charger was represented.

14. MLG. *snaphane* Wegelagerer zu Pferde; Strassenräuber; Münze mit dem Bilde eines Reiters, MDu. *snaphaen* robber, freebooter; name of a coin, Du. *snaphaanschelling* certain coin, Swiss *schnapphan(en)* gewisse Münze.

15. MLG. *slēper* Schläfer; Faulpelz; Münze, sechs Schillinge oder zehn Stüber. Perhaps from the figure upon the coin.

16. Swiss *spitzbartli* Münze, Car. *spitspart·l* Art Taler, Styr. *spitzbartler* Taler von gewisser Prägung. Lit. 'man with a pointed beard.'

17. WFris. *stokmantsje* former Dutch gulden with the feminine statue of Freedom holding a lance (as if a man with a stick), Gron. *stokmantje* gulden.

18. MLG. *stoter* Name einer kleinen Münze, MDu. *stoter* coin of the value of five groats, Du. *stooter* stallion; money of account: because the coin originally bore the figure of a charger (*stoter*).

19. MHG. *strūch-han* Wegelagerer; Münze mit darauf geprägtem Reiter.

20. Bav. *tölpel-taler* gewisse Münze, Styr. *dölpel, dölpel-taler* Name einer spanischen Münze: *tölpel.*

XXVIII. BIRD, FOWL, AS PART OF THE TYPE OF THE COIN

1. MDu. *arents-gulden* name of a coin, Du. *arends-gulden, arend-rijks-daalder, arend-schelling* old coin with an eagle as mint-mark: *arent, arend* eagle.

2. Westf. *blamûser* Münze, WFlem. *blamuizer* old imperial coin, Bav. *blōmeiser* gewisse Münze. Perhaps for **blaumeiser* Falk, der Meisen fängt, and after some bird or bird-like representation upon the coin. Cf. *D. Wb. s.v.*

3. NE. *buzzard-dollar* name applied derisively to the American silver dollar with the eagle: *buzzard.*

4. NE. *drake* male of the duck kind; silver shilling of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, having a martlet, popularly called a drake, as the mint-mark.

5. NE. *eagle* the bird; coin bearing the image of the eagle; spec. a coin of base metal current in England at the accession of Edward I; gold coin of the United States, value ten dollars.

6. Hess. *fledermaus* allgemeine Bezeichnung der Frankfurter Pfennige, wegen des bekanntlich eine besonders steife Form tragenden Frankfurter heraldischen Adlers: NHG. *Fledermaus.*

7. Bav. *guckezer-groschen* preussische Groschen (mit dem Adler): *guckezer* Kuckuck.

8. Westf. *kraigen-foss* Frankfurter Heller mit heraldischem Adler, in Hessen Fledermaus genannt: *kraige* Krähe, and *foss* (cf. VI, *d*, 2). Cf. No. 6.

9. Swiss *kräjen-plappert* Art Züricher Plapparte mit dem missratenen Bilde des Reichsadlers, den man einer Krähe verglich.

10. MDu. *muter* name of a small coin, MLG. *muter* (kleine) Münze:MDu. *muter*, MHG. *mūzer* Jagdvogel.

11. WFlem. *pauw* flying insect; name of an old coin of the value of seven stivers:Du. *pauw* peacock. Perhaps from a representation on the coin.

12. Bav. *räbleindukaten, räblerducaten* alter ungarischer Dukaten aus der Zeit des Königs Mathias Corvinus, auf welchem ein Rabe geprägt ist, Styr. *räblerdukaten* von Mathias Corvinus geprägter Ducaten mit einem Raben am Wappenbild.

13. MHG. *rappe* Name einer Münze mit einem Vogelkopf (eines Adlers oder Raben), Swiss *rapp*, Bav. *rapp, rappen* Münzname, Als. *rappe* 3½ Deniers oder Pfennige:MHG. *rabe, rappe* der schwarze Vogel, der Rabe. Cf. also Weigand, *Et. Wb.*[5] II, 528.

14. MLG. *vlēger* friesische und niederländische Münze mit dem Bilde eines Adlers oder fliegenden Engels.

15. Swab. *vogel* Münze, nach dem Gepräge, *vögeleins-taler* preussischer Taler, *vögeleins-groschen* geringwertiges Dreikreuzerstück mit dem preussischen Adler, Swiss *vögeli-rapp* fremde Münze mit einem (Vogel-)Kopf im Gepräge, *vögeli-fünf-räppler* fremde Münze, *vogelchrōn* Kronentaler mit einem Vogel (Reichsadler?).

XXIX. Animal, Fabulous Creature, Fish, etc., as Part of the Coin's Type

1. Bav. *agnus* gewisse Münze. Cf. OFr. *agnel* a lamb; a coin bearing a figure of the paschal lamb (*agnellus*).

2. Swiss *bären-pfänning* Scheidemünze mit dem Bären als Münzbild.

3. Swiss *basilisk* fabelhaftes Ungeheuer, Basilisk; Basler Taler; der Greif, Wappenhalter des Basler Wappens, wurde als Basilisk gedeutet.

4. Swiss *bock* Bock; Name einer Münze, Swab. *bock* Silbermünze, *böckler* eine Münze, Swiss *böckli-pfänning* ehemalige Scheidemünze mit einem Böcklein als Münzbild, *böckli-groschen* Münzsorte, Als. *bock-minz* kleines Kupfergeld. Cf. XI, 10, where some of the above may also belong.

5. Swab. *bracken-gulden* Gulden mit einem Hunde. Cf. No. 11.

6. Swiss *fisch* Fisch; Münze mit dem Gepräge des Fisches (?),

fischli-pfänning gewisse Münze, Styr. *fischler-zwanziger* Münze, *fischler* Name einer in Steiermark im 17. und 18. Jhd. gebrauchten Münze, auch *Lucius-* oder *fischler-groschen* genannt.

7. MDu. *griffoen* griffin; silver coin (with some such representation), *griffoensilver*. Cf. the following.

8. MDu. *grijp*, *gripe* griffin, *vogel-grijp* name of a coin. Cf. the foregoing.

9. Swab. *hirsch*, *hirsch-gulden* Silbermünze, auf deren Rückseite ein liegender Hirsch dargestellt war.

10. NE. *hog-money* coins issued at the beginning of the seventeenth century for circulation in the Somers Isles: so called from the hog represented on the coins.

11. Swab. *hunds-gulden* Gulden mit einem Hunde.

12. MDu. *hondkijn* name of a coin, Du. *hondje* coin, old name for a dubbeltje, Gron. *hondje* coin, kwartje: *hont*, *hond*. Cf. the above.

13. MDu. *clemmer* name of a coin, MLG. *klemmergulden* herzogl. Geldernsche Gulden (benannt entweder nach dem Klammern ähnlichen Dreipass oder nach den beiden klimmenden Löwen des Wappenschildes).

14. MLG. *krumster(t)* kleine Münze, bes. in friesischen Gegenden, MDu. cromstert, crumstart small silver coin, Du. *kromstaart* name of an old Dutch coin, EFris. *krumstert* (Krummschwanz) alte Silbermünze: so called from the lion on the coin which had the tail (*stert*) turned or bent (*krum*) toward the inside.

15. MDu. *lam* lamb; name of a gold coin (with the paschal lamb).

16. Swiss *lambpfänning* alte St. Galler Münze mit dem Gotteslamm als Münzbild.

17. MSw. *lebhards lybisker* coin struck in Lübeck, with a leopard as mint-mark.

18. NE. *leopard* pard or panther; in heraldry, originally, a lion passant gardant; gold coin struck by Edward III and the Black Prince of England for circulation in France, and having on the obverse a lion passant gardant.

19. NE. *lion* gold coin current in Scotland down to the reign of James V: so called from the lion on the obverse; also, Scottish copper coin with the representation of a lion, same as hardhead.

20. NE. *leonine* coin imported into England by foreign merchants in the reign of Edward I. Probably because its obverse was a lion.

21. MLG. *louwe, lowe, lewe* Löwe; Münze (lion d'or), perhaps *leiūn* Münze, MDu. *leeuwe* lion; name given to gold coins, *leeuwenhalve* 'half-leeuw,' Du. *leeuwendaalder* former silver coin of Holland, whence NE. *lion-dollar* Dutch coin in circulation in the province of New York in Colonial times; MHG. *lewengelt* Geld mit einem Löwen als Gepräge, *lewen-groschen, -pfenninc;* Swiss *leu* Löwe; alte Silbermünze, *leuer* id., *löwen-plappert* Plappart mit dem Bilde eines Löwen.

22. MDu. *mottoen* sheep; gold coin on which was represented the lamb of God, MLG. *mattūn, mattōn* eine Münze, ME. *motōn* sheep, mutton; gold coin, NE. *mutton* Anglo-French gold coin, OFr. *mouton* sheep; coin with the paschal lamb.

23. Swiss *ross* Ross; als Münzbild; Münzname, *rössli-taler* Taler mit Reitpferd als Gepräge. Cf. *rössler*, XXVII, 12.

24. MHG. *slangen-blaphart* Plappart mit daraufgeprägter Schlange.

25. Styr. *schlangentaler* alter Mailänder Taler. Perhaps as the above.

26. LG. (Bremen) *streve-katte* eine Katze, die sich sperrt; eine Gattung mecklenburgischer und pommerscher Münze, welche auf der einen Seite den wendischen Greif in einer sträubenden Stellung zeigt.

27. NE. *unicorn* traditional or fabulous animal; Scottish gold coin having the figure of a unicorn on the obverse.

XXX. Flower, Shrub, Tree, etc., on the Coin

1. Bav. *federtaler* Laubtaler, Swab. *federentaler* französ. Geldsorte: *feder* = Laub, Lorbeerzweig. Cf. No. 4.

2. MHG. *flōrīn, flōrēn* eine goldene Münze, der Gulden, NHG. *Florin*, Bav. *floren*, Swiss *florīn, floren(t)*, Swab. *florin* Gulden, MDu. *florijn*, Du. *florijn, floreen*, WFris. *floreen* gold gulden, MSw. *floren*, Sw. *florin*, Dan. *floren*, certain coin, ME. *florin, floring* florin, NE. *florin* English gold and silver coin; silver gulden of Australia: MLat. *florēnus, florīnus* gold coin of the city of Florence, bearing a flower (lily), Lat. *flos*, It. *fiore;* lit. 'coin with a flower'; whence also It. *fiorino*, Fr. *florin* florin.

Cf. Swab. *flor* Blüte; Geldstück; Gulden; Styr. *florian* Guldennote; formed after *florin*. Cf. also XXI, 23.

3. Styr. *kranzelsechserl* Silbersechser vom Jahre 1848, auf dem unter der Jahreszahl zwei Palmen gekreuzt sind.

4. NHG. *Laubtaler* grosser französ. Taler mit einem belaubten Lorbeerzweig auf der Rückseite, Swab. *laubtaler* französ. Münze, Styr. *laubtaler* älterer Name einer gewissen Gattung von Talern; Styr. *laubgulden* Name einer alten Silbermünze:NHG. *Laub*.

5. NE. *laurel* baytree or bay-laurel; crown of laurel; English gold coin:so called because the head of the king was wreathed with laurels, and not crowned, as in earlier coins.

6. MDu. *lilie-plack* plack (coin) with a lily (*lilie*).

7. MDan. *nældeblad* Nesselblatt; kleine Münze mit einem Nesselblatt als Münzbild; *nældebladsdaler, -dukat*.

8. NE. *pine-tree shilling* silver coin of Massachusetts, bearing a device of a pine.

9. MLG. *rosenobel* der Nobel mit dem Gepräge einer Rose, *rosenpennink* Pfennig mit dem Bilde einer Rose, MDan. *rosen(n)obel* English gold coin, MDu. *rosenobel* gold coin, *rosekens mottoen* small coin with a rose in the center of the cross on the reverse, etc., NE. *rose-noble* English gold coin, *rose-ryal* English gold coin of James I, *crown of the rose, crown of the double rose* kinds of coins: originally an English coin bearing a rose.

10. NE. *rosary* counterfeit coin of base metal, illegally introduced into England in the reign of Edward I. Perhaps a coin with a rose, or a coin like the rose-noble.

11. NE. *shrub-shilling* a variety of the pine-tree shilling.

12. NE. *thistle-merk* Scottish silver coin:so called from its reverse type being a thistle, *thistle-crown* English gold coin of the reign of James I, *thistle-dollar* Scottish silver coin.

XXXI. CROWN, CROSS

1. MDu. *crone* crown; name of various gold and silver coins, Du. *kroon* all sorts of gold and silver coins upon which a crown was represented, NE. *crown* coin generally bearing a crown or a crowned head on the reverse, *crown-piece* British silver coin worth five shillings, MLG. *krone* Münze, NHG. *Krone* Goldmünze mit eingeprägter

Krone, Swiss *chrōn* Krone; Münze, auf der eine Krone geprägt war, Bav. *krone* gelt aureus nummus gallicus cum corona impressa, Dan. *krone*, Sw. *krona* crown; coin, NIcel. *króna* crown; coin of the value of one hundred 'aurar.'

NHG. *Kronentaler* Taler mit einer Krone, Bav. *krōn(en)taler* Brabanter vier Kronen im Gepräge führender Taler, Swab. *kronentaler* französ. Münze, MDan. *krondaler* certain coin, etc.

Styr. *krongulden* alter Gulden mit dem Gepräge einer Krone.

Styr. *spitzkrone* Name der auch mit Kreuzkrone bezeichneten Münze um 1700.

Swiss *kron-ring* französ. Silbermünze.

2. NE. *cross* in England, formerly, any coin bearing the representation of a cross, *crouch* a cross; cross on a coin; the coin itself; money; cash, *corse* cross; piece of silver money.

MDu. *cruce* cross; cross upon coins; coin itself, *crusaet* ducat, MLG. *krosate* (goldene) Münze, aureus cruciger, perhaps also *krosnats* Münze.

MHG. *kriuzære*, *kriuzer* kleine, ursprünglich mit einem Kreuze bezeichnete Münze, NHG. *Kreuzer* kleine Silber- oder Kupfermünze, Bav. *kreuzer*, Swiss *chrüzer* denarius cruciger, cruciatus, Westf. *krůzer* Kreuzer.

MDu. *cruce-penninc* coin with a cross, Du. *kruis-daalder* certain coin, WFris. *kruste-pinning* old coin with a cross; money, *krus-goune* gulden with a cross, MHG. *kriuzer-pfenninc*, *kriuz-grosse* Pfennig, Groschen mit dem Kreuze als Gepräge, Swiss *chrüz-dick-pfänning* Münzsorte, *chrüz-batzen* Batzen mit Kreuz, *krüz-plappert* Plappart mit einem Kreuz auf dem Revers, Styr. *kreuzkrone* Name einer venedigischen Münze, *kreuz-taler* alter österr. Kronentaler, *kreuz-dukaten* alte Goldmünze, MDan. *kryds(er)-daler* coin with a cross upon it, *korshvid*, etc.

XXXII. Shield, Sword, etc., on the Coin

1. Du. *bezem-stuiver* formerly the smallest coin in the Netherlands, so called from the bundle of arrows (*bezem* broom, bundle of arrows in the shape of a broom) which was represented thereon, WFris. *biezem-stūrke*, *biezem(ke)* old silver coin.

2. OFris. *pike* kleine friesische Münze: MDu. *pike* pike, lance, MLG. *pēk* Langspiess, Lanze: from the representation on the coin?

3. OHG. *schilt, skilt,* MHG. *schilt* Schild, scutum; französ. Münze, Bav. *schild* scutum; Schildtaler, MDu. *schilt* shield; name of a gold coin of different values, Du. *schild* coin on which a shield is represented, MLG. *schilt* Schild; Bezeichnung verschiedener Goldmünzen, OFris. *skeld* Schild; Name einer Münze, MSw. *skildr* kind of (French) coin.

MHG. *schilt louis d'or, schilt-taler,* etc.

Swiss *schilt-nobel* Name einer (wohl ursprünglich englischen) Münze; *schild-franken* Münze mit einem Wappenschild; Styr. *schild-taler* italienische Münze.

MLat. *scutum* shield; coin-name; Fr. *écu d'or* gold coin with shield, whence NE. *écu* shield; name of several gold and silver coins, bearing a shield as part of their type; Scotch gold coin.

4. NHG. *Spiess* Stechwaffe; Sechspfennigstück (wohl nach dem ursprünglichen Gepräge).

5. MLG. *strale(n)-gelt, -pennink, -mark, -witte* Geld mit einem Pfeil gezeichnet (Stralsunder Geld).

6. MHG. *swert-groschen* Groschen mit gekreuzten Schwerten im Gepräge; Bav., Styr. *schwert-groschen* alte Münze.

7. Styr. *schwert-taler* Name einer bayrischen Münze des 18. Jahrhunderts. Cf. the above.

8. NE. *sword-dollar* Scottish silver coin of the reign of James VI: so called from the sword on the reverse.

9. NE. *sword-and-scepter piece* Scottish gold coin of the reign of James VI: so called from the sword and scepter on its reverse.

XXXIII. DEFINITE MARK, LETTER, OR WORD ON THE COIN; LETTER AS ABBREVIATION FOR THE COIN

1. WFris. *beke-, bieke-sint* former copper cent which had a *B* below at the left of the Dutch arms, *beke-heal* half-cent, *beke-brabander.*

2. NE. *decus* a crown-piece: from the Latin motto *decus et tutamen* on the rim.

3. Du. *dut-schelling* schelling stamped with a certain mark (*dut*), former Dutch coin.

4. Swab. *Gott* Mark (Verbrechersprache); vermutlich nach der Umschrift "Gott mit uns."

5. MDu. *luut-, luit-slach* name of a small coin. Perhaps referring to a definite manner of treatment or stamping the coin, a mint-master's term. Cf. *Mndl. Wb. s.v.*

6. Als. *meter* Meter, Metermass; für Mark gebraucht, wohl infolge der Abkürzung durch einfaches *M.*

7. NE. *q* a halfpenny, an abbreviation of quadrans, farthing, *cue* name of the letter *q;* a farthing, halfpenny, perhaps dial. *qusick* small coin.

Cf. NE. *V* five-dollar bill:from the *V* on the bill.

NOTE.—Many other words might also be given under this head. Cf. *ducatus, jacobus,* etc.

XXXIV. VARIOUS UNCLASSIFIED OBJECTS REPRESENTED ON THE COIN

1. NE. *bar-cent* in the early federal coinage of the United States, a cent the reverse of which was simply marked with horizontal bars.

2. NE. *bonnet-piece* Scotch coin, also called braid-bonnet:from the representation of a bonnet on the king's head.

3. MDu. *bot-drager, buddrager* name of a coin, MLG. *but-drager* kleinere (Luyksche) Münze:MDu. *botdrager* 'basker-carrier, -wearer' to *botte,* MLG. *butte* Bütte, Gefäss, and *drager* Träger, alluding to the large helmet worn by the lion which was represented on the coin.

4. Swab. *brötler* pfälz. Münzen mit Wecken.

5. Styr. *dreifeldgroschel* alter Silbergroschen mit drei Wappen in Kleeblattstellung.

6. Swab. *händlein* eine Haller Münze:nach dem Handschuh (*händlein*) im Haller Stadtswappen.

7. NE. *harp, harper* an Irish coin, popularly so called from the harp which formed their reverse type; *harp-shilling.*

8. MDu. *helm* helmet; name of a gold coin, *gulden helm.* Probably from the representation of a helmet on the coin.

9. Swab. *hörner, hörnleins-pfenning* Heller mit dem Jagdhorn.

10. Swiss *kelch-batzen* Name der Gold- und Silbermünzen, die mit einem Kelche gestempelt waren.

11. Du. *klap-muts,* WFris. *klap-mūtse* certain kind of cap, sailor's cap, riding cap; coin of the 16th century with a figure bearing such a covering of the head.

12. WFris. *kogge-daelder* double Frisian dollar with the arms of the three districts and eleven cities on one side and that of Frisland on the other: *kogge* sort of merchantman, formerly armed for defense. Cf. 27.

13. Du. *korf-penning* name of a silver coin on which a basket was represented: *korf* basket.

14. Swiss *liechtstock-plappert* Plappart mit einem Lichtstock als Gepräge.

15. NE. *link cent* cent coined by the United States in 1793, the reverse of which bore a chain of thirteen links.

16. MDu. *pavelioen* name of a gold coin, NE. *pavilion* gold coin of Philip of Valois, bearing the effigy of the king seated under a pavilion; similar coin struck by Edward the Black Prince for use in France.

17. NE. *pillar dollar* Spanish dollar or peso, also called piece of eight: from the figure of the pillars of Hercules on the coin. Cf. No. 25.

18. NE. *portcullis* coin struck in the reign of Elizabeth, with a portcullis stamped on the reverse; also called India money.

19. MHG. *rader-heller* Heller mit einem Rade als Gepräge. Cf. the following.

20. Westf. *rader-ort* Münze rheinischer Kurfürsten, albus. Cf. MHG. *rade-gelt* Münze mit dem kurmainzischen Doppelrade.

21. MHG. *ringeler* geringe Scheidemünze. Coin with a small ring (*ringel*).

22. MHG. *renne-phenninc* solidus levis, ren kleines Geldstück. Perhaps so called from an object on the coin referring to tilting. Cf. *renne-phert* Turnierpferd, *renne-spiez* Renn-, Turnierspiess, etc.

23. Bav. *rüebler-batzen* Batzen mit dem Gepräge einer Rübe, des Wappens des salzburgischen Erzbischofs Leonhard von K.

24. MDu. *saluut* name of a gold coin, on which the salutation (of the angels) was represented, MLG. *salute* gewisse Goldmünze, NE. *salute* gold coin current in the French dominions of Henry V and Henry VI of England, OFr. *salut, saluts, salutz* a coin, so called from the salutation of Gabriel to the Virgin Mary being represented on the obverse.

25. Styr. *säulentaler* spanische Münze: NHG. *Säule*. Cf. No. 17.

26. Styr. *schifftaler* Kremnitzer Georgstaler mit dem Schiffe auf sturmbewegter See.

27. Du. *scheepjesschelling* old Dutch shilling upon which a ship was represented, WFris. *skipkeskelling* id.:*scheepje* little ship.

28. Swiss *schlüssel-plappert* Plappart mit aufgeprägtem Schlüssel (des Papstes).

29. MDu. *sonnennoble* name of various coins:*sonne* sun. Cf. the following.

30. Swiss *sunnen-chrōn* Goldmünze:NHG. *Sonne.* Cf. Fr. *écu d'or au soleil,* etc.

31. NE. *spade-guinea* guinea coined by George III:so called because the shield of arms on the reverse had the shape of the spade of playing cards.

32. WFlem. *spinette* spinner, fileuse; English copper coin. Said to be derived from objects on the coin, the shield of Minerva and trident of Neptune, resembling a wheel and distaff; also a Swiss silver coin.

33. NE. *spur-royal* English gold coin issued by James I:from the resemblance of the sun on its reverse to the rowel of a spur.

34. MHG. *steblære* stabtragender Beamter oder Diener; Schweizer Münze, ursprünglich so benannt nach dem daraufgeprägten Stabe der Bischöfe von Constanz, *stebler-münze* id., Swiss. *stäbler-pfänning* Scheidemünze im Werte eines Stäblers, Styr. *stäbler* Königsgroschen des 17. Jhds., Als. *stäbler* alte Münze.

35. Styr. *stöckel-zwanziger* Zwanziger, weil auf demselben der kaiserliche Adler auf einem 'stöckel' geprägt war.

36. MLG. *vlūs, vlūsch* vellus, Vliess, Schaffell; Münze mit dem Bilde eines Vliesses.

37. Styr. *weihnachtstaler* Taler Kaiser Maxens I. mit dem Brustbilde des Jesaias und der Krippe des Jesukindes.

XXXV. Base, Illegal Coin:Scant, Clipped, Mutilated, Coated Coin; Bad, Worthless Person:Bad, Counterfeit Coin; Illegal, Spurious Coin, Coin Made in an Illegal Way, or by an Illegal Person

1. Styr. *bankert* unehliches Kind; schlechte ungarische Münze: NHG. *Bankert.*

2. Bav. *buger-*, *bugger-taler* französ. Laubtaler: Fr. *bougre* schlechter Kerl, Schuft.

3. MDu. *hage-munt* bad coin, Kil. *haegh-munt* numisma reprobatum, malae monetae, malae notae, quod in usu non est, infrequens, that is, illegal, spurious money, as if made illegally, in an out-of-way place, lit. 'hedge-money.' Cf. the compounds of *hage-*, as Du. dial. *hage-meester*, *hage-dokteur* one who acts as a physician without a diploma, *hage-weduwe* unmarried girl that is a mother, Du. *achter de haag loopen*, etc.; further, Swiss *hag* Schlupfwinkel, Versteck, E. dial. *hedge-got*, etc.

4. Ger. dial. (Hess.) *hagebüchene gulden* schlechte Gulden geringeren Wertes may be ultimately of the same origin as the above, having been changed to its present form owing to the likeness of *hage-büchen* (fig.) handfest, derb, knorrig, grob to *hage-*.

5. E. dial. *kaird turner* small base coin made by tinkers: *caird* traveling tinker; gypsy, tramp, Gael. *ceard* tinker, smith (Wright). On *turner* see XXI, No. 83.

6. E. dial. *maggie-Rab*, *-Robb* a bad wife; a bad halfpenny.

7. NE. *pollard* a tree cut nearly back to the trunk; a clipped coin, used to imitate an English coin.

8. E. dial. *rigmarie*, *rigmaree* base coin; any frail, thin membrane; mischievous frolic, tumult, uproar.

9. E. dial. *scimminger* piece of counterfeit money made of base metal coated with silver: NE. *skim* pass lightly along or near the surface of; move smoothly or lightly over; cover with a film or scum; coat over.

10. NE. *smasher* one who or that which smashes or breaks; one who passes counterfeit coins; a counterfeit coin.

11. E. dial. *tinker* bad bronze or copper coin: *tinker* tinker, esp. a traveling tinker; gypsy, vagabond; term of abuse applied to persons or animals. Cf. 5.

XXXVI. UNCLASSIFIED LIST

1. MHG. *bapel* kleine Münze.

2. MDu. *briman* silver coin of Brabant.

3. MDu. *buysch* coin from Aachen, Du. dial. *boesje* id.

4. Tirol. *gabanott* Silberstück zu sechs Kreuzer. The relation, if any exists, to Ital. *gabbano* gabardine is not clear.

5. MDu. *godert* gulden.

6. Swiss *gresatz* Münzsorte.

7. Pruss. *guddak* Achtelhalber.

8. Styr. *habrenk*, *hebrenk* schlecht Münze im 15. Jhd.

9. Styr. *heigel* Heller.

10. MDu. *jangeler* name of a coin:*jangelen* grumble; haggle over a purchase.

11. MDu. *claykijn* small coin.

12. Swiss *legon*, *legun* fremde Geldsorte in der Schweiz zur Zeit der Burgunderkriege im Werte von zwei Franken.

13. WFlem. *link*, *linkje* a half-centime, fourth of a cent. If for **hal-link*, then under IV, No. 34.

14. Swiss *mörsiger* Münzname.

15. LG. *papphahn* Silbermünze.

16. E. dial. *pringle* (*prindle*) small coin about the value of a penny.

17. MLG. *sifert*, *czifert* kleine Scheidemünze.

18. WFris. *skeisen* doit or the value of a doit.

19. MHG. *spagürlīn* eine Münze, drei oder vier Heller geltend.

20. Swiss *zuelaufer* eine Geldsorte.

21. MLG. *wūchei*(*e*) kleine Silbermünze.

22. NE. *quid* a sovereign, a guinea.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Gottfried Keller as a Democratic Idealist. By Edward Franklin Hauch. (Columbia University Germanic Studies.) New York, 1916. Columbia University Press.

Mr. Hauch offers in the first chapter, covering some thirty pages, a brief survey of the life of Keller in its relations to some phases of political and international history, with scattered quotations from Keller's journalistic writings, private correspondence, fragments of diaries, autobiographic sketches, and from his stories and verses (the latter well translated). The next chapter is devoted to a discussion of the development of literary form "From Roman Fiction to Realism" and of Keller's "religious ideals." This is followed by a chapter on "Realism; Educational Ideals." The essay closes with a few pages on various matters of literary form on which Keller has expressed opinions. The whole is preceded by a few pages of introduction in which a number of general terms occur, like "romanticist," "propagandist," "realist," "idealist," "pessimism," the specific bearing of which on the subject is obscure by reason of the absence of definition and reference.

Only the first chapter deals directly with the subject of the investigation. Mr. Hauch indeed endeavors to attach the remaining parts to the subject by the unsubstantiated identification of "Realism" with "Democracy." This general identification is hardly defensible. Realism as a literary form has in the history of literature not shown any particular affinity for democracy, as can be gathered from the realism of the very undemocratic *Der Stechlin* or *Das edle Blut*, on the one hand; and, on the other, from the romanticism of *Die Räuber*. As for realism as a measure of the content of experience, of the values of things, interesting relations between it and certain democratic tendencies might be pointed out; but this aspect of realism does not appear in the discussion.

The dissertation shows care and information regarding details, but it lacks unity of intention and organization, and, therefore, the chief quality required of a dissertation but so rarely found in the Humanities: definitiveness. Definitiveness is the result of a proper focus and substantial completeness within that focus. A subject of this kind could, in the reviewer's opinion, be treated successfully in one of two ways: One might proceed biographically, giving a comprehensive narrative of the development of one's author and introducing each one of the latter's important expressions bearing on democracy in its proper place as a phase in the growth of a personality; or he might give a systematic, classified summary of the substance of one's

author's views on public life, arranging the material under each head chronologically, and introducing the whole by a brief historical and biographical sketch and a general characterization.

In either case there would be a clear focus in which the reader would at once be able to judge the proper place and significance of each detail. The author of the present study, by offering too many different things under changing focuses, has failed to give one complete thing. His work would have gained in force and unity if he had limited himself to the subject of his first chapter, and systematically, either by the historical or the classificatory method throughout, exhausted the material on hand, too much of which he merely refers without extracting its substance.

The subject suggests an interesting question which requires thorough investigation. What is "democracy" in the German literature of the nineteenth century. Mr. Hauch takes it for granted, as do all the writers with whom the reviewer is familiar, that democracy means popular sovereignty. It is very questionable whether this assumption will hold without far-reaching qualifications for the generation of Freytag in the pre-revolutionary period, to which Keller intellectually, though not politically, largely belongs. The democracy of that generation was the political ideal of the intellectuals; it was an intellectual aristocracy rather than a political democracy. It was an ideal of the rule of the most talented. This ideal explains the comparative ease with which the vast majority of the revolutionists became reconciled to the re-establishment of the old order, reformed through a real merit system. This ideal dominates Freytag's first play: "The Scholar" in which the intellectual aristocrat is to proceed thus: "Confine yourself to the scope of your fellow, then enlarge *his* wants, *his* powers. Ennoble *his* workshop *for him*, consecrate his field *for him*, ... thus the people will gradually and spontaneously (!) ripen toward manhood." This is not democracy, but an intellectualist paternalism.

Keller's well-known saying, which dates from 1848: "From now on each counts for what he really is worth, and *talent alone* will receive recognition," can only be interpreted as an utterance of a German intellectual of the forties. It is not primarily an expression of a political theory of popular sovereignty which contained many elements of the English political individualism and manifested itself on the Continent in the egalitarianism of the different French revolutions. It is rather to be traced to Herder's and Savigny's historical nationalism and to Humboldt's opposition to the *Polizeistaat;* and to the historic cult of geniuses, the most talented individuals, as the most potent and the truest representatives of their people.

The book of Emil Ermatinger, *Gottfried Keller's Leben, Briefe und Tagebücher, Auf Grund der Biographie Jakob Baechtolds dargestellt* (3 Bde., Stuttgart u. Berlin, Cotta, 1916), of which two volumes have been issued, probably appeared too late to be included in the bibliography.

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Modern Philology

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THE GENESIS OF *RUY BLAS*

Almost a score of plays and memoirs have been suggested as the sources of *Ruy Blas*. It is not my purpose to add to this list, but to inquire how the first idea of the play came into Hugo's mind, what this idea was, and how it influenced his choice and use of sources. Before such questions can be answered, it is important to know what these sources were. I shall therefore first summarize the conclusions established by the scholarship of recent years in regard to them.

1. The historical background, the Spanish setting and manners, the character of the heroine, and certain minor incidents and persons are derived chiefly from the *Mémoires de la cour d'Espagne* by the Comtesse d'Aulnoy. This fact, already indicated by Auguste Vitu in his *Mille et une nuits du théâtre*,[1] has been thoroughly proved, with a detailed criticism of Hugo's methods of adapting history and geography to his needs, by M. Morel-Fatio in his *Etudes sur l'Espagne*.[2]

2. The main plot of vengeance and love, in which Salluste, in order to avenge himself, disguises his romantic lackey as a nobleman and seeks by the resulting love affair to compromise the queen, is apparently derived from a historical event, the marriage of Angelica Kauffmann to the impostor Horn, which was made known to Hugo by his friend Rabbe's article in the *Biographie universelle et portative*, and by Léon de Wailly's historical romance *Angelica Kauffmann*.

[1] Paris, 1890, VII, 97 f., lecture of April 2, 1879. Some details, though not so many as Vitu believed, may be due to Henri de Latouche's play, *la Reine d'Espagne* (Paris, 1831) which is itself modeled on the memoirs of Mme d'Aulnoy.

[2] Paris, 1888, pp. 177–244. He mentions a number of other works used by Hugo for names and financial details, among which the only one of importance is Vayrac's *Etat présent d'Espagne* (Paris, 1718).

This source has been established by M. Lanson in a recent article.[1] Formerly it had been generally supposed that the revenge plot came from Bulwer's *Lady of Lyons*. M. Lanson has shown that as the accounts of Angelica Kauffmann were much more readily accessible to Hugo than the *Lady of Lyons* was, and as the similarities existing in the two plays also occur in the novel, there is no reason to suppose that Hugo owed anything to his English contemporary.

3. In an excellent article,[2] "la Genèse d'un drame romantique: *Ruy Blas*," the most complete treatise on the sources of this play, M. Rigal, developing a suggestion of M. L. G. Pelissier, has established the fact that the political acts of Ruy Blas as ruler of Spain through the queen's favor and despite the opposition of the nobility, together with his downfall and the efforts of the lovers to save each other, were largely inspired by the *Struensée* of Gaillardet, a play acted at Paris in 1833.[3]

4. M. Rigal has also pointed out that the comic amplifications of the fourth act are derived from a farcical trilogy called *le Ramoneur Prince, Barogo*, and the *Mariage de Barogo*, probably the work of Maurice de Pompigny. He reviews various other plays that have been called sources of *Ruy Blas*, but finds in them nothing of real importance.

The conclusion that M. Rigal draws from his investigation is that the play results, not, as the author would have us believe, from the development of an abstract idea, but from the meeting in Hugo's mind of the three principal sources.[4] He does not tell us, however, how the idea of the play was first conceived. Indeed, one can scarcely go farther than he and M. Lanson have gone without the aid of testimony furnished by Hugo himself or by someone who learned from him how he first thought of writing the play. If we return a moment to Vitu, we shall find that he attempted to explain the play by this method. In his second lecture[5] on *Ruy Blas* he

[1] "Victor Hugo et Angelica Kauffmann," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 1915, pp. 392–401.

[2] *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 1913, pp. 753–88.

[3] Rigal shows that Hugo may also have used the *Struensée* of Alexandre Duval, published at Paris in 1822, but he finds it far less important than Gaillardet's play. Certain suggestions may have come, as Vitu thinks, from Mme d'Aulnoy's account of Valenzuela, whose case will be discussed below. Cf. Mme d'Aulnoy, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 45 f., and Vitu, *op. cit.*

[4] For Rigal, writing before Lanson, these are Mme d'Aulnoy's *Mémoires*, Gaillardet's *Struensée*, and Bulwer's *Lady of Lyons*.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 111, 112.

declares that while at first he did not dare guess the purely psychological point round which the poet's thought first developed, he now knows what this was through a friend in whom Hugo had confided the necessary information. This primitive idea was inspired, he says, by the passage of Rousseau's *Confessions* in which Jean Jacques describes his feelings while he believed himself to be in love with the daughter of the man he was serving as a lackey. "Au point de départ," exclaims Vitu, "voilà tout *Ruy Blas!*"

Now we may well question the value of this anecdote. We do not know who Vitu's friend was, nor have we Hugo's exact words. Even if we were sure that Hugo made this assertion, we could not attach much importance to an oral statement reported in 1879 about a source used in 1838. Moreover, it is impossible to find the plot of *Ruy Blas* in the simple episode of a lackey's sighing in vain for his mistress. There is no verbal likeness between the passage[1] and any part of *Ruy Blas*. Even if we admit that Hugo learned from Rousseau's account of his feeling for Mlle de Breil the charm of such a love affair, we have still to find a central idea that could give rise to the plot as we know it. In view of the lack of authority for the anecdote and the small amount of information it contains, it is not surprising that most scholars have neglected Vitu's theory in studying the sources of the play. But is there no direct evidence, better authenticated than this, that will tell us how the play was conceived? I have found such evidence in an unexpected quarter.

When Hugo returned to Paris after his exile, he left behind in Guernesey certain papers which, sold for a few shillings during a house-cleaning, came ultimately into the possession of Samuel Davey, a London expert in autographs, who bound them under the title *Journal de l'Exil*. They were then examined by M. Octave Uzanne, who published the results of his investigation in *Scribner's Magazine* for November, 1892,[2] and in a brochure that appeared at Paris the same year.[3] According to Uzanne, the manuscripts should be called *The Table-Talk of Victor Hugo at Guernesey*. He identifies

[1] Cf. Rousseau, *Confessions*, Part I, Book III, pp. 162 f., in the edition of Thomine et Fortié (Paris, 1823, 1824).

[2] Pp. 558–76.

[3] *Une curiosité littéraire. Excursion à travers un MS. inédit de V. Hugo: Les propos de table du poète en exil.* Paris: Administration de l'Art et de l'Idée, rue St. Benoît, 4°. The anecdote is given on pp. 44 and 45.

them as the diary of Hugo's daughter Adèle,[1] kept from July, 1852, into the year 1856. As he puts it, the writer must have amused herself "by noting every evening the detailed conversations—literary, artistic, political, economical, aesthetic, and dramatic—held every day during the repasts of the Titan in exile." The fact that Victor Hugo's hand is visible in numerous corrections suggests that the poet read and verified his daughter's manuscript. Uzanne declares that Hugo's executors, Meurice and Vacquerie, acknowledged the "authenticity of these dialogues and anecdotes." Among them is recorded the following conversation on the nature of inspiration, which took place probably in 1854:

Auguste Vacquerie. I should believe that man is nothing more than an instrument on which the spirits play, that the phenomenon of inspiration, for example, is produced not by the labor and the creation of man but by an idea, a sort of spirit that takes its place in the brain of man. Thus, in my own case, this is so true that I have been ten years unsuccessful in finding some idea, which finally came to me all at once, at the moment when I least expected it. . . . .

Victor Hugo. Inspiration comes to me in exactly the opposite way. There is in all my work not a single idea, not one line, that I have not sought for; not a single word that I have not meditated on. Thus, do you know how the idea of *Ruy Blas* came to me? I wanted to represent a minister invested with absolute power, the undisputed ruler of a great kingdom; when he has arrived at the highest degree of power, one day, amid his courtiers and his flatterers, there enters to him an unknown man who commands him as his master. That is the idea from which *Ruy Blas* came.

That such a scene appealed to Hugo as a suitable foundation for a play will surprise no one familiar with his love of antithesis and a sudden reversal of fortune. The contrast between the apparent and the real power of the two men in the scene described illustrates one of Hugo's commonest characteristics. The fall at the moment of greatest joy recalls Hernani forced to take poison just after his marriage, or Triboulet finding that he has killed his daughter just as he is gloating over his supposed vengeance upon her seducer.

The fact that Hugo gives this scene a very important position in *Ruy Blas* and treats it much as in the reported conversation, also confirms the truth of the anecdote. The third act shows Ruy Blas as absolute ruler of Spain. After a scene with the governing nobles,

[1] He originally supposed them to be the work of François Victor Hugo, but in an article which appeared only last September he states that Meurice had told him that the diary was written by Adèle. See the *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et des Curieux*, September, 1916, cols. 118–21. My attention was called to this article by Professor A. Schinz.

whom he orders about, a scene with the queen, who admits her love for him, and a monologue of joy, a man wrapped in a great mantle enters, marches up to him, and forces him to accept him as his master.

Finally, in *Victor Hugo raconté*[1] we are told that Hugo originally intended making this third act the first of his play:

> Ruy Blas, premier ministre, duc d'Olmedo, tout-puissant, aimé de la reine; un laquais entre, donne des ordres à ce tout-puissant, lui fait fermer une fenêtre et ramasser son mouchoir.[2] Tout se serait expliqué après. L'auteur, en y réfléchissant, aima mieux commencer par le commencement, faire un effet de gradation plutôt qu'un effet d'étonnement, et montrer d'abord le ministre en ministre et le laquais en laquais.

This quotation confirms the statement that this scene represented the germ of the tragedy. Note that if the scene were acted at the beginning of the play, Salluste would be as unknown to the audience as the intruder of whom Hugo had first thought. He was obliged to give up this detail of his plan when he moved the scene into the third act.

The original idea of the piece is not, then, an act of revenge, or the love affair of an ill-assorted couple. It is rather the sudden fall from power of a prime minister at the command of an apparently insignificant person. Now this idea came to Hugo, as Rigal has shown, from the *Struensée* of Gaillardet. In both plays a reforming prime minister is deprived of his power shortly after a love scene between him and the queen, following a scene in which, for the good of the people, he has lorded it over a privy council of corrupt nobles. In both plays the fall from power is sudden and is caused by an apparently powerless person, for Struensée is arrested by Banner,[3] whom, only a few scenes before, he had forced to resign from the council.

Thus supplied with his first idea, Hugo enlarged and complicated his plan by introducing from the story of Angelica Kauffmann the theme of a noble's avenging himself upon a woman by means of an amorous lackey. This would not only add interesting and picturesque details to the original conception, but it would explain the hero's obedience to the villain's command without the introduction

[1] *Œuvres complètes de Victor Hugo* (Paris, Hetzel), II, 392.

[2] This is not strictly accurate, for we know that the four lines in which Salluste orders Ruy Blas to pick up his handkerchief were added after the original draught was made. Cf. Pierre Dauze, *Revue Biblio-iconographique* (Paris), July-October, 1898, pp. 389–94.

[3] Act IV, scene 14.

of royal authority. It was, perhaps, before this addition that Hugo planned to begin his play with the scene of the hero's downfall. It may well have been the difficulty of making the spectators understand such a scene when the more complex plot was planned, added to the already existing need for interesting them in the characters and for moving rather than surprising them, that forced him to postpone this scene till the middle of the third act.

The question of time and place, of a historic background and local color, would now be of great importance. Hugo's interest in Spain is well known. He may have been led to Mme d'Aulnoy, as Morel-Fatio suggests, by the popularity of the Spanish seventeenth century in the period immediately preceding the composition of *Ruy Blas;* or, perhaps, while seeking a case which resembled that of Struensée, but occurred less recently and in a larger and more picturesque country than Denmark, he ran across or remembered Mme d'Aulnoy's account of Valenzuela, the Spanish adventurer of humble origin, who, like Ruy Blas, a poet and a page, if not a lackey, became ruler of Spain by the grace of Queen Maria Anna, widow of Philip IV. Reading further in Mme d'Aulnoy's *Mémoires* Hugo learned of Charles II and his two queens, one of whom furnished him with the character, the other with the name of his heroine. From these memoirs he made most of his direct borrowings. Additions from Pompigny and other writers followed readily enough.

However much may be conjectural in this theory of the process by which *Ruy Blas* was composed, it seems safe to conclude that the original idea of the play was that of a minister's fall from power under very dramatic circumstances, rather than a story of vengeance and love; that, as Rigal holds to be generally true of Hugo, this thought came first to him as a picture rather than an abstract notion; that Gaillardet's *Struensée* supplied the first suggestion, the story of Angelica Kauffmann an important part of the plot; that less than ever is there a reason for seeing any influence of the *Lady of Lyons* on the play; and that the *Mémoires* of Mme d'Aulnoy, though extensively followed, were not employed till after other works had outlined the plot in the author's mind.

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THE BRIEF-NARRATIVE ART OF THÉOPHILE GAUTIER

When Maxime Du Camp affirms[1] that Gautier is less of a *romancier* than a *conteur*, he is attempting to distinguish between these as between invention and imagination, arguing that whereas a *roman* is composed objectively, upon a deliberate plan, a *conte* or a *nouvelle* is subjective and spontaneous. This distinction, carried to its logical consequences, means that in novels the writer guides the narrative, in brief tales the narrative guides the writer, a reduction to the absurd even if limited to Gautier. For the structural unity of *la Morte amoureuse* is as voluntary as that of *le Capitaine Fracasse*, and vastly superior to that of such novels as *Partie carrée*. Du Camp is manifestly correct in assuming that many of Gautier's briefer tales are the result of musing over adventures, generally erotic, of which the author imagines himself the hero, and there is a degree of reason in his remark that "c'est parce qu'elles ont été un épisode de sa vie intellectuelle que ses nouvelles sont simples, presque sans incidents, émues néanmoins et communiquant l'émotion dont elles palpitent."[2] But this subjectivity is not in itself an adequate explanation of the peculiar singleness of effect of some of the stories, and the question remains by what narrative methods Gautier achieved this.

The ultimate solution should include an appraisal of Gautier's importance in the development of brief fiction in France, but this can be attempted only after such a survey of the entire field as no one has yet made. My immediate purpose is to examine Gautier's tales for themselves and to discover whether he evolved a type or types of any narrative distinction.

In a group of the earlier stories, notably in *la Morte amoureuse* (1836), his methods are comparable to Poe's, although there is no likelihood that at this period Gautier was acquainted with the writings of the American.

Whoever analyzes *la Morte amoureuse* will perceive that it fulfils the short-story requirements later expounded by Poe and so diligently

[1] *Théophile Gautier* (Paris, 1890), pp. 147–52.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

studied by his followers and his critics.[1] Gautier chooses for a theme the *liaison* of a priest and a female vampire and sets out, as the short-story adepts now do, "to produce a single narrative effect with the greatest economy of means that is consistent with the utmost emphasis."[2] His devices for procuring complete harmony are legion. The point of view is constant, for the whole experience is related in the first person by the victim. The initial sentences tend to the outbringing of the preconceived effect, to sounding that note of the uncanny which is constantly to be maintained: "Vous me demandez, frère, si j'ai aimé; oui. C'est une histoire singulière et terrible, et, quoique j'aie soixante-six ans, j'ose à peine remuer le cendre de ce souvenir."[3] The entire first paragraph, summing up the indelible impression made upon the priest, is in the same key, and throughout the tale the note rings out, ever lugubrious.[4] Except for supernumeraries entirely inconspicuous, there are only three characters, the vampire, the priest Romuauld, and a brother-priest whose attempts to offer guidance form an essential part of the action. In the matter of descriptions, tabooed in the short-story as foreign to its essence, Gautier, who is notoriously fond of the picturesque, has restrained himself to an unusual degree. The events are simple and decisive, and at turning-points in the story attention is fastened upon the stage of development reached by a terse summarizing phrase.[5] Suspense is brought skilfully to a head by the cumulation of manifestations made to the priest by Clarimonde. When Romuauld is summoned to the unfamiliar château, the promptness with which he realizes that he is to see his lady is not only natural but a factor—one of a score—in securing swift progress. The ending is as direct

[1] For an abridged short-story bibliography, cf. my article on "Balzac and the Short-Story," *Modern Philology*, XII, 71, note 3. The famous statement of Poe, part of which is quoted in that note, was written in 1842. The short-story character of *la Morte amoureuse* has already been pointed out by Professor Baldwin, *American Short Stories* (New York, 1909), Introduction, p. 33. In the present article I shall use the term "short-story" only in the restricted American sense.

[2] Hamilton, *Materials and Methods of Fiction* (New York, 1908), p. 173.

[3] *Nouvelles* (Paris, 1871), p. 261.

[4] Observe the repetition of the idea of a nightmare (*ibid.*, pp. 266, 275, 289); of the apostrophe of Clarimonde: "Malheureux! qu'as-tu fait?" (pp. 267, 268, 295); of the motif of a single fatal glance: "un seul regard . . . jeté sur une femme" (p. 261), "pour avoir levé une seule fois le regard sur une femme" (p. 274), "ne regardez jamais une femme . . . il suffit d'une minute" (p. 295).

[5] Pp. 263, 268, 288.

as the beginning: the *liaison* is broken, Clarimonde bids the priest farewell, "elle se dissipa dans l'air . . . et je ne la revis plus."[1] There follows a paragraph of a few lines which sound for the last time the note of the awfulness of the experience and is simply long enough to save the termination from being brusque, to put the needed period to the whole.

La Morte amoureuse was prepared for Balzac's *Chronique de Paris*,[2] and Balzac himself had written a little earlier[3] several tales of salient short-story characteristics, yet neither he nor Gautier in any way suggest that they were aware of the temporary similarity of their narrative processes. A similarity there is, however, and not in the case of *la Morte amoureuse* alone; other stories written by Gautier within a few years preceding 1836 approach the same standard and may be considered tentative efforts at the form finally achieved in 1836.

The first of these is *la Cafetière* (1831). A young man, Théodore, staying at a country house, has a singular adventure during the night, and, like the priest Romuauld, he tells of the experience himself. Objects in his room come to life, a porcelain coffee-pot thumps its way from table to hearth, portraits become animated and dance, and the youth, perceiving a charming girl without a partner, joins her. At dawn the spell is broken, the girl falls to the floor, and Théodore, rushing to pick her up, finds only the pieces of the coffee-pot. The exposition is of the briefest, the narrative progress is swift, the attention is focused, first upon the weird group of figures in the room and then, sharply, upon the principal figure, Angéla.[4] A single tone, suggesting the weird and the tragic, prevails as in *la Morte amoureuse*, and is last sounded in the final words of the tale when the hero expresses his—somewhat callow—despair with the remark: "Je venais de comprendre qu'il n'y avait plus pour moi de bonheur sur la terre!"[5] In a tentative version of the first part of the story,

[1] P. 295.

[2] Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres de Théophile Gautier* (Paris, 1887), No. 130. The story was divided between two issues of the *Chronique de Paris*. Apparently Gautier had no thought of the advantage which, according to Poe, results from a single, uninterrupted presentation.

[3] Cf. p. 136, note 1.

[4] In 1852 the story was published under the title *Angéla* (Lovenjoul, *op. cit.*, No. 45).

[5] *Les Jeunes-France* (Paris: Charpentier), p. 261. In this edition the story is dated, erroneously, 1833.

reproduced from the manuscript by Lovenjoul,[1] there are copious descriptions of no narrative value, and a more cumbersome exposition, and in the fact that this version was rejected there may be a sign of a conscious move to attain a higher degree of unity.

Onuphrius (1832) consists of a series of adventures of a young man who gradually becomes insane. The events are related with remarkable imaginative power and are somewhat varied, too varied no doubt to admit classification of the story with the Poe type. But the basic unity is complete. *Onuphrius* has something in common with *le Horla* by Maupassant, a tale worthy of Poe at his best, resembling it closely enough to prove short-story characteristics, differing sufficiently to indicate short-story defects. The experiences in *le Horla* are as diversified, but there results a high degree of unity from the fact that the illusion of the patient is a single one, while that of Onuphrius, except for the recurring hallucination of the demon with the ruby on his finger, varies. The climacteric development in *le Horla* is superior, and the attention is more completely focused on the man and his obsession. *Le Horla* is told in the first person, whereas with Gautier, although the point of view is constant, the third person is used, with consequent diminution, it may be argued, of intensity.[2]

Three other products of the years immediately preceding *la Morte amoureuse* merit a word. Two of them are hardly more than anecdotes. The first, published by Lovenjoul,[3] who without vouching altogether for its authenticity thinks it may be the first piece of fiction ever composed by Gautier (March 24, 1831), is the account of the experience of a young Frenchman in Egypt, compelled to seek the hospitality of a Bedouin camp and discovering that he has eaten of a gazelle roasted over blazing mummies. The next is the story, covering some eight pages in *Sous la Table* (1833),[4] concerning a youth and a *grisette*. The episode is too trivial to warrant serious consideration, yet, its essential narrative structure alone considered—and it is

[1] Louvenjoul, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 16–20.

[2] The ending of the first edition, quoted by Lovenjoul, *op. cit.*, No. 56, is more abrupt and less artistic than that of the *Jeunes-France* volume.

[3] *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 8–11.

[4] *Les Jeunes-France*, pp. 11–18.

sufficiently developed to be said to have a structure—the singleness of effect is achieved by a process comparable to Poe's. In the third, *Omphale* (1834), the narrative current is swift and steady. Omphale is a lady portrayed on an old piece of tapestry in a young man's room. She comes to life and loves him, but the affair is interrupted by the young man's uncle, who removes the tapestry. The account of the subsequent effort of the youth to regain the tapestry is not, however, acceptable from the short-story point of view, and, a more vital matter, the chief interest is in the picturesque setting, as the subtitle, *histoire rococo*, suggests.

These of course do not constitute all of the brief tales written by Gautier between 1831, at the beginning of his career, and 1836, but the others are nondescript, and some of them, such as *le Bol de punch*, a picture of a revel, and *Daniel Jovard*, a character sketch, are narrative only in name. The point is that during this period Gautier write one genuine short-story and other pieces approaching the type. As has been suggested, it is not safe to posit in this group any influence of Poe, who was only beginning to write at this period and who was not known in France, at least in translation, until the forties.[1] The truth seems to be that Gautier is one of several authors who were at that time creating in France, independent of foreign models, a type the identity of which with Poe's is at once fortuitous and complete[2]—and which I label short-story for want of authority to call it anything more distinctive. But after 1836 Gautier writes no more narratives of this form; his methods continue to develop, and, oddly enough, by the time it may be assumed that Gautier was well acquainted with Poe, he is producing stories of a stamp distinct from the American's.

The prime difference is in degree of compression. Superlative concision, the *sine qua non* of the Poe type, is no longer achieved or

[1] According to Retinger, *le Conte fantastique dans le Romantisme français* (Paris, 1909), p. 33, note, *The Murders in the rue Morgue* appeared anonymously as early as 1841. Cf. Lauvrière, *Poe* (Paris, 1904), p. 644, note 2; p. 276; Morris, *Cooper et Poe d'après la critique française du dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris, 1912), pp. 80, 203.

[2] Professor Baldwin, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 33, pointing to the dates of *la Morte amoureuse* (1836) and of *Berenice* (1835), says: "Remarkable as is the coincident appearance in Paris and in Richmond of a new literary form, it remains a coincidence." Cf. Canby, *Study of the Short Story* (New York, 1913), p. 45; "The work of their [the American writers'] French contemporaries . . . . represents a parallel, not a derivative movement."

sought. What this means in actual practice will become evident upon inspection of the significant examples.

The tendency is already manifest in *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre* (1838). A young Egyptian, so enamored of Cleopatra that he dares penetrate to her bath, is there discovered by the capricious queen, who accepts him as her lover with the condition that the next morning he shall die. At daybreak he pays the penalty. This would be an admirable nucleus for a short-story, and it is not difficult to imagine how the theme would be treated. The bounds of the above summary would be respected, the action would hardly begin before the capture of the youth at the bath, and would cease with the administration of the poison. In the latter case Gautier has, unconsciously, met the short-story requirement; his termination, according to that convention, is impeccable, possessing even that unexpected twist so sought after by the American twentieth-century writer, often with a resultant artificiality—though the turn which Gautier gives the narrative development is altogether probable as well as interesting: at the crucial moment Cleopatra wavers and considers preventing her lover from drinking the potion, when the unlooked-for announcement of the arrival of Mark Antony precipitates the catastrophe. The story at this point moves as rapidly as Poe's followers say it must. But here only. Gautier does not introduce the episode of the bath until he reaches the fifth of the six chapters. His preparation is leisurely. In the first chapter we learn that Cleopatra is bored, in the second this theme is elaborated and we have a first glimpse of the lover, in the third the lover becomes active to the extent of sending Cleopatra a message by an arrow, in the fourth we learn that Cleopatra is no longer bored and that the youth contemplates further activity. This easy-going preliminary, the frequent changes in viewpoint and in place, and above all the copious descriptions, are quite contrary to short-story practice.

In the case of *le Roi Candaule* (1844), Gautier appears to have been of two minds. He was evidently tempted at the outset to yield to the charm of the picturesque, and then became interested in the development of the action and gave over the static for the kinetic. An admirable narrative is developed about a central point, the inspection of the queen's beauty. The author seems to have taken,

for structural purposes, the point of view of Gyges.[1] At the beginning it is not apparent that the young captain is to play an important rôle, for the first chapter consists almost entirely of an elaborate description of the marriage of King Candaules and Nyssia, but, as the story moves on, more and more light is centered upon Gyges, the descriptions which, from the point of view of narration, obstruct, become less and less frequent, and after an extremely leisurely start the action becomes rapid. The preparation for the climax is adroit. It is necessary to explain concisely, when the crisis approaches, how it happens that Candaules wishes to have another man behold his wife's charms, and this is the more easily done since it has already been casually developed that he is a person of uncommon stamp and especially that his appreciation of beauty may be that of the artist as much as that of the lover. The keenness of vision which enables Nyssia to discover the eyes of Gyges as he looks into the chamber from his hiding-place is suggested early in the story. Surely such arrangement of details demonstrates what Maxime Du Camp would deny, the exercise of inventive powers by the *conteur*.[2] The termination of the story, after cleverly maintained suspense, is swift; climax and end are almost simultaneous. The murder done, the problem solved, a brief final paragraph gives a last glance at the central theme: "le nouveau roi se maintint sur le trône de Lydie, qu'il occupa pendant de longues années, vécut heureux et ne fit voir sa femme à personne, sachant trop ce qu'il en coûtait."[3]

Somewhat parallel in structure is *Arria Marcella* (1852).[4] A young Frenchman, at a museum in Naples, is moved by a relic of

[1] The following is a summary of the chapters from this angle: (i) it transpires that Gyges, by a rare chance, has seen the queen unveiled before her marriage; (ii) Gyges is the chosen confidant of the king as regards her beauty; (iii) Gyges sees her in the chamber; (iv) he is summoned to the queen to avenge her; (v) he wins her.

Le Roi Candaule is clearly enough an adaptation of Herodotus' story of Gyges (i. 8–12), itself an excellent example of narrative economy; the principal incidents in Gautier are those related by the Greek, and several items of the conversation between Gyges and Candaules and of that between Gyges and the queen are almost exactly reproduced. But Gautier's elaboration of the theme remains his own.

[2] Cf. Taylor, "The Short Story in France, 1800–1900," *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1913, p. 144: "Mérimée, Gautier, Flaubert, exercised, however covertly, an art of composition; they disposed their incidents in due order of sequence; they arranged their figures with an aesthetic sense of perspective, prepared and suspended their crises, and held the balance of accent and emphasis."

[3] *Nouvelles*, p. 419.

[4] Lafcadio Hearn (*One of Cleopatra's Nights*, etc. [New York: Brentano, 1906], pp. 385–88) thinks that Gautier may have found the inspiration for *Arria Marcella* in an

Pompeii, a mass of ashes which has hardened about the form of a beautiful woman perishing in the destruction of the city. With imagination stirred by a daylight inspection of the ruins he returns there the same night, finds the conditions of eighteen hundred years ago restored, encounters the lady in question, and is welcomed by her, when her Christian father steps in, berates his daughter, and destroys the hallucination.[1] *Arria Marcella* is composed with no regard for the short-story principle that "the narrative must move, move, move furiously each action and every speech pointing directly toward the unknown climax,"[2] yet it is carefully organized in the interest of unity, with graduated and skilful focusing of the attention upon the heroine and artful alternation of suspense and swift advance. The exposition and the action proper are amalgamated by the author's conception that Arria is already acquainted with the passion of the young man and knows, by a weird interchange of the centuries, that he has admired her in the museum.[3]

Common to these later stories is a feature already observed in *la Morte amoureuse*, the deliberate insertion of forward-pointing remarks which serve to emphasize the central theme. The ultimate and sinister achievement of Gyges is already faintly suggested, at the very outset of *le Roi Candaule*, in the musings of the young captain: "il songeait aux enivrements de la toute-puissance, au bonheur . . . de poser le diadème sur la tête de la plus belle," "en effet, c'était bien sur ce front [de Nyssia] qu'il eût voulu poser le diadème," "l'amour qu'il éprouvait pour Nyssia lui causait une secrète terreur."[4] The strange adventure of the hero of *Arria Marcella* is foreshadowed in the searching glance of his companion, and in his own first impressions: "Octavien . . . semblait plus touché que ses insouciants compagnons du sort de ces trépassés de deux mille ans," "Les phrases banales du guide causèrent une vive émotion à Octavien."[5]

old Greek ghost story, and quotes Michelet's version of this. In any case it is clear that Gautier's narrative methods are his own.

[1] Observe how frequently the basic plot of a *liaison* interrupted by a third person recurs (*Omphale*, *la Morte amoureuse*, *le Pied de momie*, even, in a sense, *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre* and *le Roi Candaule*).

[2] Canby, "Free Fiction," *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1915, p. 61. Professor Canby urges his compatriots not to be fettered by such rules.

[3] The period to the story, the final sentence, deftly enhances the unity.

[4] *Nouvelles*, pp. 364, 365, 365, respectively.

[5] *Romans et Contes* (Paris: Charpentier), pp. 272, 280, 282, respectively.

Occasional emphatic sentences, such as the statement in *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre*, "il s'était juré . . . qu'il serait l'amant de Cléopâtre . . . ne fût-ce qu'une nuit . . . dût-il lui en coûter son corps et son âme,"[1] are at once a prophecy and a summary, and the progress of a story is often epitomized, with a resultant and deliberately attained narrative unity, as in Gyges' résumé of the course of events: "Un hasard lui avait fait connaître sa beauté murée à tous les yeux, entre tant de princes et de satrapes elle avait épousé précisément Candaule, le roi qu'il servait, et, par un caprice étrange qu'il ne pouvait s'empêcher de trouver presque fatal, ce roi venait faire, à lui Gygès, des confidences sur cette créature mystérieuse que personne n'approchait. . . ."[2]

These features become less conspicuous in three narratives of later date, much longer than those so far under discussion and yet possessed of a similar unity distinct from that of the novel. The evolution appears to be steady, from a narrative organization strictly limited, with unity consciously emphasized, to one of broader scope.

The theme of *Avatar* (1856) is a reincarnation and its consequences. Octave de Saville almost despairs at the hopelessness of his love for the Countess Labinski, who adores her husband. Thanks to the occult science of an uncanny physician, Octave's soul is transferred to the husband's body, and the husband's soul is incorporated in his. But the lover finds success as impossible as before, and the souls at his behest are being retransferred when his flies off into space, and the doctor occupies his body. The progress of the story is as steady and unhurried as that of *Arria Marcella*, but the attention is not equally concentrated. In *Arria Marcella* the single interest is in the relations of the youth and the girl of Pompeii; in *Avatar* the interest is for a considerable period in the relations of Octave and the lady, but later, when this situation is solved, much space is devoted to the resultant fate of the young man. And since, in the nature of the situation, the reader would be almost as interested in the effects of the reincarnation on the husband as in its effects on the lover, there is a considerable discussion of this. The remark of Gautier, summing up the case for Octave, "Ame obscurément sublime, il ne savait qu'aimer et mourir,"[3] may be regarded as the

[1] *Nouvelles*, p. 345. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 387. [3] *Romans et Contes*, p. 126.

nucleus of the tale, yet when the interest turns away from Octave the author does not hold it in check, he does not impose an adventitious unity. The theme of *Arria* calls for development within a small circle, that of *Avatar* occupies a relatively large one.[1]

Avatar is promptly followed by another story of the same order, *Jettatura* (1856). Here Gautier unfolds the consequences of the Neapolitan superstition of the evil eye when it fastens itself upon a young foreigner in love with a girl threatened with tuberculosis. At every point, in composing the tale, he has kept this situation in mind. His methods as usual are leisurely, but the narrative is held true to its course. The technique is remote from that of the short-story. The beginning, where, before the hero is introduced, there are five pages of easy-going description of the approach to Naples and some humorous animadversions on British travelers, recalls the lack of restraint of the novel.[2] Yet there is a deliberate and successful attempt to secure singleness of effect. Step by step the theme of the evil eye of Paul d'Aspremont is developed. The thought that there is a peculiar and pernicious power in his gaze is kept constantly before the reader. At first there are only mild suggestions. Then disasters which take place in the presence of Paul and which, the reader is gradually persuaded, may be due to the peculiar power of his eye, accumulate. At length, at a point where his gaze seems to produce catastrophes in rapid succession, Paul first hears the epithet *jettatore!* His concern over his strange situation and especially over its possible consequences for Alicia grows rapidly until the climax. Preparation for the one critical situation and the development of that situation, or in other words a climacteric elaboration of the power of Paul's eye and then an account of the result when this power is concentrated upon Alicia, such is Gautier's method.[3]

[1] The twelve sections of the story, as it appears in book form, are presumably the twelve units of its serial publication (cf. Lovenjoul, *op. cit.*, No. 1400). Here, as well as elsewhere, Gautier deals successfully with the exigencies of the *feuilleton* system; his division into short chapters is highly logical and his final sentences sometimes epitomize with the succinctness of the short-story termination, sometimes point forward to the next stage of the tale in a way that welds the sections together.

[2] There are other suggestions of novel technique. Cf. p. 161, where Gautier returns to the exposition by relating events that antedate the action of the story. Such retrogression is rare in tales where a high degree of unity is the desideratum (although it is found in Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*). Cf. pp. 252–55, where the author introduces supernumerary characters of somewhat meager interest as exemplifying the idiosyncrasies of the British and of almost no usefulness in advancing the narrative.

[3] Gautier started to cast *Jettatura* in verse, and several fragments of his work exist (cf. Lovenjoul, *op. cit.*, No. 2306). The beginning of the narrative is more direct, the tone more sinister, than in the prose form.

Spirite (1865), one of his last pieces of fiction, closes the series of distinctive tales I am here considering. It is of particular interest in that it was written under the influence of Poe,[1] with whose work the author was now thoroughly familiar,[2] and yet, as regards structure, is closer to the *Avatar* type than to *la Morte amoureuse.*

Once more, maximum compression is not sought. The essential theme, the relations of Guy de Malivert and the spirit of a woman who had already loved him in the flesh, without his knowing it, is given due prominence, yet Gautier does not refrain from dealing with the immediate ramifications. In addition to Malivert and Spirite two characters play rôles of some importance, Madame d'Ymbercourt, the flesh-and-blood rival, and the Baron de Feroë, a mystic who is able to explain to Guy the manifestations of his intangible mistress. Both are required in Gautier's manipulation of the subject, the first as a foil, the second as an interpreter. The scene is allowed to shift, the point of view changes. The fourteenth chapter, wherein the main issue waits while the jealousy of Madame d'Ymbercourt is healed by Spirite, would be considered by Poe an unpardonable interpolation.[3] Even from a more liberal point of view certain features may be considered to clog the narrative, for example the long description by Spirite, who is recounting her mortal life, of the ball where she did not dance with Malivert.[4] On the other hand, it is clear that Gautier felt the need of a certain degree of narrative concision: when the situation becomes critical the story is made to move rapidly, the writer comes promptly to the essential,[5] and once he remarks: "Il est inutile de décrire avec détail les impressions de voyage de Malivert; ce serait sortir du cadre de ce récit."[6]

[1] Cf. Retinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 77. Gautier mentions Poe in the course of the story (pp. 4, 33–34).

[2] I find no reference by Gautier to Poe earlier than 1858 (cf. *Portraits contemporains* [Paris, 1898], p. 52). From this time forward allusions are frequent, as if Gautier had suddenly become aware of the American, perhaps through Baudelaire's translations (1856). In his article on Baudelaire, Gautier quotes, without comment, a remark by Poe which contains in essence the latter's short-story theory (*Portraits et souvenirs littéraires* [Paris, 1892], p. 191).

[3] Furthermore, Gautier has not, in the Poe manner, "deliberately preconceived" the whole story, to judge from the following (*Vacances du Lundi* [Paris, 1907], p. 75): "nous voilà installé au sein d'un doux et charmant loisir, cherchant sous les grands marronniers la fin de *Spirite.*"

[4] Perhaps the explanation at the close of this description may be considered faintly apologetic (*Spirite* [Paris, 1907], p. 134).

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 138.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 218. Observe, however, that a page of description follows.

This note of conscious construction is rare in Gautier, either in his stories or in his critical writing. If we now examine the latter, it will become evident that he can hardly be said to have, in the case of fiction, any doctrine.

Even as regards terminology he is careless. He called *Spirite* a *nouvelle*. *Avatar* and *Jettatura* first appeared as *contes*,[1] but they are the longest stories, and stand at the head, in the subsequent collection entitled *Romans et Contes* (1863). In his autobiography, referring to his activities in the field of fiction, he writes: "Sans être romancier de profession je n'en ai pas moins bâclé, en mettant à part les nouvelles, une douzaine de romans: *les Jeunes-France*, *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, *Fortunio*, *les Roués innocents*, *Militona*, *la Belle Jenny*, *Jean et Jeannette*, *Avatar*, *Jettatura*, *le Roman de la momie*, *Spirite*, *le Capitaine Fracasse*."[2] Here is a list which includes novels, tales that approach the short-story type, and tales that bear another stamp; they have in common merely the fact that they are relatively long. There is apparently no distinction between *roman* and *nouvelle*, unless it be one of length, in the following remark: "Il y a douze ou quinze ans, M. Jules Janin publia, dans *la Revue des Deux Mondes*, une nouvelle d'une centaine de pages—on n'avait pas encore inventé, en ce temps-là, les romans qui n'en finissent pas—une nouvelle, disons-nous, intitulée *le Piédestal*."[3] And certainly little difference between *nouvelle* and *conte* is recognized by Gautier when he uses the two words in the same sentence of the same story.[4]

A specific problem of narration is discussed by him to some purpose in his article on Karr. Of the digressions in the novels of the latter he writes:

[1] Lovenjoul, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1400, 1421. [2] *Portraits contemporains*, p. 13.

[3] *Histoire de l'art dramatique en France* (Paris, 1859), VI, 5. *Le Piédestal* was published in 1832, not in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* but in the *Revue de Paris*. Janin, in the course of the story, makes a significant distinction between *nouvelle* and *roman* (XLIII, 103): "Ici si je faisais un roman et non pas une histoire, j'aurais un bien beau sujet de développements de mœurs. J'arrangerais à loisir mon récit, le conduisant en habile écuyer à travers toutes les difficultés du terrain, changeant souvent ma voie. . . .

"Mais il n'en est pas de la *nouvelle* comme du roman. La nouvelle, c'est une course au clocher. . . . On va toujours au galop, on ne connaît pas d'obstacles; on traverse le buisson d'épines, on franchit le fossé, on brise le mur, on se brise les os, on va tant que va son histoire." In performance, Janin proves somewhat irresponsible. His composition is lax. But the metaphor brings out effectively the essential directness of the *nouvelle* type, and, although Gautier passes it over in silence, suggests the economy of the short-story art at which he himself was trying his hand in 1832.

[4] *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, I, 254, 299; Lovenjoul, *op. cit.*, No. 830.

Un mot fait éclore un chapitre, et malgré toutes leurs folles brindilles éparpillées à droite et à gauche, ces digressions n'en tiennent pas moins à la tige commune par des filaments et des nervures invisibles. Relevez le feuillage de la main, et vous verrez la branche qui s'attache solidement au tronc; toute action, si elle a réellement une portée philosophique, fait lever une moisson de pensées sous lesquelles il lui arrive quelquefois de disparaître comme la terre aride du sillon sous le manteau d'or des épis.—Lequel vaut mieux de l'épi ou du sillon, de la feuille ou de la branche?[1]

No doubt the principle was applied by Gautier himself, although with modifications and a limited *portée philosophique*, and perhaps the remark is the inspiration of Du Camp when he says of Gautier's workmanship: "Le sujet . . . est toujours d'une extrême simplicité, mais l'écrivain a su le parer et l'envelopper, parfois jusqu'à le faire disparaître, d'une forme élégante et touffue."[2] Similar praise of inherent unity, deserving of quotation in a discussion of Gautier's own procedure, is found in his encomium of Fenimore Cooper:

Les plus beaux romans de Cooper sont composés avec des éléments d'une simplicité extrême. . . . Les personnages n'apparaissent que comme des points blancs et rouges sur le fond d'outre-mer des lointains, ou sur le vert sombre et dur des ébéniers centenaires. Cependant, malgré leur petitesse relative, par leur énergie et leur résolution, ils dominent cette gigantesque nature, et c'est là la source de l'intérêt sublime et profond qui s'attache au *Dernier des Mohicans*, à *la Prairie*. L'orgueil humain est intimement flatté de cette victoire et s'en réjouit par esprit de corps. Cette disposition rendait Fenimore Cooper plus propre que tout autre à réussir dans le roman maritime. . . . L'idée qui éclate à chaque page est celle exprimée par le proverbe breton: "Ma barque est si petite et la mer est si grande!" De là vient tout l'intérêt.[3]

But these acute bits of criticism stand almost alone. An able practitioner, Gautier, as I have said, was not given to theorizing about fiction.

It is therefore upon the examination of the structure of his stories that conclusions must largely be based. Two types appear to have been evolved, a form exceedingly compact, best represented by *la Morte amoureuse*, and another less restrained but still highly unified,

[1] *Portraits contemporains*, p. 17.

[2] Du Camp, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[3] *Souvenirs de théâtre, d'art et de critique* (Paris, 1904), pp. 21–22. This is part of a page of criticism of Cooper which occurs in an article on Eugène Sue first published in the *Chronique de Paris* in 1836. It is not listed by Professor Morris, *op. cit.*

of which *Arria Marcella* and *Jettatura* are characteristic examples. The one develops out of the other; the first group is the result of an early tendency culminating in 1836, the second includes some of the best work of the author's maturity.[1]

Needless to say, many of his narratives do not yield to this classification. Some are not primarily narrative but descriptive;[2] some are genuine novels;[3] some, within a narrower compass, retain the characteristic structural complexity of the novel.[4] Even such a tale as *le Chevalier double*, in spite of its strongly emphasized central theme, might be considered a novel *in parvo*, were it not unreasonable to apply modern narrative standards to a story which aims at and achieves the characteristics of an ancient legend.[5] *La Toison d'or* is an intermediate form. The story is an organic whole; the central theme is the quest of Tiburce, a youth who, having admired womankind only from the point of view of a connoisseur of the fine arts, only in painting and sculpture, determines to seek a flesh-and-blood mistress and, inspired by Rubens, goes to Flanders. At the beginning the interest is fastened upon the question whether Tiburce will find a blond maiden, then it is deflected to the infatuation of Tiburce for Rubens' Magdalene, and ultimately to that development of the character of Gretchen which results in the final solution, with the affections of Tiburce satisfied and his power as an artist revealed. In other words, the attention is not focused. It is not difficult to imagine the expansion of *la Toison d'or* into a full-sized novel, where the character development, no longer compressed into a few lines, would be vastly more convincing; on the other hand, the story could hardly be given a unity comparable to that of *le Roi Candaule* or of *Avatar* without fundamental revision.

[1] In addition to the stories discussed, *la Chaîne d'or* (1837) and especially *la Mille et deuxième nuit* (1842) belong to the second group.

[2] *Le Pied de momie*, *le Pavillon sur l'eau*, even *Fortunio*, which is a cross-section of a peculiarly sumptuous and voluptuous life with the central figure hardly a man but a personification of a picturesque lavishness.

[3] *Le Capitaine Fracasse*, *le Roman de la momie*, etc. The plot of the second is relatively simple. Cf. the simplicity of plot of *la Croix de Berny*, written by Gautier in collaboration with Mme de Girardin, Sandeau, and Méry.

[4] *Militona*, *le Berger*, etc. So also *les Roués innocents*, and *Jean et Jeannette*, although in each case the elaborations develop from a single nucleus.

[5] Other legends and fairy-stories by Gautier approach more closely, in narrative simplicity and concentration of attention, the types under discussion. Cf. the exquisite *Enfant aux souliers de pain* and *Nid de rossignols*, and the mediocre *Oreiller d'une jeune fille*.

But from the whole mass of works of fiction published by Gautier, the brief tales analyzed here, from *la Morte amoureuse* to *Spirite*, emerge as structurally unique.

The credit is probably due to Gautier alone. The likeness of some of the earlier stories to the tales Poe was producing at about the same time in America[1] does not warrant inferences, it has been observed, as to the influence of Poe. Equally fortuitous and no less interesting is the parallel between the later products of Gautier and the nineteenth-century German *Novelle*.

A purely casual remark of the author in *Arria Marcella* that he is presenting "le simple récit d'une aventure bizarre et peu croyable, quoique vraie,"[2] is nearly identical with Goethe's famous definition: "Was ist eine Novelle anders als eine sich ereignete unerhörte Begebenheit?"[3] *Aventure* may be set off against *Begebenheit*, *bizarre et peu croyable* against *unerhörte*, *vraie* against *sich ereignete*, *simple* against *eine*. Indeed, Gautier's statement, put alongside of Goethe's, illuminates the latter, which, "the quintessential result of an investigation . . . conducted intermittently for over thirty years,"[4] is cast in somewhat oracular form. There is a meager possibility that Gautier was acquainted with this definition. It is a fact that he knew the *Wahlverwandtschaften*,[5] which includes the story of *Die wunderlichen Nachbarskinder*, the first of Goethe's narratives to be presented to the public under the express title *Novelle*. But there is not the requisite evidence to substantiate a belief that Gautier was inspired by the German, and the remark which so neatly corresponds to Goethe's appears to be a felicitous accident.

[1] It may also be affirmed that there is a resemblance to Hawthorne in some of Gautier's work. In fact, the following criticism of Hawthorne, by Robert Louis Stevenson (*Essay on Hugo*, p. 20), is applicable, in its entirety, to the author of *Jettatura:* "There is a unity, an unwavering creative purpose, about some at least of Hawthorne's romances, that impresses itself on the most indifferent reader; and the very restrictions and weaknesses of the man served perhaps to strengthen the vivid and single impression of his works." Gautier was acquainted with the fiction of Hawthorne (cf. *Portraits contemporains*, p. 157) and had been particularly impressed by the conception of a garden of poisonous flowers in *Rappacini's Daughter*, a story kindred in structure to *Jettatura*, *Avatar*, etc. (cf. *Histoire du Romantisme*, p. 353; *Fusains et eaux-fortes* [Paris, 1907], pp. 308–11).

[2] *Romans et Contes*, p. 273. [3] *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, January 29, 1827.

[4] Mitchell, "Goethe's Theory of the Novelle," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXX, 236. This article and Professor Mitchell's thoroughgoing study, *Heyse and his Predecessors in the Theory of the Novelle* (Frankfurt, 1915), are the principal source of the following remarks on the German definitions.

[5] *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, I, 193; IV, 337.

In practice, the epithet *vraie* is not equivalent to Goethe's *sich ereignete*. For obviously the adventure in *Arria Marcella*, or that in *Avatar*, is not true, could not actually happen, in the same sense as the events of *Der Prokurator* or of *Ferdinand*. Closer to Goethe in this respect are *Jettatura* and *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre*, although these sin against a principle enunciated by one of Goethe's spokesmen: "Ich leugne nicht, dass ich die Geschichten nicht liebe, die unsere Einbildungskraft immer in fremde Länder nötigen. Muss denn alles in Italien und Sizilien, im Orient geschehen? Sind denn Neapel, Palermo und Smyrna die einzigen Orte, wo etwas Interessantes vorgehen kann?"[1] As regards unity and novelty, however, Gautier's stories fully meet the German's requirements. Likewise, Gautier's leisurely expositions find a counterpart in such stories as *Die wunderlichen Nachbarskinder* and *Der Prokurator*, his occasionally appended codas a corresponding feature in *Ferdinand*.

Two other definitions, by Tieck and by Paul Heyse, stand out in the ponderous mass of German criticism, and both of these have their application here. Tieck, writing in 1829, insists with Goethe upon unity and novelty and develops independently the theory that the prime requisite is a single turning-point "von welchem aus sie [die Geschichte] sich unerwartet völlig umkehrt, und doch natürlich, dem Charakter und den Umstanden angemessen, die Folge entwickelt. . . . ."[2] Apparently Tieck would give his entire approval to *le Roi Candaule*, where the action turns upon the discovery by the queen that Gyges is inspecting her beauty, and to *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre*, developed about the compact which Cleopatra makes with the young Egyptian. In some of the other Gautier tales, such as *Avatar* and *Spirite*, there is no prominent *Wendepunkt*, but perhaps the theorist would be liberal in his interpretation, for he states that each of the *Novelas exemplares* of Cervantes possesses such a turning-point, yet investigation of these shows, I think, that it is frequently not easy to determine which decisive act shall be so denominated.[3]

[1] Goethe, *Werke*, Weimarer Ausgabe, XVIII, 190, quoted by Mitchell, *Heyse and his Predecessors*, p. 25.

[2] *Schriften* (Berlin: Reimer, 1829), XI, p. lxxxvi. The theory is discussed by Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff.

[3] Closest to the *Novelle* type are *La Gitanilla* and *El Celoso Extremeño*. In the *Coloquio de los Perros* are one or two comments on problems of narration; cf. especially where Cipion urges Berganza to refrain from digressions (p. 340 of the Leipzig, 1869,

More specific and of special application to Gautier is the definition made by Paul Heyse in order to set a standard for his *Deutscher Novellenschatz:*

Im allgemeinen . . . . halten wir . . . . an der Regel fest *der* Novelle den Vorzug zu geben, deren Grundmotiv sich am deutlichsten abrundet und . . . . etwas Eigenartiges, Spezifisches schon in der blossen Anlage verrät. Eine *starke Silhouette*—um . . . . einen Ausdruck der Malersprache zu Hilfe zu nehmen—dürfte dem, was wir im eigentlichen Sinne *Novelle* nennen, nicht fehlen, ja wir glauben, die Probe auf die Trefflichkeit eines novellistischen Motivs werde in den meisten Fällen darin bestehen, ob der Versuch gelingt, den Inhalt in wenige Zeilen zusammenzufassen, in der Weise, wie die alten Italiener ihren Novellen kurze Überschriften gaben, die dem Kundigen schon im Keim den spezifischen Wert des Themas verraten.[1]

This is close to Gautier's conception of brief-narrative unity as exemplified in the series of stories under discussion,[2] the last of which was published five years before the promulgation of Heyse's theory (1871). That is to say, here again are narrative methods parallel and independent.[3]

Probably Gautier was not the only Frenchman to produce during this period stories comparable in form to the *Novelle.* This structural method would seem sufficiently elastic to lend itself—perhaps with results not so lurid and of deeper literary import—to the purposes of authors in power and doctrine quite different from him.

edition): "Quiero decir que la sigas [la novela] de golpe, sin que la hagas que parezca pulpo, segun la vas añadiendo colas." Gautier refers several times to Cervantes' stories, but not critically (cf. *Voyage en Espagne* [Paris, 1899], pp. 118, 299; *Guide au Louvre*, p. 274).

[1] *Deutscher Novellenschatz* (München, 1871), Einleitung, pp. xix–xx.

[2] Heyse quotes, for illustration of his theory, Boccaccio's abstract of the ninth *Novella* of the fifth day: "Federigo degli Alberighi ama e non è amato; e in cortesia spendendo si consuma, e rimangli un sol falcone, il quale, non avendo altro, dà a mangiare alla sua donna venutagli a casa: la qual ciò sappiendo, mutata d'animo, il prende per marito e fàllo ricco."

Gautier's stories may be summed up quite as succinctly. Cf. the abstracts given in the course of this article. Cf. also the lines of Swinburne which epitomize *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre* (*Poems* [London, 1904], III, 64):

> And that great night of love more strange than this,
> When she that made the whole world's bale and bliss
> Made king of all the world's desire a slave,
> And killed him in mid kingdom with a kiss.

[3] Speculation about the reasons for these resemblances between Gautier's work and the short-story and the *Novelle* types remains idle until more is known about the French field. Apparently the conditions of modern literature tend to develop two forms of brief tale, as in English where we have not only the close-knit "short-story," but the more loosely woven—and clumsily named—"long short-story."

For Gautier, in any case, one point remains to be made. His critics,[1] maintaining that he is above all a poet and a painter, like to stress either the lyric or the pictorial element in his stories, and grant him small skill in sheer narration. Without doubt their view that fiction was of secondary interest to him is correct. Yet he accepted its conditions more whole-heartedly than they think. There is a suggestion of this truth in his letter to Sainte-Beuve: "Si j'avais possédé la moindre fortune personnelle, je me serais livré uniquement à *l'amour du vert laurier;* mais dans la prose où je suis tombé, j'ai toujours défendu les intérêts de l'art. . . ."[2] And the evidence proves that the structure of many of his tales is far from being either haphazard or spontaneous, that the degree of unity he sometimes attains is the result of deliberate plan, that after all, as a narrator, he is no mean figure.

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[1] Faguet, Sainte-Beuve, Lafcadio Hearn, *et al.*

[2] Lovenjoul, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xx.

THE EARLY WRITINGS OF GATIEN DE COURTILZ, SIEUR DE VERGER

I have tried elsewhere to show that the pseudo-*Mémoires* of Courtilz are forerunners of the politico-picaresque novel in France, and that Lesage may have found, at least to some degree, a model among his own countrymen. Courtilz did not begin with *Mémoires;* a study of his earlier works will, I believe, prove that they embody all the essential features of the *Mémoires*, and that they owe little or nothing to foreign influence.

The first pamphlets attributed to him, both published in 1683, are: *La Conduite de la France depuis la paix de Nimègue* and *Réponse au livre intitulé: "La Conduite,"* etc. Such political pamphlets were popular at the time, and the frequently envenomed answers served to increase their success. All we know of Courtilz supports the hypothesis that he was a man to sacrifice sincerity to pecuniary interest. In the *Réponse* there is an obvious effort to advertise the *Conduite.* If Courtilz was cashiered from the army, as some authorities state, a lingering bitterness against his country may have led to the composition of the *Conduite* and some of the other abusive pamphlets. But it is scarcely necessary to seek in such libels for stronger reasons than the desire to turn a penny by spreading scandal. The perpetration of such literature was a dangerous trade—the Archives of the Bastille offer proof—and nobody wished to be implicated in it. Hence the author of the *Réponse* is at no small pains to distinguish himself from the writer of the *Conduite.* After addressing to his antagonist every kind of insult, he makes a criticism which might be extended to all the works of Courtilz. The proverbial thief has caught the thief. "Je tâcherai de [le] réfuter—en faisant toucher au doigt et à l'œil combien il s'abuse dans ses raisonnements, que je dirais qu'il aurait puisés entièrement dans les Gazettes, n'était qu'il y ajoute beaucoup du sien, afin comme je crois, de déguiser le vol qu'il y a fait."

We may pass rapidly over these first pamphlets. The *Conduite* is a violent attack on the French king and his policies. The *Réponse* turns back on the author of the *Conduite* the abuse the latter had

hurled at Louis XIV, refutes a part of his statements, and contradicts the rest. It is a plea in behalf of the French king, using for his defense the very arguments with which he was assailed. France has always desired peace, and if the treaty of Nimègue has remained unfulfilled, the fault lies at the door of those "qui avaient si peu de penchant à la conclure, c.-à-d. l'Espagne et l'Empire."

If Courtilz is really the author of both pamphlets, he has succeeded so well in presenting the case for and against France that C. Rousset believed two authors concerned, one in the pay of Louvois, the other his implacable enemy. This is neither the first nor the last time that the writings of Courtilz have passed as having more historical value than they merit.

In the same year there appeared a little book entitled *Mémoires contenant divers événements remarquables*, etc. The ostensible purpose of the work is to eulogize the existing government of Colbert and Louvois by contrast with the disorder of the last years of Louis XIII and the Fronde. But the greater part of the volume is occupied with the Fronde, because Courtilz takes delight in these scenes of revolt from established authority. The apology of the book, which is destined to become a sort of refrain in Courtilz' prefaces, is of some interest: "Je rapporterai seulement quelques circonstances qui ont été omises, ou par dessein ou pour n'avoir pas été sues de ceux qui en ont écrit, ajoutant pour la satisfaction du lecteur que je ne dirai rien que je ne sache bien, et dont ceux qui étaient de ce temps-là dans les affaires les plus secrètes ne puissent rendre témoignage aussi bien que moi." Here, as always, Courtilz uses this pretext to give free rein to his instinct for scandalous gossip and to pose as a detective in unearthing unsavory secrets in the life of the great. Surely most of the actors in the Fronde were inspired by selfish motives, but Courtilz is in no way of diminishing their pettiness. He is forever in search of some scabrous anecdote, which, he would have us believe, contains the inside history of the cause of significant events.

These first pamphlets show the author joining the ranks of the anonymous scribblers who attacked the policy of the king. They are interesting chiefly as revealing the Frondeur spirit which permeates Courtilz' writings. There is also discernible in germ the

instinct of the political picaro, for this obscure soldier sets himself up as a judge of the action of the great king. We have now to consider another aspect of the same spirit, for Courtilz busied himself also in hawking society scandal. Decency forbids any detailed discussion of the libels attributed to him; they are of interest only as an indication of his taste for this sort of anecdote.

It is well known that the success of Bussy's *Histoire Amoureuse*[1] gave rise to a number of imitations entirely unworthy of the original. Courtilz, always well informed of the taste of the pamphlet-reading public, was naturally led to try his hand at this game also. His efforts bear the mark of hasty composition and lack entirely Bussy's brilliance of style. Addressed to a very different public, they offer only coarseness of anecdote, yet it must be admitted that the aristocratic or ancillary adventures attributed to king and courtiers are related with much vivacity by a master of the *esprit gaulois* in its ruder form. The same talent for rapid narration and burlesque scene figures conspicuously in the *Mémoires*. Such satire directed by a commoner against the high and mighty of the realm is the theme of the *Annales de la cour et de Paris* (1701). The latter work drew from Bayle the following significant comment:

> Toutes ces pièces [he has just named *Les Annales* and a number of other works attributed to Courtilz] sont de la façon de l'auteur des *Mémoires du Comte de Rochefort*—même genre, même style et même hardiesse de médire de tout le monde, et de s'y débiter pour un personnage qui a eu part aux intrigues, et qui sait *quid rex reginae dixerat, et quid Juno fabulata est cum Jove*. Cependant c'est un petit particulier sans bien, sans fortune, et qui apparemment n'écrit tout cela que pour le vendre aux libraires de Hollande. Il faut pourtant qu'il ait quelque habitude avec les fainéants de Paris qui lui apprennent tout ce qui s'y conte de vrai ou de faux entre les nouvellistes.

Doubtless morality in high places left much to be desired, but all these libels are characterized by a desire to blacken the court for the amusement of the vulgar herd. Their aim is to show in a grotesque manner that the great king, for all his glory and military prowess, is subject to the same low passions as the least of his pages and the humblest of comedians.

[1] Of course similar libels had been published before Bussy's work. For a characteristic example see Janmart de Brouillant, *Histoire de Pierre de Marteau* (Paris, 1888).

Les Nouveaux Intérêts des Princes de l'Europe, published in 1685, formulates a political doctrine which is found in all the writings of Courtilz. The journalistic nature of this book soon obliged the author to revise it; enlarged editions appeared in 1686 and 1688. The work claims our interest by its matter and by its method.

Lenglet Dufresnoy, who detested Courtilz as a fabricator of falsehood that passed for history, pronounces a criticism which is too severe to be just. He denounces our author as a bungling plagiarist of the Duc de Rohan, whose tiny book, *De l'Intérêt des Princes et Etats de la Chrétienté*, appeared in 1639. As in fact Courtilz' work is a perpetual application of Rohan's treatise to actual problems, a rapid survey of the latter may be in order. The first part is a summary discussion of the maxims which a state should follow; the second, a chronicle intended as an illustration. The maxims offer nothing particularly original. Almost all can be found in the political writings of Machiavelli. Rohan begins by naming two powers, France and Spain, which maintain the European equilibrium. The other nations should join now one now the other to prevent either from becoming too powerful. He then sets forth maxims for the use of the different countries in the aggrandizement of their dominion. The maxims for Spain are characteristic and may be briefly summarized:

First, the nations must rid themselves of the idea that religion is anything but a mantle in politics. For example, the king of Spain should profit by the religious wars in France, England, and the Empire. Secondly, each nation must maintain a system of secret negotiations (*intelligences*) in foreign lands—

ce qu'il faut faire par la voie des ambassadeurs, . . . par les moines et prédicateurs, . . . par l'argent. Surtout il faut s'attacher à gagner les principaux ministres—ou rendre odieux ceux qu'on trouvera trop fidèles, et en toute manière les perdre. Le troisième point touche les négotiations et traités, auxquels il faut employer des personnes secrètes et patientes, montrer toujours un désir de paix pour endormir les autres, et cependant se préparer à la guerre pour les surprendre au dépourvu. S'il arrive dispute entre deux petits princes, il faut s'entremettre de leur accommodement, ou comme juge ou comme arbitre, et en l'une et l'autre qualité avoir, s'il se peut, en dépôt ce qui est en débat entre eux, les aigrir—au lieu de les adoucir, s'accommoder avec l'un pour partager les dépouilles de l'autre et sur le

partage déposséder tous les deux. Ne perdre aucune occasion de s'entremettre des affaires de ses voisins, mais exclure les autres des siennes. Le quatrième point consiste à être toujours puissamment armé; c'est un moyen assuré pour tenir en devoir ses sujets, et en respect ses voisins: pour les surprendre s'ils s'endorment et pour se prévaloir des occasions inopinées. Le cinquième point est la réputation.

Rohan gives briefly general maxims: Courtilz, while keeping the maxims, develops and particularizes the thought; he studies it in its relation to contemporary events. Hence he is not always at one with his model. For instance, in speaking of the interests of the Holy See, Rohan states that the pope should rely on the power of excommunication to maintain his influence. This counsel, which is opposed to the spirit of the work toward religion, is repudiated by Courtilz, who treats the papacy as any other power and recommends the same policy to all. His style is incisive: "il ne faut plus que les papes prétendent élever leur pouvoir en se servant du prétexte de la religion, qui est une ruse maintenant trop connue pour avoir un bon effet. Les mesures qu'ils ont à prendre doivent être et plus ingénieuses et plus délicates."

Courtilz proposed Louis XIV as his model and held him up to other princes as an example. This is not a retraction of what he had written in his first pamphlets; means had become indifferent to him, and he judges the king of France the ideal monarch because he had best attained his aim—the aggrandizement of his personnel power. Hence the author has unstinted praise for what, two years before, had apparently so scandalized him. His admiration for the policy of the great king persists in the *Mémoires*, and although he attacks sharply ministers and nobles, he has nothing but praise for the royal ordinances.

Moreover, Courtilz is under no illusion as to the bearing of the *Nouveaux Intérêts;* like Machiavelli, he disavows all moral responsibility:

> Nous savons bien que quelque adresse qu'emploie un prince, cela ne l'autorise pas à faire une injustice, supposé que ce qu'il entreprit fût injuste; le fond d'une affaire ne change point, quoiqu'on y donne une autre face; mais ce n'est pas de cela que nous traitons ici; notre unique dessein est de faire voir comment il faut qu'un empereur s'y prenne pour prendre plus d'autorité qu'il n'en a dans l'empire. Si cela est juste ou non, si cela est

conforme ou contraire aux lois du pays; c'est ce que nous ne prétendons pas de décider: pourvu que nous donnions une idée qui réponde à notre sujet, nous ne nous mettons pas en peine du reste.

Many a Machiavellian trait could be cited;[1] the author supports his theories by examples from contemporary history, and doubtless would have answered critics in the words of the great Florentine, saying that he did but put at the service of princes what their politics had taught him. In a similar way he might have defended the exposition of social sores in his pamphlets and *Mémoires* by saying with the moralist that he returned to society only what he learned from it.

I have said that the *Nouveaux Intérêts* are, from a double point of view, characteristic of the spirit of the writings of Courtilz. First, they offer a precious index to the psychology of his heroes, for there is found constantly in his *Mémoires* indulgence for the theory which subordinates everything to the interest of state or king. Secondly, the book marks the author's inclination to criticize the actions of princes; he is in accord with the mot of Machiavelli which the picaros appropriated to their own use: "A conoscer bene quella [la natura] de' principi bisogna esser populare." We may notice also the tendency which persists in all Courtilz' works to busy himself with universal politics. Many pages of his *Mémoires* might find a fitting place in the *Nouveaux Intérêts*.

Moreover, the book permits us to understand the method of Courtilz by the contrast it offers with the work of Rohan. The latter prescribes general maxims, good for all epochs, in Machiavelli's manner. Courtilz' borrowings prove that the principles were not, as he pretends, superannuated. Rohan considers politics *sub specie aeternitatis*, while our author studies events from day to day, trying to seize the significance of each change and to make his conclusions conform to the actual phase. He had his eyes on the men and problems of the moment and sought to paint them to the life. He uses everywhere the same method. His *Mémoires* often begin in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, for he liked to portray the scenes of the ministry of Richelieu and of the Fronde, but

[1] It may be worth mention that a translation of the *Prince* by Amelot de la Houssaye appeared in 1683. A second edition appeared in 1684, and a third in 1686. The political writings of Machiavelli had been translated several times before.

the narrative closes near the time of its composition. "Il serait à désirer que ceux qui se mêlent d'écrire nous donnassent l'histoire de nos jours," he says in one of his prefaces. For his part he transformed this history into novels, but into novels which passed for history. To deceive his contemporaries thus he must perforce have an eye on actuality. There is the secret of his realism.

We have seen that the first works of Courtilz are frankly cynical and satiric. But if he poses as scandalized by the conduct of the great and the intrigues of the court, he had studied everything with a minute attention and took pleasure in painting in detail the intimate lives of the world's masters whose pretensions exposed them to his ridicule. The heroes of the *Mémoires* adopt the same methods he had used himself in his early works.

More interesting than any of these are the biographies of the Vicomte de Turenne and of the Amiral de Coligny; the one immediately preceded, the other followed, the author's first attempt at memoirs. Both contain prefaces which merit passing attention. As a foreword to the *Vie de Turenne* the "editor" states that he is publishing a manuscript found among the papers of the late Captain Du Buisson, who in turn claims to be the first biographer of Turenne. For fear of giving offense to living persons, he declares his intention "de retenir *son* œuvre au fond d'un coffre jusqu'à ce qu'on l'en retire après *sa* mort si on la juge digne d'être mise en lumière." Du Buisson nowhere declares himself in the intimacy of Turenne and does not pretend to special sources of information. He nowhere names himself in his book, which is written in the third person. As proof of his competency in military affairs he states that he has been a soldier all his life. Courtilz' object seems to have been to secure for his work the interest of a first biography.

In the *Vie de Coligny* (1686) is found for the first time an artifice which becomes familiar in his subsequent works. The author declares himself sprung from a house allied to that of Coligny and claims to possess documents hitherto unused. The advantage gained by such a pretension is evident. The reading public, at a time when critical methods were in their infancy, would be slow to contradict a man so well equipped. Having once invented this artifice, Courtilz had no intention of abandoning it. So hereafter

when we read of the secret policies and actions of ministers in memoirs of which the supposed authors claim to relate only what has passed before their eyes, we are to remember that the heroes have served the government for years in secret missions.

The biographies read like novels and they have many traits in common with the *Mémoires* which followed. To mention but one: a duel (the best known being that of D'Artagnan) figures conspicuously at the beginning of the career of almost all Courtilz' heroes. The same device appears in both biographies; Turenne's nascent belligerency is, to be sure, quashed by his mother, but the youthful Coligny kills his adversary.

As an old soldier Courtilz could appreciate military qualities, and he took pleasure in portraying Coligny and Turenne as perfect captains and as gentlemen without reproach. There is an instinct for hero-worship even in the picaros. So, although here as everywhere, he cannot resist the temptation to write the entire history of the epoch, he reveals the intimate character of these men by constant anecdote, at the same time showing their rôle in great political events. He insists on the good discipline they maintained by their personal interest in the troops, on the simplicity of their manners, on their loyalty to their superiors and their kindliness toward their dependents. He is never tired of contrasting their blunt honesty and sincerity with the duplicity of politicians. It may be noted that the queen regent as portrayed in the *Vie de Coligny* offers a striking parallel with the Mazarin of the *Mémoires*.

Here, as always, Courtilz bases his claim to the reader's interest on the unpublished details he offers. A single one, admired by Bayle, may be cited for the light it throws on the necessity of caution in the reception of such anecdotes in his work. By way of illustrating the temperance of Turenne, the author relates his generous protection of a girl to whom a soldier was about to offer violence after the capture of a city. A similar incident is found in the revised edition of the biography where a fair captive is brought to Turenne as his share of the booty. A like story is told of Coligny. When we realize that the Sieur de Pontis tells in his *Mémoires*, which Courtilz certainly knew, how he had saved the honor of a girl at the capture of Negrepelice, that Pontis may well have appropriated the anecdote

from the *Gestes ensemble la Vie du Preulx Chevalier Bayard,* our skepticism grows apace and we wonder whether Alexander's courtesy to Timoclea is not father to all the rest.

Indeed, there are many incidents which recall Plutarch, and Courtilz is constantly comparing Coligny and Turenne to Alexander. At all events, we must admit that Courtilz appropriated something of Plutarch's idea of biography. At the beginning of the life of Nicias, Plutarch says: "Au demeurant je me suis étudié de recueillir des choses qui ne sont pas communes à tout le monde, que d'autres ont par-ci par-là écrites ou que j'ai retirées de quelques antiquailles ou de quelques anciens registres, dont j'ai tissue une narration qui ne sera point, ce me semble, inutile, ains servira beaucoup à connaître les mœurs et la nature du personnage." Courtilz also liked to cite personal traits and apothegms of his heroes. Thus we learn of Turenne's hatred of tobacco and intoxication, and of the means he took to cure his officers of the second vice. Again, we hear Coligny expressing the stoic indifference of the warrior toward death or his scorn for soldiers who trick themselves out like court ladies. The words are always accompanied by an anecdote showing the hero in action, for it is thus that Courtilz paints men.

The picaresque as well as the heroic genre has its roots in this method of drawing character. Anecdotes and jests may well become, in the hands of the picaros, a sharp weapon of satire. It is only necessary to choose other incidents or tell them with a different twist to bring out the ridiculous side and mark the points of contact common to great and humble. Courtilz had done this in the satiric pamphlets; he was to do it again in the *Mémoires.*

What has been said of these first writings of Courtilz may suffice to indicate the main lines of the work. I have tried to trace its evolution and indicate its origins: these owed little or nothing to foreign sources. He drew his matter from reality: from the manners of men who lived around him, from recent or contemporary history, even from newspapers, as a realist of our day. He himself avows it. An old soldier, always endowed with a keen faculty of observation, he had garnered a rich harvest of military anecdotes. His childhood was passed under the Fronde, a time when traditional dignity was greatly weakened, and the spirit of those tumultuous years was

imprinted in him. Hence he loves to return to those scenes and show princes and nobles in revolt against their sovereign. On the one occasion when he treated an epoch far removed from his own, he chose a rebel for the subject of his eulogy. We have seen that his political philosophy is most cynical; his conception of life was the same. There are no good women in his pages, and his men are first cousins to the picaros. We could not expect pastoral or idyllic novels from such a man; he will be necessarily a realist and his realism will bear on the lower aspects of human nature. He sees only a struggle of all against all; each for himself is the universal motto. *Garde-toi d'être dupe* and *rie qui pourra* will be his philosophy of life.

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LOCUS IN GALLO-ROMAN

In the west, Latin *cocta* became **kòχta*<**kòξta*,[1] and likewise *coxa* developed through **kòχsa* to **kòξsa*.[2] French has *p* in *cep*< *cippu*, beside *f*<*v*<*b*<*p* in *chef*, with a loss of final *o* later than the change of *p* to *v* between vowels.[3] It is therefore probable that *locus* and *locōs* developed through **lògos* to *lòks* in Provençal, which shared with French the general voicing of intervocalic occlusives. The form *lòks* was contemporary with **kòχsa* in southern France. After *coxa* had changed to **kòχsa*, no simple Provençal word contained the sound-group *ks*, aside from *lòks* and other such forms with inflectional *s*. The new *ks* of *lòks* was partially protected by the *k* of *lòk*, but nevertheless it was widely changed to *χs*. This repetition of the development *χs*<*ks*, apparently several centuries later than the formation of medial *χs*, has parallels in French *frêne*< *fraisne* beside Latin *pōno*<**posno*, and Spanish *estao*<*estado* beside older *veis*<*veedes*<*uidētis*.

In the Hispanic languages, open vowels were commonly changed to closer sounds by contact with following palatals, and also under the influence of vowel-harmony.[4] These two general principles governed the alteration of *è* and *ò* in Provençal likewise, but here the closure was fractural, not total as in Hispanic. Thus *ie* was developed in the derivatives of *lectu*> **lèχto*> **lèξt*, *melius*> **mèλλos*, *peiior* (usually spelled *peior* and often wrongly supposed to have long *e*),[5] because of palatal-contact; and in the derivatives of *herī*, *meu*, *seruio*, because of harmonic change, after stressless *i* and *u* had become close in contact with other vowels. A diphthong written *uo* or *ue* was developed in the derivatives of *cocta*>**kòξta*, **posseo*>**pòššo* (afterward replaced by *poss' ego*>**pòsko*, with *uo*

[1] *Modern Language Review*, VIII, 492.

[2] I use the following special symbols: χ=German *ch* in *acht*; γ=Dutch *g* in *dagen*; ξ=German *ch* in *echt*; λ=Portuguese *lh*; *ü* and *ö* as in German. A grave accent marks stressed vowels that are open, an acute those that are close.

[3] Final *b* would have become *p*, in accord with *vent*<*uēndo*.

[4] *Modern Philology*, XI, 347.

[5] Stolz-Schmalz, *Lat. Grammatik*, München, 1910, p. 50.

borrowed from **puois*), **vòλλo*, because of palatal-contact; and in the derivatives of **bòvi* (nom. pl.), *moueo* < **mòvio*, **òffrio*, because of harmonic change.

If evidence of early vowel-breaking is shown in the modern border-form *niau* for ordinary Provençal *nòu* < *noue*, we can admit the influence of French (**nüov* > **niòu* > *niau*), as in Mistral's *chin* for *can;* or perhaps *noue* sometimes became **nòvi* instead of **nòv* before a vowel, and thus acquired a diphthong by harmonic change. The reduction of *noue* and **nòvo* to *nòu* was too late to produce a development like that of *meu* > *mieu*. Beside pre-literary Provençal **nòvi* < *nouī*, there were forms with endings that would not produce harmonic change: *nòva*, *nòvas*, **nòvo*, **nòvos*. The majority favored the simple vowel, and this is why we generally find *nòu* (or *nau* < *nòu*) as the modern form of the adjective. The variant *niau* (< *nüou*) seems to imply analogic alteration of **nòvo* or *nòu*, due to **nuovi* (< **nòvi*) or its derivative. In the same way *suegre*, an early variant of *sogre* < *soc(e)ru*, can be explained as corresponding to Latin *soc(e)rī* or *socrūs*. There is no good ground for thinking that any occlusive caused *ò* to become a diphthong in early Provençal. Even the palatal affricate that was developed from *k*, in a form between **kòket* and *cotz*, did not have the fractural power shown by λ in **fòλλa* < *fuolha*.

Provençal **lòχs* developed through **lòξs* to **luois*, in accordance with the derivatives of **kòχta* and **kòχsa*. The *uo* of **luois* was often extended by analogy to the derivative of *locu*, so that we find forms written *luoc* and *luec* beside normal *loc* in early Provençal. And conversely the *i* of **luois* was replaced by analogic *k*. These stem-changes have numerous parallels in Romanic speech-history. Mistral's dialect uses as a singular the historic plural *biòu* < *büòu* < **buovi* < **bòvi*, beside *nòu* < *noue*, *nòu* < **nòvo*, whereas Catalan *bòu* < *boue* corresponds to *nòu* < *noue*, *nòu* < **nòvo*. A more remarkable change is seen in Genoese *fonzo*, with the sound *z* that belongs to its plural *fonzi* < *fungī*. If Tuscan *fungo* is not bookish, beside *tronco* < *truncu*, its *u* was borrowed from the derivative of *fungī*, which would have developed *ú* from *ù* because of early palatal-contact. So too Portuguese *fungo* may owe its *u* to a lost derivative of *fungī*. Spanish has *nudo*, against Portuguese *noo* < *nōdu*, with analogic *u*

taken from the derivative of *nōdī*. A complex development is found in Spanish *vusco* beside *vosco:* the latter represents *uōs* with the suffix of *uōbīscu*, while the former apparently contains **vus*< **vuves*<*uōbīs*, combined with the same suffix.

Spoken Walloon has *nu*<*nūdu* and *nūf*<*noue*: *úo* contracted to *ū*, just as *íe* did to *ī* in *kwīr*<**kwíer*<*quaero*.[1] Where Latin *ū* became *ü*, the treatment of *uo* depended on the relative dates of *ú*>*ü* and *ò*>*uo*. In southern France, outside of the Gascon region, the formation of *uo* was generally so early that it became *üo* or *üe*, corresponding to *ü*<*ú*. As *úo* was dissimilated to *úe* in Castilian, we might assume *úo*>*úe*>*üe* for some of the Provençal dialects; modern *üè* is found in southern Provence. But Provençal speech has the sound *e* in *autre*<*alteru*, *katre*<**kwattro*, *mèrle*<*merulu*, so that *üo*>*üe* could have been a normal development when the stress was on *ü*. Mistral's *iö* is presumably derived from an older *üe* through *üö:* the sound *e* is kept in *pièi* (<*püeis*) because of the following *i*.[2]

In southern Languedoc, *üo* has become *iò*, parallel with *süau*> *siau*. Thus the derivatives of *folia*, *hodie*, *locu*, *longe*, *nocte*, and *oculu* are written *fiolha*, *ioi*, *lioc*, *lion*, *nioch*, *iol*, in Langlade's *Poésies languedociennes* (Montpellier, 1906). For this region analogic *lioga*, beside normal *loga*<*loca*, needs no special explanation. Where *üo* regularly made *üö* or *üe*, the form *lòk* caused *lüok* and *lüoga* to regain their *o*-sound. Thus Mistral's dialect has *ò* in *liò* and *liogo*, beside *ö* in the derivative of *folia* (borrowed from French?) and *iö* generally elsewhere.

In Switzerland and the neighboring portions of France, where consonants are treated mainly as in the north, some of the modern dialects have *fwa* meaning 'fire,' and this form occurs in the same dialect as *lwa* 'place,' *kwé*<*coriu*, *kwèt*<*coctu*.[3] Free *ò*, for example that of *boue*, has not usually produced a diphthong in the *fwa*-region, so we may assume *lwa*<**lòis*<*lòχs*<**lòγos*<**lògos*. The difference between *lwa* and *kwé* implies **lwé* beside **kwér:* an early final *wé* became *wa*.

[1] In ordinary spelling these words are *nou*, *noûf*, *qwîr*.

[2] Mistral writes *ue* for his *ö* and also for the *üè* of southern Provence; and *quatre* for *katre* beside *caire* for *kaire*<*quadru*.

[3] *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, I, 178–79.

In northern France we find *grieu*<**griewo*<**grieγo*<*graecu* beside *rover*<**rowar*<**roγar*<*rogāre:* final *o* was lost before *w* changed to *v*. *Verai* seems to be a derivative of *uēr' aio;*[1] *ami* could have come from **amiü*<**amiu*<**amiwo,* with assimilation as in *aïe*<*adiūtat, fiz*<**fiuts*<**filts.* We may therefore assume that *locu*(*s*) made French **luou*(*s*), parallel with *graecu*>*grieu* and *cor*>**kuor.* The derivative of free *ò* is commonly spelled *oe* or *ue* in early French. Where *oe* is written, we can assume that the scribe's pronunciation was *ue* or *uö,* probably with the stress on the second vowel. But the *i* of *lieu* indicates *üe* or *üö* as the diphthongal derivative of *ò*. Gascon has *oelh* (*wélλ*) corresponding to the Languedoc form *iol*<*uolh* (*üoλ*), and similar variations existed in the north. The French sound *ü* is kept in *cuit*<**küeit*<*coctu:* from *lit*<**lieit*<**lieξt*<**lèξt*<*lectu* we know that free *è* gave the same result as *è* before a palatal in French, and it seems clear that this principle applies to the derivatives of *ò* also.

In § 75 of his French grammar (Heidelberg, 1908), Meyer-Lübke says that *ueu* became *eu* after a labial or velar sound, and was changed to *ieu* by dissimilation otherwise. This theory of *lieu* is hardly reasonable. In Portuguese *luta*<*luita*<*lucta* and Rumanian *închide*=Italian *inchiude,* we find assimilative interchanges of *i* and *u*. But are there any examples of dissimilative *i*<*u* or *u*<*i* in Romanic speech-history? We have no right to assume dissimilation in Portuguese *coisa* for *cousa*<*causa:* here the development of *oi* was analogic, arising from a normal interchange in assimilative formations like *couro*<*coiro*<*coriu, noute*<*noite*<*nocte.*

The sounds *i* and *u* are as widely separated as either is from *a*. A change of *e* to *a* or *i* is natural enough; but can we admit the possibility of **irare*<*arāre, *vida*<*uīdī,* as dissimilative developments? This possibility is implied by Meyer-Lübke's theory of *lieu*. Meyer-Lübke seems to confuse *ueu* with *üeu:* he says that the theory of *ieu*<*ueu* was originated by Foerster (*Aiol,* p. lii). If we look into the matter, we find that Foerster assumes *üè*<*ò* and *ièu*<*üèu;* also that Meyer-Lübke (§ 55) is acquainted with the *üè* assumed elsewhere by Foerster. It may be well to add that the words *cointe* and *loin* cannot properly be brought into the discussion.

[1] *Romania,* XXXV, 121.

The French derivatives of *cognitu* and *longe* acquired close *o*, by reason of nasal-influence, before the *ò* of **fòλλa* changed to *uo*.

We may assume that *ò* made *uo*>*ue*>*üe* or *ò*>*uo*>*üo*>*üe* in French; a weakening of stress reduced *ue* or *üe* to *e* in *avec*. Perhaps there was a diphthong *üö* earlier than *üe*, but this would not have affected the later distinction between *ö*<*üö*<*üe* and *iö*<*ieu*<*üeu*. Early French had *i* for *iei* and *üi* for *üei*. In the same way the middle sound of *üeu* tended to disappear. The first change was *üeu*>*üöu*, with labial assimilation. The next step would have normally been *üöu*>*üu*, parallel with *üei*>*üi*. It is probable that **lüu* (written *liu?*) was developed, and changed to *lü* in accord with *üi*>*ü* in the derivative of *lucta*. But there was also a widespread reaction against use of *üöu*.

The development of *üöu* was earlier than the change of *üe* to *üö* otherwise, so that **kuor*>*küer* and **luou*>**lüeu*>**lüöu* came to have different stressed vowels, the stress having been displaced as in Provençal *úo*>*üè* and Spanish *úo*>*ué*. Children who said **lüöu* were corrected by their elders, and stressed *e* was restored. But *e* could not be maintained between labial vowels. As grown persons insisted on the sound *e*, children kept it by saying *lieu*. Here the *e* was between unlike vowels, and was safe for a while. The stressed vowels of *küer* and *lieu* remained the same; so did those of later *küör* and *liöü*. The form written *liu* may have been *liü*<*liöü*, or *liú*<**lüú*.

If *aluec* was not borrowed from the Provençal derivative of *ad* (*illu*)*locu*, it may have come from *ad ill' hoc*. The variant *luec* is based on *aluec;* and we can explain *iluec* in the same way, or refer it to *ex ill' hoc*, with the accusative *hŏc* (<*hocc*) instead of the ablative *hōc*.

French *ueil* (*üeλ*) and *ieus* differ in the same way as *cuer* and *lieu*. The cause of the difference was evidently the sound *u*. We have no right to assume a formation of *ieus* from *els*, as Matzke does in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XX, 10. Such a development, aside from the difficulty about the date of *ie*<*e*, would hardly be possible without a general change of *ö* to *e*. As French keeps the sound *ö* in *œil*, *cœur*, and countless other words, it is unreasonable to assume that *oculōs* became *els*, except in dialects (if there were any such) that regularly changed *ö* to *e*. It is plain that the

written *e* of *els* might be an approximate spelling of the sound *ö*, comparable to mediaeval German *ou* and *eu* for the diphthong *öü* (which has become *ai* or *oi* in modern speech, though still written *eu*). If a scribe was accustomed to writing *ue* for *üö*, and *eu* for *öu* or *öü*, in a dialect that had no *ö* outside of these diphthongs, he would naturally write *e* where he heard the simple *ö* of another dialect.

French *üeλ* developed to *öλ*, parallel with *küer>kör; üels* made **üeus>ieus>iös*, in accord with *lieu>liö*.

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[As in all his work in historical linguistics, Mr. Tuttle approaches the vexed *locus* question by way of a closer analysis of the physiological factors at work. In his hands this method, which seeks a more penetrating observation of the phonetic changes involved, has produced results often extremely suggestive, notably in the field of Vulgar Latin. It may be seriously questioned, however, whether in the foregoing article he has not made too little use of historical data, and also whether he has not paid too little attention to differences of dialect.

One might also reproach Mr. Tuttle for not giving due weight and attention to those who have preceded him in his arduous quest: one would hardly gather from the preceding exposition that previous attempts to "settle the *locus* business" have been many and persistent. Ascoli, Foerster, Schwan, Gröber, Meyer-Lübke, Neumann, C. Joret, G. Paris, Suchier, Matzke, Mussafia, Voretzsch, Geijer, P. Marchot, A. Thomas, and others, have all dealt with the matter in more or less detail. The list is rather formidable.[1] "Cette question est une des plus ardues de la phonétique française," wrote G. Paris, and, unless all experience is at fault, it will be ultimately solved, as other vexed problems have been solved, by the patient collaboration of many minds, each contributing new facts, or new combinations of facts, until finally a solution is reached which is so simple and convincing that it commends itself to all. In offering the following supplement to Mr. Tuttle's article I shall be presenting, in the main, what seem to me results already achieved, as to the north French forms, in the many discussions preceding Mr. Tuttle's. I shall also seize the opportunity to

[1] For a summary of the discussion up to 1897, see Lindström, *L'Analogie dans la Déclinaison des Substantifs latins de la Gaule*, pp. 167–76, where, however, Matzke's suggestive article, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, VII, 65–69, is overlooked. Since 1897 the most important contributions which have come to my attention are: Meyer-Lübke, *Zeit. f. Frz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXII[1] (1908), 295; Gröber, in the *Studi letterari* dedicated to Pio Rajna (1911), p. 407; A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXIX, 585, n.

incorporate suggestions of my own, some of which I made as long ago as 1894, in a paper read before the Modern Language Association (see the *Whitney Memorial Volume*, p. 117), but never published.

The north French problem is triple: How is the apparently irregular retention of the post-tonic (*u*) in *lieu, feu, queu* to be explained? What is the relation of these forms to the adverbs *iluec, lués*, and to the forms *luec, fuec, cuec*, which occur, particularly in the S. W. dialects? How is the (*i*) of *lieu* (cf. *feu, jeu, queu*) to be accounted for?

Those who attack the problem of the *-ŏcus* group are led, if not compelled, to deal more or less with five other related groups: (*a*) OF *pou-peu, poi* paucum; *bou* 'arm-ring' G. balg, baug-; *trou* *traugus; (*b*) *fou, fay* fagus; *esclou* G. slag-; *sarcou, sarqueu* *sarquagus for sarcophagus;[1] (*c*) *clou* clavus; *Angieus* Andegavis; *Peitieus* Pictavis; (*d*) OF *lou, leu* lŭpus; (*e*) OF *jou*, western *ju* jŭgum, and probably OF *cous*, western *cus* *cŭgus for cŭcus 'cuckoo.'[2] But these groups I must leave aside for the present with the remark that I hope some light will be thrown upon them by the treatment of the *-ocus* group below. Their explanation is certainly to be sought in that ever-enlarging chapter which deals with the disturbing influences of the *-s* of flexion, and in an as yet incomplete chapter of OF grammar which will deal with the solution into (*u*) of labial or labialized consonants.

As to the lŏcus group, having in mind the close companionship of VL (ę) and (ǫ), we shall be on sure ground if we study the -ŏcus words side by side with caecus OF *cieus*, and with VL sĕquis, sĕquit OF *sieus, sieut*. To do this was one of Suchier's notable contributions: he was also right in insisting upon the early appearance of (*ieu*) in *lieu*. His inclusion of *lieu* and *gieu* under the rubric (*ieu*) instead of under (*ueu*) was natural and proper for an OF grammar which covers a period beginning with the year 1100.

When, therefore, we confront It. *luogo, cuore*, OSp. *luego, cuer*, with OF *cuer*, there really is no good reason to doubt the regular lengthening, in North France,[3] of either (ǫ) in lŏcus or of (ę) in caecus, late VL *lǭgus*,

[1] In view of the V(ulgar) L(atin) aversion to intervocalic (*f*), *sarquagus and not *sarcŏfus (Meyer-Lübke, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, 538) seems to me the correct starting-point for Fr. *cercueil*. For the unification of the group *co-a* to *qua, ca* one might compare Prov. *encar* inchoare (Herzog, *Zeit. f. Frz. Spr.*, XXXIV[1], 305); also Fr. *caillier*, It. *quagliare* from VL quagulare for coagulare (*ibid.*, XLI[2], 143). There is no need for so desperate a suggestion as Constans' *sarcŏlium (*Roman de Troie*, VI, 122).

[2] The OF forms of this word which show a (*p*), such as *coup* (oblique case) and the derived *coupaud*, are, I believe, to be explained by an association with a fem. *coupe* cŭlpa = cunnus; see E. W. Fay, *Classical Quarterly*, I, 13–15; also *Mod. Phil.*, X, 441.

[3] Provençal, because it was different speech-unity, is an entirely different matter, and there may be some question as to the S. W. dialects (Poitou). Mr. Tuttle, I fear, will cause confusion by associating this lengthening with that in dŏctus, lĕctus: it is not clear to the reader that the two phenomena belong to different dates. See G. Paris' review of Voretzsch, *Romania*, XXIX, 585. Besides, it is anything but certain that Fr. *lit* went through the stage **lieit*.

kęgus, coinciding in all respects with the acc. pl. *lǫgos*, *kęgos*.[1] With these may be associated ps. 2 and ps. 3 of sĕquĕre, later *sęguis*, *sęguit*. If now the groups *-gus*, *-gut* are resolved to *-us*, *-ut*, we shall have, strictly speaking, no infraction of the law of the finals—a matter of some importance from the point of view of theory. This is essentially the solution offered by G. Paris,[2] and it is unnecessary to use space to justify the passage of (*gu*) or even of (*g*) to (*u*); instances of this change are familiar enough.[3] What has not hitherto been put to the test of discussion is the idea that for the groups under consideration the resolution of (*gu*) to (*u*) is conditioned upon a following dental (*s*) (*t*) (*l*),[4] and hence took place only in the two inflected cases of the nouns and in the second and third sg. Ps. of sĕquĕre. One might select as typical the participial substantive *sĕquĭta OF *sieute*,[5] which does not share the development as to *-kt-* of exlĕcta OF *eslite* on the one hand, nor as to *-t-* that of laeta VL lęta OF *liee* on the other; that is, in sĕquis later *sęguis* there was both lengthening of the tonic vowel and resolution of (*gu*) to (*u*); similarly in *kęgus* and *lǫgus*.

From ancient *lǫgus* we should expect to pass first to **luǫus* and then to **lueus*, but the latter form, as Suchier rightly insisted (notwithstanding the authority of G. Paris, who printed a supposedly archaic *lueu* in his last revision of the *St. Alexis*), is nowhere attested: the oldest central Fr. examples show *lieus*.[6] How explain this? If we pronounce *lueus*, with

[1] There is plenty of evidence of the voicing of *-c-* to *-g-*; cf. e.g., *Drogus* for *Drŏcus* of the year 697 (*Romania*, XXXI, 235); also the inverse *prolocus* for *prologus* in a continuator of Fredegarius (*Roman. Forsch.*, X, 864).

[2] *Romania*, XIV, 158: "chute ou vocalisation très ancienne de la consonne précédant l'*u*, ce qui produit une diphtongue composée de la tonique et de l'*u*." Paris thus remained uncertain as to whether or not *-g-* "fell," and, like Schwan-Behrens and most others, he did not confine this "chute ou vocalisation" to the inflected forms. The latter idea seems at one time to have occurred to Meyer-Lübke, for he asked (*Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XI, 541): "Sind *feu* u. s. w. die alten Nominativformen?" To justify the answer "yes" to this question was the purpose of my Philadelphia paper, 1894. Provençal, to judge from *sec*, *siec*, sĕquit, knows nothing of this "vocalisation."

[3] A somewhat miscellaneous collection of material was made by Ulbrich, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, II, 536. The matter is treated with more acumen by Meyer-Lübke, *ibid.*, XI, 541.

[4] Possibly also (*r*); *sieure* sĕquĕre, *QLR*, 387, would then be "regular." The small group *ewe* aqua, *iwe* ĕqua, *siue* sĕquam, where the sonorous *-a* seems to take the place of the dental, deserves a separate study; for this the materials are ready at hand in the two dissertations, Brand, 1887; *Studien zur Geschichte von inlautendem qu in Nordfrankreich*, and Frademann, 1904; *Die Entwickelung der latein. Lautverbindung qu im Französischen.* The latter is especially useful. For aqua see Fr. Hürlimann's *Die Entwickelung von lat. aqua in den romanischen Sprachen*, 1903.

[5] This is Paris' etymon (*Romania*, XXII, 617; adopted also by Nyrop) and it seems to me irreproachable. Sheldon, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, I, 121, derived OF *site* from sĕcta (whence *suite*, on the analogy of *suivre*); but OF *site* now appears as merely the reduced form of *siute*, this in turn a variant of *sieute*. Eng. *suit* is, of course, OF *siute*, the western form, with the later spelling as in *suivre;* cf. the Anglo-Norman *luis* for *lius*, mentioned below.

[6] Suchier, § 32, c; the *QLR* have *lieu* (29 times) and *liu* (18 times). The *loeus*, quoted by Matzke from Goerlich's *Northwestern Dialects*, p. 48, is of the late thirteenth century and therefore negligible; it seems to be a fusion of *lous* and *leus*, as divergent spellings or forms.

the peculiar sequence dental-velar-palatal-velar-dental, we perceive, with Mr. Tuttle, that it is a distinctly uncomfortable group; central Fr. substituted for it, if I am correct, the easier OF sequence (*ieu-s*) which was just then developing in the large list of words of the type *tu sieus* sĕquis, *cieus* caecus, *estrieus, fieus,* *fĕodu-, *sieute, trieue, tieule,* also in *Grieus* Graecus, *Juieus, Mathieus, Andrieus,* and others as listed by Suchier, § 32*a*. To avoid **lueus, *luous* seems to have passed directly to *lieus*. This, in my view, was no phonetic shift of (*u*) to (*i*), to which Mr. Tuttle so vigorously objects, nor an ordinary dissimilation as Meyer-Lübke explains it, nor yet an evidence of (*ü*) in the diphthong (*ue*): it was an out-and-out substitution by analogy to the large *cieus*-group. It has several parallels. In central French we have the later substitution of *tieus* for older *teus* talis, *pieus* for *peus* palus, *Dieus* for *Deus* (see Suchier, *Voyelles toniques,* § 61). Note that this is a Francian, almost a Parisian, phenomenon. The Picard dialect gives an inordinate extension to this (*ieu*), for we find it in *fieus* filius, in *ententieus,* and even in the participles like *eslieus* (for *esleüs*). There is a third and even closer parallel, as has often been pointed out, in the much later series *suelt* sŏlet *sueut,* Pic. *sieut,* Champ. *siaut,* and cf. the oft-debated *ueuz,* later *ieus,* now *yeux*.

We had, therefore, very early *lieus* and *gieus*. How stood it with *fǭgus,* and *cǭgus* from cŏquus?

The occasional fall of (*u*) after labial consonant is now pretty well assured for OF. Suchier explained *moi* mŏdium of the Cassel Glosses as for regular **muoi,* normally later **muei, mui,* now *muid*. OF *mǫle* mŏla (in rhyme in Garnier) would represent the ancient *muǫle,* normally *muele* as in *Domesday Book*. In my opinion, *foire* fŏria[1] also dates from the period of **fuǫria,* just as *feire* is a similar reduction of **fueire* (*Mod. Phil.,* X, 448). So *ferre* G. fôdr in Wace and Villon is to be similarly explained (Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Frz. Gram.*[3], § 98). At the stage *fuǫus* a reduction (not necessarily universal) to *fǫus* was certainly to be expected, and this I (and others) believe leads us to *fou* of the Pic.-Wall. *Ste.-Eulalie* (a new obl. from the nom.) and to *fous* of *Roland,* 3912, 3917. In *cǭgus, cuous* then *cueus,* the loss of (*u*) after (*k*) is also currently assumed, by Suchier and Meyer-Lübke among others; and it is easy to understand. The doublet OF *cointe* and *cueinte* cŏgnitu Eng. *quaint* gives us a trustworthy parallel. Hence the *cous* of the *Roland,* 1817, and if elsewhere, as in the oldest Lapidary and in the *Roman de Thèbes,* we find *lous* and *jous,* these will be due to the analogy of *fous, cous*. It is in fact quite possible that all, or nearly all, of the bewildering variety of forms found in the territory of the ancient Lugdunensis will derive in the first instance from one or the other of these two prototypes: *lieus, gieus* on the one hand or *fous, cous* on the other.

[1] The assumption of (ō) in fŏria by A. Thomas (*Romania,* XXXI, 490) seems to me rather arbitrary; cf. the ancient doublet *fors* and *fuer*. As to *fors*<fŏris, the received theory of atonic development is not in the least inconsistent with the theory here advanced: *fuǫrs*>*fǫrs,* the extrusion of (*u*) being favored by atonic position.

Wace's *lẹ̄us* (: *Deus*), for example, is a by-form of *lieus*, showing a reduction parallel to Garnier's *fẹ̄re* for *fiere* fĕra. Marie de France, on the other hand, aside from the *focus, cocus* pair, which do not occur in rhyme, has (*iu*) consistently: *lius* (assured already in the *St. Brandan* by the rhyme *lius*:*pius* pius), *cius, Juius* (cf. *Espurg.*, 133, 1915), and from these western forms we have in Eng., as we should expect, *curlew, curfew*, the proper names *Kew* (coquus), *Jew, Andrew, Grew* (Graecus? or crŏcus, Prov. *gruec?*) *Drew* Drŏcus, *Hebrew*, and others. By extrusion of (*u*) between high-front vowel and dental (*s*) we may pass from *lius* to *lis*, cf. *milli* and *gi* instanced by Eggert from the Norman patois (*Zf RP*, XIII, 373), also forms like *corlis* (NED), *site* for *siute*, which show the same change as *aït* from *aiut* (Paris, *Mélanges linguistiques*, p. 570).

Another secondary formation, from *lius* apparently, is that in *lüs, jüs, füs* (Gautier d'Arras, *Brut* of Munich, *Adam*, etc.) in which (*iu*) passes to (*ü*), probably by fusion. As to A-N *luis*, which Menger (§ 26) rightly refused to regard as merely an inverse spelling, it is rather from *lius*, as *suit* from *siut, suis* (whence the obl. *suif*) from *sius*, by metathesis of the elements of this very unstable diphthong.

Similarly, reduction of the forms *fous, lous* may be expected to furnish at times a nom. *fos, los*, obl. *fo, lo* as we do in fact find assured by rhyme in the fableau *Des Tresces* (Bartsch-Horning, 622, 33; cf. 621, 22; 303, 30).

Crestien de Troyes, while he has *po* paucu (from obl. pl. *pǫs* for *pǫus?*) shows the series *feu, leu, jeu:* do these derive from the type *fous*, or from the type *lieus?*

As to Crestien's forms I do not profess to be at all clear, but the following considerations may be offered. As lupus *lous* does not pass in Crestien to *leus* (cf. *los*:*nos* Erec, 4412, *los*:*ros* Yvain, 301) as it does elsewhere (note the interesting reduction nom. pl. *li lé, Auc. et Nic.*, 17, 8) and as *pous* does not pass to *peus;* as the (*ieu*) series appear in Crestien as (*eu*): *Greus* and *seut* sequit (Foerster's *siut* is questionable), there would seem to be more justification in connecting the Champagne *leus* with the older *lieus*, the triphthong (*ieu*) being apparently foreign to this region; so also *seut* in the contemporary eastern *Dial. An. et Rat.*, and in the *Sermons* of St. Bernard, *Eructavit*, 1016 (Frademann, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48). At the same time it may be observed that the reduction to *po* may be later than a possible passage of *fǫus* to *feus;* the former may be contemporary with the twelfth-century *cǫls* cŏllu-s *cous* then *cos, vǫls* *vŏlsi *vous* then *vos*. Moreover, Crestien does not show an unbroken series in (*eu*): he has *estriers* for *estrieus*, so that the situation is mixed.

Still another OF derivative of lŏcus awaits mention. Benoît, aside from *lieus* and *gieus* (assured by the rhyme :*cieus* caelos), which are central French, has the puzzling rhyme *fués* fŏcus : *bués* bŏves *Roman de Troie*, I, 95, noted by Suchier, p. 99. The rare if not unique *fueu* of Sanson de Nanteuil indicates that the loss of (*u*) after (*f*) was not necessarily

universal: Benoît's *fués* seems to be from *fueus* by extrusion of the second (*u*) after high-front (*ę*) before (*s*). This constant recourse to "extrusion" of (*u*) I should perhaps be at some pains to justify; but it is ancient and well authenticated in Latin and Romance. Very old is *Ulixes* from dialectal Ὀλυσσεύς (Lindsay, *Lat. Spr.*, p. 326); to explain *Pharisee* in Eng. we must start from *Pharisés* for *Phariseos* (Sweet, *Collected Papers*, p. 189); Benoît hesitates between *Idomenés* and *Idomeneus*, *Partonopés* and *Partonopeus*, just as Crestien does between *Grés* and *Greus*, *Kés* (the seneschal) and *Keus*.[1] The phenomenon deserves a separate study; it occurs, as Suchier remarked, here and there in almost all the domain of the langue d'oïl (*Auc. et Nic.*[5], § 17). Confronted then with the unmanageable *lueus* (see above), there were two ways out: one might pass to *lieus* on the one hand, or to *lués* on the other. Just how genuine and how widespread this latter form is, remains to be determined. In any case one is tempted to derive from it as a nominative the obl. *luec*, on the analogy of the pairs *ses* siccus, obl. *sec*, *sas-sac*, *cos-coc*, *bes-bec*. When, however, we consider the state of affairs in a late mediaeval Poitevin text like the *Regle dou Temple* (ed. Curzon), where one may count fifteen instances of *luec*, with *fuec* once, *cuec* and *cuecq*, but also *leuc* four times, *leu* twice, *feu* twice, it seems quite possible that these *luec*-forms may be due to a nom. *leus*.[2] No one, however, seems ready to derive the *luec*-forms from the Lat. accus. lŏcu, late VL *lǭgo*. Mr. Tuttle will not even admit them as original in Provençal: they are "rejected of men." Such a theory, indeed, must have occurred to many, but strongly against it is the fact that we have (*i*) from (*g*) in countless place-names in -acu *-ago*, *-ai* (Bavai, Cambrai), in person-names like *DuFay* fagu, and especially in *paugo* from which we should expect *poi*. For *poi* is as good OF as *pou*, *peu* or *po*, and must, I am convinced, derive from *paugo* or *paugi*, or preferably from both: Prov. *pauc d'home saubon*, Fr. *poi d'home sevent* could hardly originate otherwise than from either paucu or pauci, the uninflected forms. The continuation of Lat. lŏcum, whatever it was, disappeared too early to be recorded in any text now known.

Still to be mentioned is the adv. *lués*, found frequently in rhyme with *ués* opus. Here we are free from the question of cases, and the flexional *-s* can make no disturbance. Again Meyer-Lübke's suggestion seems to

[1] Interesting is the problem of the two forms of the name of the Seneschal Sir Kay, but, while the doublet *Keu-Kai* is similar to some of those mentioned in this article, it is probable that the two cases are entirely unconnected. Has it been noted that J. Rhŷs, *Lectures on Welsh Philology* (pp. 29, 223–24, 390), finds in inscriptions a Celtic name *Iccavos*, *Cauo*, from which he says *Caus* and *Cais*, *Ceis* are possible derivatives? Does *Keus* continue *Caus* as *sarqueus*<*sarquagus? We may at least be sure that the form *Coi* or *Koi* (*Erec*, 1972: *soi* and often in *Fergus*) is merely the eastern adaptation of western *Kei*=*Kai*.

[2] Constans eliminated the peculiar *fués* from his text (*Troie*, 1887–88) but had his doubts (see the later Vol. VI, 123). In his text of the *Roman de Thèbes*, 2193–94, by the way, a correction is to be made: the rhyme is not *seis* siccus : *mareis*, but *ses* : *marés*, this last being a well-known variant of *mareis*.

me the correct one (*Hist. Frz. Gram.*[3], § 190, end): in *lŏco* and **ilŏco* (CL ilico) the *-c-* was never voiced to *-g-*, the word rhymed early with hŏc, and hence appeared in OF as *luec*, rhyming with *avuec*, *poruec*, *senuec*. As to *lués*, it stands to this *luec* as *ains* to *ainc*, *dons* to *donc*, *-c* disappearing as usual before the adverbial *-s*.

Finally, mod. Fr. *jeu* for older *gieu* (we find *gieus* in rhyme with *vieus* vĕtulus and *tieus* as late as the *Cent Ballades*) exhibits the same normal reduction as OF *abregier* to *abréger*.—T. A. JENKINS.]

OLD FRENCH *DANCIER*

As early as 1869, in the third edition of the *Wörterbuch* and perhaps still earlier, Diez suggested the OHG. *dansôn* as the source of the Romance verb for 'dance.' Körting, *Lat.-Rom. Wörterbuch*, 2392, records Diez's etymon without comment: "Ahd. *dansōn*, 'ziehen'; mutmasslich das Grundwort zu ital. *dansare*, 'tanzen'; prov. *dansar;* frz. *danser;* cat. *dansar;* span. *dansar, -zar;* ptg. *dançar.*" Diez and Körting, however, took no pains to explain how the meaning of the Germanic word, 'ziehen,' 'draw forth,' developed into that of dancing, nor did they attempt to account for the Romance (*ts*) sound arising out of the Germanic (*s*)[1].

Baist was the first to reject the Germanic etymon, which, according to him, "stützte sich nur auf den Gleichklang, während bei einer solchen Entlehnung doch auch die Bedeutung stimmen müsste. . . . . aber auch die Form stimmt nicht; sie lautet afr. *dancier*, nicht *danser.*"[2] Baist, however, found nothing in Latin satisfactory for the form except a hypothetical *DEMPTIARE, which was not convincing for the meaning. "Die Herkunft bleibt dunkel, lateinisch ist für den Laut nur *DEMPTIARE zu haben, und der Gedanke das etwa in der Metallindustrie herausnehmen zu auszacken geworden sei wird nicht leicht überzeugen."

Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Etym. Wörterbuch*, 2562, suggests a hypothetical VL *DENTIARE "mit Zähnen versehen." He does not, however, insist on it, and goes on to say: "Die Bedeutungsentwickelung von *danser* ist nicht verständlich, doch hilft *DEMPTIARE *ZRPh*, XXXII, 35 auch nicht weiter; ahd. *danson* 'ziehen' Diez, *Wb.* 117; *Frz. St.* VI, 73 geht lautlich und begrifflich nicht."

It seems to me that the solution of the problem lies in an entirely different direction. There is a Latin adverb which was very frequently used in Vulgar Latin (it is found a number of times in the Reichenau Glosses) and which gave rise in Romance to a number of verbs and adverbs of motion, particularly in combination with a preceding preposition; I refer to ANTEA.

[1] In OFr., Prov., and Cat., the word is sometimes spelled with an *s*, especially in derivatives, but cf. also Fr. *garse* with the masc. *garz-garçon.* Everywhere else the form with (ç) = (ts) is the only form found.

[2] *Ztsch. f. rom Phil.*, XXXII, 35.

In French the different combinations of ANTEA plus preposition have resulted in: *avancier*<AB+ANTEA+ARE; *devancier*<DE+AB+ANTEA+ARE; also *davancier; avanz*, AB+ANTES; *devanz*<DE+AB+ANTES; *devant; avant*, etc. In Italian: *avanzare; devanzare; davant; avanti; inanzi;* etc. In Spanish we find, besides these forms, also a form *dante*<DE+ANTE; *adiante; denante; delantre;* etc. The same is true for Provençal, Portuguese, and Rumanian.

A form or combination of DE+ANTEA+ARE, giving rise to a Vulgar Latin *DANTEARE, naturally suggests itself.

Old French has a number of words applied to dancing: *caroler, treschier, baler, dancier*, etc. We do not know much about all the dances of the Middle Ages: we do know something concerning some of the dances. Thus, we know, more or less, what a *carole* meant. We also have some idea of a certain variety of a *carole* that we may appropriately name "leader dance," in which there were dancing and singing under the guidance of a leader. Says Wechssler: "Diese Bauern führten nach den Berichten einen Ringelreihen (*choraula*) auf, indem sie sich an den Händen fassten und sich in Kreise herumbewegten: es war nach der Beschreibung der Tanz, der frz. *carole, ronde* heisst. Ein Vorsänger (*ductor*) stimmte, wie in einer Redaction des Berichts steht, ein Lied an, das begann: *Equitabat Boso/ Per silvam frondosam// ducebat sibi/ Merswindam formosam//*. Die Andern sangen dazu den Refrain: *quid stamus? Cur non imus?*"[1] The large number of refrains quoted by Wechssler, from G. Paris' review of Jeanroy's *Origines de la Poésie lyrique* is by no means exhaustive, and a refrain **danteamus*, <DE+ANTE+EAMUS 'let us step forward,' 'let us follow our leader', seems both plausible and probable. A Vulgar Latin dance-refrain *DANTEAMUS would then be the form to start with: *DANTEAMUS, OFr. *dançons* (**danciens* would naturally, by analogy with all other first persons plural, have become *dançons*); later an infinitive *dancier* was built up on it.[2]

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[1] In Vollmöller's *Krit. Jhb. über die Forschritte der rom. Phil.*, V, ii, 395.

[2] Professor T. A. Jenkins has called my attention to what may be a similar case of the building of an infinitive on an imperative: *aller* built on *ALLATE (if the etymon is correct) for AMBULATE, as used by the Roman centurions for the command "March!" Cf. also the infin. *laier* (Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Frz. Gram.*[3], § 297).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

L'abbé Du Bos, un initiateur de la pensée moderne, 1670–1740 (viii+1608 pages). *La Correspondance de l'abbé Du Bos* (85 pages). By A. Lombard. Paris: Hachette, 1913.

La première partie du XVIII^me^ siècle est une période dont on doit sentir de plus en plus l'importance; c'est celle qui prépare la grande période rationaliste de Voltaire, de Montesquieu, des Encyclopédistes, de Rousseau. Durant ces années de formation, personne—sauf Bayle—n'est plus important que Du Bos. On le savait; mais qui aurait osé, s'il était conscient des exigences de la science moderne, une étude qui supposait des connaissances si universelles? M. Lombard a voulu essayer; et sa tentative s'est justifiée. Son (double) livre est un de ceux auxquels le temps touche peu;—et, soit dit en passant, c'est ce qui fait que nous n'avons pas à nous excuser d'en parler longuement, même après que l'heure de la nouveauté, au sens strict du terme, peut être passée. C'est un livre d'ailleurs dont on ne parle pas après l'avoir rapidement lu; il demande, si on veut lui rendre justice, une lente et patiente absorption. Il a plus de six cents pages d'impression serrée. Et d'abord, il est bourré de faits précis, toujours contrôlés minutieusement; il trahit chez son auteur une connaissance quasi-encyclopédique du XVIII^me^ siècle avant Rousseau; M. Lombard sait être à l'aise dans les questions les plus diverses, en archéologie, en art, en histoire—en histoire surtout—en morale, en théologie, sans compter naturellement la littérature; il est au courant des conditions du commerce de son temps; il connaît les dernières relations des voyageurs et explorateurs; il est documenté sur la question du luxe; il éclaire en passant des sujets vaguement connus, comme les origines de l'opéra en France, . . . et il nous renseigne même sur une institution fort intéressante dont l'abbé Du Bos *eût pu faire* son profit s'il avait vécu un peu plus tard, l'Académie Politique de Colbert de Torcy. Mais M. Lombard n'est pas seulement un érudit; son grand travail abonde en observations pénétrantes; il laisse apercevoir même, à plusieurs reprises, un esprit philosophique vigoureux, qui s'est donné la peine d'approfondir pour lui-même les problèmes discutés. Et en tout cela son livre constitue un très beau témoignage aux méthodes modernes d'histoire littéraire que certains, ne les comprenant pas, ont voulu attaquer.

Louis XIV n'avait pas encore fermé les yeux que l'esprit "libertin," c.à.d. indépendant de la tradition et de l'autorité, se manifestait avec d'autant plus de force qu'il avait été plus longtemps contenu. Il n'était pas besoin de génie, il suffisait d'être intelligent pour s'apercevoir que les dogmes du

grand siècle n'étaient point pour durer; qu'ils n'avaient pas, tant s'en faut, réalisé le millénium.

La formation de la pensée de Du Bos est tellement celle que les conditions rendaient inévitable chez un homme cultivé d'alors qu'en l'étudiant, on voit revivre toute cette période. Tout le labeur formidable de l'abbé aboutit à deux œuvres maîtresses, *les Réflexions critiques sur la Poésie et la Peinture* (1719), et *l'Histoire de l'Établissement de la Monarchie française dans les Gaules* (1734). Comment, d'abord, fut il amené à concevoir ces œuvres si laïques et si expressives du XVIII^{me} siècle?

Né à Beauvais, le 21 décembre 1670, Du Bos quittait sa ville natale à 16 ans pour Paris, avec l'ambition d'"être chanoine." Ayant l'intelligence ouverte, et de précieuses relations de parenté, il pénétrait rapidement dans la haute société et dans le monde des lettres. Il connut Boileau, Perrault, Malbranche, Huet, Ménage, Nicaise, etc., etc. Et bientôt il goûta, et cultiva l'esprit de salon. Mais dès le début, M. Lombard y insiste avec raison, Du Bos fut mondain dans le sens intellectuel plutôt que dans le sens précieusement sentimental: "Gendron a pu lui reprocher d'avoir, à trente ans, le cœur et les sentiments d'un vieillard. . . . Tout révèle, chez Du Bos, un certain déficit du côté de la sensibilité. Le cerveau, en revanche, était remarquablement organisé, l'esprit curieux et avisé, ouvert à toutes les suggestions et à toutes les nouveautés. . . . Il aime l'historiette," le "détail piquant." Ses relations de société lui rendent bientôt service: en 1693 il est collaborateur des *Menagiana*, ou collections de mots et anecdotes du célèbre grammairien, faite sous la direction de Galland.

En 1695 il fait un séjour à Beauvais où on venait de mettre au jour un monument curieux, le "Mercure barbu"; une inscription (aujourd' hui considérée comme inauthentique) intrigua les érudits. Du Bos se jeta dans la mêlée, y alla de son hypothèse; Galland le réfute du reste, mais c'est un succès que d'avoir été mêlé à cette dispute fameuse.

L'archéologie est une science comme faite exprès pour les abbés dont l'esprit travaille, mais ne doit pas travailler dans les domaines qui touchent aux grandes controverses philosophiques et théologiques. Et par exemple, c'était très "fashionable" en ce moment d'être numismate. Du Bos fut numismate; en la même année 1695 encore, il prenait part à une autre querelle archéologique fameuse; il publie son *Histoire des quatre Gordiens, prouvée et illustrée par les médailles*. L'histoire ne connaît que trois Gordiens, mais tandisque certains font du troisième un fils de Metea Faustina, épouse de Junius Balbus, d'autres le font fils de Gordien II, l'Africain. Du Bos adopte les deux témoignages, et ainsi pose la thèse de l'existence de quatre Gordiens. Cette idée, dit M. Lombard qui n'ignore rien, avait été déjà défendue par Angeloni; mais Du Bos fait valoir un argument nouveau, celui justement des médailles qui fournissent quatre types différents. Il a d'ailleurs le bonheur de se mettre à dos un gros savant, le Hollandais Cuyper.

M. Lombard relève, à juste titre, dans ce vivant travail de jeunesse, certaines idées du Du Bos de l'âge mûr, du Du Bos qui entrevoit, pour le cas de problèmes pratiques, l'importance d'une bonne *méthode;* c'est ainsi que dans sa Préface il déclare hautement qu'il ne considérera pas comme valable une réfutation reposant sur l'arguement de la nouveauté de sa thèse; les sciences progressent, et ce qui semblait faux hier, peut aujourd'hui apparaître juste, en suite de faits inconnus amenés à la lumière. Ailleurs, il digresse pour gourmander Le Nain de Tillemont (p. 30) dont l'histoire des empereurs se base constamment sur des témoignages chrétiens acceptés "parcequ'ils sont chrétiens," tandis que les témoignages des païens sont écartés simplement "parcequ'ils sont païens"; sans prendre parti ni pour le miracle chrétien, ni pour le merveilleux mythologique, Du Bos demande aux deux la même garantie d'authenticité.

Du Bos était trop intelligent pour continuer à s'amuser à de vaines querelles d'érudits: La vie l'intéressait de plus en plus. Et, par exemple, il se sent une attraction particulière pour les gens de théâtre, peu orthodoxes peut-être, mais par leur indifférence même aux conventions sociales, morales et intellectuelles, ayant pour lui de la séduction. De fort bonne heure, il s'enthousiasma pour l'opéra (alors au Palais Royal), genre nouveau, qui avait brillé avec Lulli, et qui ne voulait pas mourir avec lui. Les échos de ces années de brillante jeunesse se retrouvent dans les *Réflexions critiques* où l'opéra sera exalté: dès vingt ans, Du Bos "égalait la chorégraphie à la poésie," et "s'intéressait à la destinée des corps de ballet autant qu'à celle de la tragédie française" (p. 44). Et maintenant un heureux hasard met en rapport le jeune abbé avec Bayle: deux esprits faits pour se comprendre. Quelqu'indépendance qu'il faille pour apprécier l'opéra, il y a des choses plus importantes dans la vie. Grâce à Bayle, c'est dès lors "surtout le mouvement des idées qui l'occupe, le progrès de la civilisation et des mœurs—la philosophie au sens que les esprits de la trempe de celui de Bayle et du sien vont bientôt donner à ce mot." Et Du Bos devient une sorte de fournisseur de nouvelles de Paris, faisant pour l'exilé les recherches nécessaires à Paris pour le *Dictionnaire;* il fait rapport sur les polémiques des protestants et des catholiques, des Jésuites et des Jansénistes, des Cartésiens et de leurs adversaires, et sur bien d'autres sujets encore. L'esprit railleur simplement d'antan, l'épigrammatiste d'hier, devient un sceptique raisonné et réfléchi. On voit dans ses lettres à Bayle cette transformation s'opérer: ici c'est l'émancipation des femmes (déplorée par Bernier) qui le fait réfléchir que s'il y a des éléments fâcheux il en résulte des biens qui sont peut-être plus grands; là c'est la question du luxe, que déjà il sait envisager comme Mandeville et Voltaire: on s'affligerait moins de ses désavantages si on comprenait mieux son utilité économique et sociale.

Puis, Du Bos se met à voyager. Avec quelles ressources? Pourquoi? C'est assez difficile à dire, et M. Lombard n'a pas réussi à éclairer tout à fait ce point: Du Bos aura eu l'occasion de rendre quelque service à un person-

nage haut placé; il aura été "chargé d'une de ces missions officieuses qui ne laissent pas trace dans les papiers" (p. 71). En tous cas il voyage pendant trois ans en France, en Angleterre, en Hollande, en Italie. . . . Il visite beaucoup de personnages célèbres, surtout en Angleterre: Locke, le naturaliste Lister, le juriste écossais Cunningham, le savant Bentley, peut-être Addison. En Hollande, il vit Bayle. Mais partout, et c'est là que nous saisissons la source de son originalité, il fréquente de préférence les explorateurs, les marins, les commerçants; à Amsterdam il fut admis (rare privilège) à visiter les locaux de la Compagnie des Indes; à Rome il eut la bonne fortune de rencontrer le P. Hennepin, explorateur du Mississippi, qu'il avait en vain cherché à voir en Angleterre.

C'était une aubaine pour un diplomate (et on devenait diplomate par naissance et non par talent) d'avoir les services d'un tel homme. Aussi Du Bos fut recherché. Après avoir servi en qualité de secrétaire privé (qui ne signait pas; ou signait du nom de celui qui le payait—ainsi le *Manifeste de l'Electeur de Bavière*), il fut secrétaire en titre, et assista en personne aux discussions de Neuchâtel (1707), Gertruydenberg (1710), Utrecht et Baden (1712), Rastadt (1714). S'il resta relativement inconnu comme diplomate, et mal payé ce fut entre autres à cause de l'incapacité de son principal patron, le maréchal d'Huxelles. "L'histoire de la carrière diplomatique de Du Bos est l'histoire même de la succession d'Espagne." Nous n'y entrerons pas, mais une fois de plus nous saluerons en passant l'érudition sûre et abondante et claire de M. Lombard, un professeur de littérature, dans un sujet historique d'une effrayante complexité.

Même après Rastadt, en 1714, et quand Du Bos fut retiré à Paris, travaillant à ses *Réflexions critiques*, et vaquant à ses fonctions de Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie, son influence dans les affaires d'Etat continue,—au moins indirectement. Le cardinal Du Bois, jusqu'en 1723, eut sans cesse recours à lui (p. 144 et ss.). Ce dernier et illustre patron récompensa enfin assez généreusement ses services. C'est pour Du Bois que notre abbé composa son volumineux *Traité de la Succession à la Couronne*,—qu'il n'acheva pas, mais qui discutait précisément les grandes questions qui passionnent Du Bos dans son *Histoire de l'établissement de la Monarchie Française*, celles du droit naturel et du droit divin des rois.

Passons maintenant à l'examen des deux œuvres de Du Bos qui résument son œuvre de protagoniste des idées nouvelles, aboutissement de cette remuante jeunesse. D'abord, les *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*.

L'ouvrage fut mis en vente dans les premiers jours de janvier 1719. Immédiatement il fut célèbre. Il eut 8 éditions françaises jusqu'en 1770; il fut traduit en anglais, hollandais et allemand. Le 23 décembre suivant, Du Bos était élu Académicien, et trois ans après Secrétaire perpétuel.

C'est la tentative d'un esprit, qui s'est tôt et complètement affranchi, de mettre au point, de coordonner ses incessantes réflexions sur des sujets

d'archéologie, de littérature, d'art, et de philosophie,—tentative parallèle à celle du *Dictionnaire* de Bayle quelques années avant, du *Dictionnaire Philosophique* quelques années après. Il est entendu que Du Bos ne sait pas composer, ou plutôt n'a pas le temps de composer (car, nous l'avons vu, ses travaux diplomatiques l'occupent jusqu'en 1723, et ses intérêts si variés l'empêchent de concentrer longtemps son attention sur un même sujet); mais du désordre de son livre, se dégagent cependant quelques idées bien nettes. Indiquons les plus importantes:

1) Et avant tout le critère esthétique. En quelques pages très lumineuses et très documentées, où figurent aux places d'honneur Boileau, Molière, Fontenelle, Lamotte, Perrault, Dacier, Boivin, puis, comme précurseurs en tel ou tel point, Leibnitz, Locke, Bayle, M. Lombard nous explique l'invasion du domaine de l'art par le rationalisme cartésien. A des affirmations comme: "Tout homme qui ne pense pas sur toute matière littéraire comme Descartes prescrit de penser sur les matières physiques, n'est pas digne du siècle présent. Rien ne prépare mieux que les mathématiques à bien juger des ouvrages de l'esprit," ou "Un ouvrage de morale . . . peut-être même d'éloquence, en sera plus beau . . . s'il est fait de main de géomètre," Du Bos oppose le principe absolument contraire de la perception immédiate et directe du beau. Ce "sens esthétique" qu'analysera un jour à son tour Kant, dans sa *Critique du Jugement*, Du Bos l'appelle nettement "le sixième sens,"—et point dans un sens métaphorique puisqu'il en fait une "émotion physique," une réaction des organes analogue au toucher et à l'odorat, un sens nouveau et une nouvelle sensualité. Nous nous demandons toutefois si M. Lombard ne souligne pas un peu trop cette origine "sensualiste" (195 et ss.); Du Bos n'a pas poussé réellement très loin le paradoxe; il dira: "lorsqu'un ouvrage nous a déplu, nous avons le droit de nous demander la raison de cette impression fâcheuse; mais l'esprit ne peut se livrer à cette recherche que pour justifier le jugement que le sentiment a porté." S'il en est ainsi, on ne voit pas comment on pourrait refuser l'adjectif *raisonnable* à la sensation esthétique; et alors l'opposition du sens esthétique de nature sensualiste au sens esthétique de nature psychique cesse d'être aussi tranchante.

2) La seconde idée générale qui se dégage des *Réflexions critiques*, est celle de la relativité de l'art. La sensation esthétique a beau être directe—comme la vue et l'ouïe—elle n'en est pas moins, elle, diverse; et qui plus est—Du Bos ose être conséquent encore—cette diversité a une cause physique également. Les uns ont "l'œil plus voluptueux" et sont plus sensibles au coloris. D'autres préfèrent les "expressions touchantes." Le sens esthétique des habitants du midi et de ceux du nord, peut réagir différemment, celui de l'antiquité peut différer de celui du moyen-âge. Tout est ramené à ce grand principe de la science moderne: l'expérience. On ne nie pas l'expérience.

Et en ce point—la relativité de la suggestion d'art, par opposition à l'absoluité qu'elle devrait avoir s'il était affaire de raisonnement—Du Bos est

plus de son siècle que par l'autre, le sensualisme esthétique. "Sa critique sera non plus dogmatique et absolue, mais relative et historique" (197). N'a-t-il pas anticipé, et appliqué à l'esthétique, la théorie du climat dont on fait honneur à Montesquieu? "Là précisément est la nouveauté du système de Du Bos: chez lui l'esthétique littéraire est liée non seulement à l'esthétique générale, mais à la science de l'homme et de la société" (p. 189; cf. p. 243 ss.).[1]

Toutefois il faut préciser. Et voici bien Du Bos, le scrupuleux; il pose le principe *Expérience:* "Nous nous attendrions donc à ce que le public fût la foule même." Or il n'en est rien, et dès l'abord Du Bos réduit le "public" à une élite: "Je ne comprends point le bas peuple dans le public capable de se prononcer sur les poèmes ou sur les tableaux. . . . Le mot de public ne renferme ici que les personnes qui ont acquis des lumières, soit par la lecture soit par le commerce du monde" (p. 233). Mais justement qu'est ce que ces "lumières"? En fin de compte, il laisse la question ouverte: "Le sentiment dont je parle est dans tous les hommes; mais comme ils n'ont pas tous les oreilles et les yeux également bons, de même ils n'ont pas tous le sentiment également parfait" (p. 233). Tout ce qu'il ajoute, c'est qu'il faut donner au public *le temps* de réviser son jugement:—mais rien n'est là pour prouver que le public révisera dans le bon sens. Du Bos croit pouvoir fixer à deux ou trois ans le temps nécessaire pour arriver à un jugement définitif.

3) Du Bos s'est laissé entraîner à fausser en quelque sorte fondamentalement son examen de la nature de la sensation esthétique: il identifie en effet les impressions d'art aux impressions de pathétique—comme s'il n'y avait de plaisir esthétique qu'en rapport avec la souffrance. Ce n'est pas cependant une des idées essentielles de Du Bos; peut-être M. Lombard aurait-il pu l'indiquer mieux, et faire comprendre que cette digression n'est là qu'en suite du souci de Du Bos de résoudre les problèmes esthétiques traditionnels; il y avait la fameuse théorie d'Aristote, de l'art qui purge les passions; et Du Bos, qui s'est si bien affranchi des Cartésiens, ne s'est pas affranchi d'Aristote—car c'est lui, Aristote, qui avait enchaîné, bien avant Du Bos, l'esthétique à cette association de l'art avec passion dans le sens de souffrance. La théorie de Du Bos quant à l'interprétation d'Aristote, est celle des "émotions superficielles," c.à.d. l'émotion d'art est une émotion de sympathie pour un objet qui n'en a pas besoin: derrière *Le Cid* il n'y a pas de réalité (qui serait pénible), pas plus que derrière le groupe de Laocon. Le XVIII^me^ siècle tout entier fera sienne cette théorie: "C'est bien à Du Bos que l'ont empruntée en France, Mallet, Louis Racine, Batteux, d'Alembert, Marmontel; en Angleterre, Burke et Hume; en Suisse et en Allemagne, Du Bos

[1] Il ne faut du reste pas en faire tout à fait honneur à Du Bos (pp. 245–47); elle était appliquée par les médecins déjà depuis longtemps: "Le docteur Venel, dans *l'Encyclopédie*, disait en phrases polies que si Montesquieu s'était douté combien ces idées sur le climat et la température étaient familières aux médecins, il se serait borné à les indiquer sans s'aventurer dans des théories scientifiques aussi étrangères à ses études" (253). Mais certes Du Bos a appliqué le principe dans le domaine esthétique avant que Montesquieu le fît dans celui des lois et de la politique.

a fourni à peu près tout ce que Bodmer et surtout Breitinger, puis Mendelssohn, ont dit de la tragédie. Lessing lui-même—les historiens allemands l'ont reconnu—doit aux *Réflexions critiques* l'essentiel de sa théorie dramatique" (p. 208).

4) On ne voit nulle part plus clairement la valeur de l'œuvre critique de Du Bos que dans l'attitude que son souci des faits lui a dictée dans la Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes. Nous nous ferions un reproche de ravir à ce chapitre si rempli et si clair, son ampleur en l'étriquant par le choix de quelques citations et théories. Disons seulement qu'il fait comprendre fort bien comment Du Bos, lui-même un Moderne, devait cependant logiquement tomber à bras raccourcis sur un groupe très considérable de Modernes,—ceux qui basaient leur opposition aux Anciens sur ce que ceux-ci n'exprimaient pas des sentiments et des idées acceptables au XVIII^me^ siècle. Selon le principe de relativité du sentiment esthétique, c'était absurde et il met le doigt sur le malentendu qui rendait sans issue le débat tel qu'il se poursuivait: "Les discours des héros d'Homère à leurs chevaux révoltent notre délicatesse. Mais les Orientaux ne sont pas des Cartésiens et ne professent pas le même mépris pour les animaux" (p. 262). D'autre part, Du Bos s'élève avec non moins de décision et de bon sens contre ces pseudo-Modernes qui, par exemple, excusaient en quelque sorte leur goût pour le genre très "moderne" de l'Opéra en s'appuyant sur l'argument saugrenu que l'opéra est une renaissance du théâtre antique, où l'on chantait la tragédie (pp. 283 ss.). L'opéra n'a besoin d'aucune justification que le goût du public moderne. (En passant il discute de la façon la plus suggestive le vrai caractère de la déclamation chez les Anciens, et de la saltation qui n'était pas la danse, pp. 284–90.)

Et maintenant, il faut bien le dire, l'ouvrage de Du Bos vaut autant par les vues de détail et les petites thèses en marge—comme celles de l'opéra—que par les grandes vues auxquelles nous avons ici donné la première place. En somme, son grand mérite est d'avoir mis en branle la discussion; sa vaste érudition, son choix habile de petits faits révélateurs, et ses opinions volontiers paradoxales, ont été un stimulant indiscutable. Le juste et le contestable sont mêlés de façon singulièrement pittoresque et provocatrice de débats. Voici par exemple sa théorie du vers (et à ce propos encore on observera que Du Bos n'était pas du tout toujours du côté des casse-cou): Il prend parti pour les vers contre les détracteurs Lamotte et Pons; et son argument est physiologique: "un bruit mesuré" est agréable à l'oreille; il n'en faut pas davantage pour réfuter les prosateurs à tous crins. Cependant Du Bos médit de la rime, et là on comprend moins. Si les Anciens n'ont pas eu besoin de la rime, très bien; mais puisque de grands écrivains français l'ont employée avec succès, en faut-il davantage pour la justifier aux yeux de Du Bos? Pour le XVII^me^ siècle en tous cas "le bruit de la rime" était agréable; Du Bos a-t-il autorité pour parler au nom de ses contemporains?

Citons aussi la thèse du génie. Du Bos n'a vraiment pas peur; après avoir rattaché la perception du beau à un sens esthétique d'ordre physiologique, il se fait précurseur de Cabanis, Comte et Taine en déclarant que le génie créateur lui-même n'est qu'affaire de matière: "Je conçois que le génie consiste dans un arrangement heureux des organes du cerveau, dans la bonne conformation de chacun des organes, comme la qualité, du sang laquelle le dispose à fermenter durant le travail" (p. 239); et ailleurs: "Le génie est une plante qui pousse d'elle-même" (p. 240); le corollaire ne manque pas non plus: Pour que le génie puisse s'épanouir, il faut des circonstances *matérielles* favorables de milieu, de prospérité économique, d'absence de guerre, etc. Mais Du Bos accepte les conséquences de ses idées . . . jusqu'à l'étrange; les pays froids ne produisent rien en fait d'art; les pays d'orient non plus; l'orientalisme de Galland et autres n'est qu'une mode; il n'y a pas d'art vraiment dans la porcelaine de la Chine et du Japon! Aussi, il y a des siècles stériles, pour des raisons économiques ou politiques; par exemple—dit le malheureux—le siècle des Médicis à Florence et celui des Sforza à Milan!

Tout cela peut être faux; c'est toujours intéressant; on sent le besoin constant de ne pas affirmer, mais de comprendre, comprendre plutôt mal que tomber juste par hasard.

"Les livres de Du Bos sont de ceux après lesquels il y a quelque chose de changé" (p. 314) dit excellement M. Lombard. Nous ne le suivrons pas dans son voyage d'exploration au travers des XVIII^me^ et XIX^me^ siècles, en France, puis en Angleterre, en Amérique, en Hollande—retrouvant partout Du Bos avec une sagacité et une patience inlassables. Mais ce grand travail profitera aux érudits qui chercheront les inspirations de Louis Racine, Montesquieu, Voltaire et les philosophes, Burke, Lessing, Mendelssohn, etc., etc.—et jusqu'à Taine qui cependant ne connaissait pas Du Bos, et où le rapport est indirect.[1]

Pourquoi Du Bos n'a-t-il pas eu plus de renommée, ou plutôt, pourquoi, après avoir donné une impulsion si profonde aux idées esthétiques, a-t-il été oublié? Nous le savons déjà, et M. Lombard en demeure tout à fait d'accord: Parce qu'il n'avait pas l'art—"le style," comme disait Buffon, et que dès lors il a été supplanté par ceux-la même qu'il avait souvent enrichis de ses idées. On peut appeler cela une prodigieuse injustice;—mais on ne saurait y voir quelque chose d'anormal; il est bien naturel que les générations suivantes se familiarisent avec une idée, ou un sujet de roman ou de théâtre, non chez l'écrivain qui l'a le premier exprimé, mais chez celui qui l'a le mieux exprimé.

L'œuvre historique de Du Bos, *L'Histoire critique de l'Établissement de la Monarchie française dans les Gaules* (3 volumes, in 4°; 1784), est probablement aussi importante que son œuvre critique; mais comme elle ne touche que par certains points à la littérature, nous serons plus brefs.

[1] Relevons les pages importantes sur Batteux et Du Bos, pp. 322–26, Montesquieu, pp. 326–27; et sur l'Encyclopédie, pp. 339–43. Et l'Appendice I.

D'abord, pour apprécier vraiment cette œuvre, il convient de se rendre compte que Du Bos fut déjà un historien au sens moderne de ce mot; et qu'il était bien en avance de son temps (comme Bayle son maître) quand il formulait consciencieusement ces trois règles: (1) indiquer ses références, (2) fonder ses affirmations sur des déclarations de contemporains, (3) avertir le lecteur si on n'a pas de source de première main. Du Bos s'excusait du reste du style encombrant que cette méthode imposait, mais il osait trouver le style et l'agrément moins importants que la vérité bien établie (p. 395). Il nous est difficile aujourd'hui de nous représenter qu'une conception subjective de l'histoire non seulement prévalut avant, mais encore après Du Bos; l'histoire devait donner des leçons de morale, et si l'histoire ne contribuait pas "à l'amélioration des mœurs," la lecture d'un roman bien fait "vaut beaucoup mieux," dira encore Madame de Genlis; du livre de Mably sur *La Manière d'écrire l'histoire*, il résulte que l'inexactitude est le premier devoir de l'historien (p. 390): Voltaire, l'auteur de *Charles XII*, concevait que la vérité historique devait parfois être couverte. Il est à peine besoin de dire que Du Bos écartait—comme le font aujourd'hui autant que possible les moins positivistes des historiens,—toute explication providentielle des faits, ne cherchant que "dans les faits, la raison des faits" (p. 401).

Est-ce à dire que Du Bos ait été conséquent, et ait appliqué sa méthode rigoureusement? Non pas: mais quel écrivain, même le plus moderne, a réussi absolument à demeurer objectif? Taine, à la fin du XIX^me^ siècle, l'était-il? S'il faut se souvenir que d'une part, c'est le fait d'avoir pris part aux grands démêlés diplomatiques de son temps qui avait convaincu Du Bos de la nécessité de l'histoire *objective*—il avait été arrêté constamment par des assertions sans preuves, ou par manque de documents probants—, il faut se souvenir aussi d'autre part que dans les dernières années de sa carrière diplomatique le cardinal Du Bois l'avait fait travailler sur la question des droits respectifs de la royauté et de la noblesse, et que son grand ouvrage, qui lui mérita le nom de "Père du Romanisme," fut écrit avec cette préoccupation d'un *problème*.

M. Lombard nous rappelle toute l'histoire du Romanisme avant Du Bos, c. à. d. lorsqu'il celui-ci cessa d'être un problème théorique. Rappelons seulement que les deux thèses en présence étaient: la thèse dite *féodale*, selon laquelle la France moderne est une nation franque, de Clovis et de ses compagnons d'armes, et qui s'est substituée à la Gaule, province Gallo-romaine; et la thèse dite *romaniste*, selon laquelle la France monarchique n'est qu'une continuation, et quasi un développement naturel, de l'impérialisme romain; et l'invasion barbare ne constituerait alors, au point de vue du droit, qu'un accident sans grande importance; supposé que les Francs n'eussent pas pénétré en Gaule, la France moderne ne serait guère différente de ce que nous la voyons.

Boulainvilliers, noble, et opposé aux grandissantes prérogatives de la royauté, fit servir la première thèse à soutenir les droits de sa classe (*Histoire*

de France avant Clovis, 1727, *Essai sur la Noblesse* 1732): "On ne se souvient plus—dit-il—que dans l'origine Clovis n'était que le général d'une armée libre. Le Français ne doit à ses rois ni sa liberté, ni ses possessions, ni l'indépendance de sa personne, et les Gaulois asservis ne furent pas sujets du roi, mais des guerriers francs. Ceux-ci étaient tous égaux, et il existait entre eux et les Gaulois une distinction formelle telle que du maître à l'esclave. Il n'y avait plus que des conquérants et des conquis. Les Français étaient exempts de toutes les charges; ils avaient le droit de juger leurs pareils et de n'être jugés que par eux, le droit de défendre leur personne dans des guerres particulières, même contre leur roi. La convocation insolite, sous Philippe le Bel, des Etats Généraux, où, du moins au début, le tiers n'assistait que pour promettre d'obéir; l'invention inouïe du droit royal de justice; l'usage monstrueux des anoblissements, qui a permis aux hommes de s'élever insolemment, ont été les étapes de la dégradation de la noblesse" (pp. 418–19). Mais bien vite, en 1734, Du Bos oppose dans son *Histoire critique*, aux prétentions de la noblesse la thèse romaniste. Infiniment plus érudit que Boulainvilliers, il *prouve* que les Francs n'ont pas supprimé les institutions et les cadres de la nation des Gaules; il déclare qu'il n'est dit nulle part que les Francs aient réduit en servitude les Gallo-Romains; et il défie de démontrer par l'histoire que les Francs se soient réservé exclusivement la profession des armes. Et une fois lancé, Du Bos ne s'arrête plus, il veut établir encore que la monarchie des rois de France est plus grande, plus morale, que celle de Rome même qu'elle continue. La souveraineté impériale en effet, était instable et livrée au hasard de la force, mais la monarchie française en adoptant le principe d'hérédité, écarta cet arbitraire—partant, les causes de lutte et de désordre.

En somme la théorie de Du Bos opposée à celle de Boulainvilliers, qui accusait les Valois d'avoir violé les droits des nobles, revient à ceci: "Il est vrai qu'il y a eu en France conquêtes et usurpations, mais voici où elles se placent. Ce fut, lorsque les ducs et comtes, s'emparèrent des droits du roi et de ceux de la nation, s'instituèrent seigneurs héréditaires dans leurs bénéfices militaires et substituèrent aux lois romaines des lois dictées par le caprice et l'insolence" (p. 457). Il ne nous appartient pas ici de prononcer entre Boulainvilliers et Du Bos. Mais il est certain que, même si la thèse de Du Bos n'est pas beaucoup plus franche de prévention que celle de son adversaire, son livre n'en garde pas moins une plus grande valeur; Du Bos a placé la discussion sur le terrain scientifique; il va aux documents; et même ceux qui interprèteront ces documents autrement que lui—amis ou ennemis—c'est chez Du Bos qu'ils iront puiser le meilleur de leurs renseignements; les plus originaux apporteront peu de vraiment nouveau (p. 459).

Nous ne nous arrêterons pas aux pages si riches de renseignement montrant la fortune de l'œuvre de Du Bos depuis le jour de sa publication jusqu'à nos jours. Les consciencieuses recherches de M. Lombard seront

énormément utiles, car rien ne semble échapper à sa curiosité. Mais, résumer serait gâter, apprécier d'un point de vue critique ne serait possible qu'après avoir refait l'immense labeur de l'auteur.

Citons cependant: (1) le chapitre remarquable sur Montesquieu (pp. 469–74) qui a été peu généreux à Du Bos, lequel avait été très nettement son précurseur en idées—bien que sûrement pas en qualité littéraire; en tous cas s'il ne le fut pas dès le début, il *devint* son créancier. Ce seul chapitre représente une étude minutieuse de l'œuvre de Montesquieu; M. Lombard discute la connaissance de Du Bos par Montesquieu, non seulement dans les diverses éditions de *L'Esprit des Lois*, mais dans la *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*. C'est un triste spectacle de voir cet homme illustre traiter d'abord avec mépris Du Bos, puis refondre un de ses ouvrages en se servant de ce même Du Bos; et ignorant sa dette, et ne trouvant pas une parole pour effacer le tort qu'il avait fait par un jugement sommaire de sa plume autorisée. Heureusement que Gibbon réhabilita pour un temps Du Bos, dont l'étoile était bien pâlie déjà. (2) Le chapitre sur Fustel de Coulanges. Du Bos avait été éliminé de la grande célébrité une première fois par Montesquieu; il le fut une seconde fois par Fustel de Coulanges pour une autre partie de son œuvre. Et dans les deux cas c'est l'art qui a prévalu sur l'érudition. C'est la théorie romaniste de Du Bos, qui presque oubliée pendant un bon siècle aboutit au livre prodigieux, *Histoire des Institutions politiques de l'ancienne France* (1875). Mais le problème se complique un peu ici. F. de Coulanges a pensé s'affranchir d'emblée de toute dette envers ses prédécesseurs en déclarant vouloir toujours remonter aux sources. En ce faisant, il a abouti à la thèse romaniste qu'il a seulement exprimée d'une façon plus dogmatique que Du Bos. Peut-on le nommer le disciple de Du Bos? Evidemment non. . . . Et cependant, pour ceux qui veulent être équitables, Du Bos est victime. D'autant plus que c'est Du Bos qui par son œuvre a jeté en quelque sorte dans le domaine public ces sources; et alors on a le droit de se demander si F. de Coulanges eût connu tout ce qu'il a connu au cas où Du Bos n'eût pas existé un siècle et demi avant. Et, qui plus est, M. Lombard, qui reste d'une parfaite équité, nous dit que Fustel de Coulanges a lu Du Bos après coup, et a ajouté, sans chercher à ce qu'on le sût trop, de l'érudition de Du Bos à la sienne.

Nous ne pouvons terminer sans un mot sur les rapports du romanisme avec les idées sociales du XVIII^me^ siècle. Du Bos, à première vue, est déconcertant. Partout ailleurs il est en avance sur son temps, et justement pour l'organisation sociale, c. à. d. dans la question *pratique* du XVIII^me^ siècle, celle qui trouve sa tentative de solution dans la Révolution, le voici qui non seulement n'accorde pas de droits au peuple, mais les refuse à la noblesse même, et plaide pour l'absolutisme royal de Louis XV.

Il est trop érudit pour ignorer les juristes qui ont affirmé déjà, comme Grotius, la théorie des droits naturels du peuple à disposer de lui-même; mais il concilie cela avec sa conception de l'absolutisme royal en invoquant

la prescription: le peuple s'est donné librement au roi et c'est trop tard maintenant pour s'en dédire. Il y a sûrement un malentendu quelque part; l'appel à la prescription sonne faux, laisse l'impression d'une mauvaise excuse à laquelle on a recours, soit pour prendre la place d'un vrai argument qu'on n'a pas, soit parce qu'on n'a pas bien saisi le problème. Ici c'est certainement un exemple du second cas. Quelqu'avancé et indépendant que fût du Bos, il n'était cependant pas arrivé à concevoir encore que le peuple pût *réellement* compter en politique. La *Monarchie Française* est de 1834; le *Contrat Social*, où la *Souveraineté Populaire* est discutée sérieusement, ne vient qu'en 1760, et les *Observations sur l'Histoire de France* de Mably sont de 1765. Il fallut donc, après 1734, même aux esprits radicaux comme Rousseau, un bon quart de siècle avant de songer que le Tiers-Etat pût être pris en considération. *Et cependant* Du Bos ne fut pas réactionnaire en contestant les droits des nobles; seulement il n'alla qu'à mi-chemin; il vit que les privilèges de naissance étaient une injustice, puis, ne songeant pas au peuple, il les rendit à la royauté; il *parut* réactionnaire, de fait il n'était que paradoxal, puisqu'il proposait un remède pire que le mal: combattant un système de privilèges sociaux (noblesse) par un système de privilèges encore plus accusés (le roi). Enfin on rappellera avec à propos que quand Rousseau qui, lui, crut au peuple, réclama pour le peuple ses droits et vit toutes les théories de la Révolution, il s'arrêta net devant la pratique et fut aussi prudent que Montesquieu et Voltaire: le coût de la révolution sociale, en désordres et en vies, ne vaudrait pas les résultats. Il fallut attendre trente ans encore après la publication du *Contrat social* que les hommes de la Révolution dissent: réalisons la théorie de la souveraineté populaire.

Notre explication nous paraît plus juste que celle à laquelle s'arrête M. Lombard. Il explique Du Bos ainsi: "l'expérience" de l'histoire enseignait que la monarchie assurait plus d'ordre que l'oligarchie. En fût-il ainsi, il resterait toujours que Du Bos n'a pas tenu compte de la souveraineté *populaire* dont "l'expérience" ne pouvait rien dire puisqu'elle n'avait pas été faite.

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Dante. By C. H. GRANDGENT. New York: Duffield & Co., 1916. Pp. 397. Price, $1.50 net.

In preparing this volume on Dante for the new series called "Master Spirits of Literature," Professor Grandgent faced the problem of avoiding the mere repetition of material already presented many times in similar form. He solves it by introducing Dante, not as an individual, but as a representative of his age. He gives the biographical facts in one short chapter, perhaps less fully than in the Introduction to his edition of the *Divina Commedia*, a model

of concise and comprehensive statement. Then follow a dozen chapters on various aspects of mediaeval civilization, with quotation of the significant passages from the works of Dante in connection with the subjects to which they are related. Thus it is shown how Dante more than any other man represents a period in the world's history, and particularly in this sense is a master-spirit. Two other Dante books of 1916 are quite distinct in purpose and result. Professor Fletcher's *Dante* contains, first, an exposition of a certain theory of interpretation, and secondly, literary criticism; Professor Brooks' *Dante: How to Know Him* is mostly a simple account of the *Divina Commedia*, canto by canto. Professor Grandgent makes no claim to novelty except in the method of presentation. He gives a brief bibliography and an index, but no footnotes; and he assumes no knowledge on the part of the reader of any language other than English. The book does, however, bespeak that intelligent interest in serious subjects without which no one should approach the study of Dante. It is a good thing for the general reader and the student alike that so competent a scholar has taken the time for a work of this character.

The arbitrary division into chapters occasionally involves repetition; thus "Society and Politics" is logically connected with "Church and State," and "Language and Poetry" may be considered a part of the general subject of "Medieval Song." There are abundant interesting comments and suggestions. Perhaps the most useful portion of the book is the chapter on "Allegory." Some comparisons between Dante's age and the present recall the author's memorable presidential address on "The Dark Ages"; and his sympathy with what he calls "the medieval temper" admirably fits him to be the interpreter of Dante. He introduces no controversy on disputed points, and gives information which will be generally accepted as orthodox. For instance, while he evidently still inclines to Flamini's system of interpretation, he does not present the disputed theories as facts. Thus in regard to the three beasts of *Inf.* I, he says merely (p. 352): "They represent the evil habits which prevent the sinner from regaining cleanness by his unaided effort"; and in the discussion of allegory, he implies (p. 273) that they "perhaps" represent immoderateness, violence, and deceit. Of errors there are practically none; the statement (p. 17) that the *Convivio* contains five books is an unfortunate slip. The explanation of Dante's definition of the "Sweet New Style" is quite inadequate: the dictation of *Amore* does not show itself merely in "direct, sincere expression of feeling" (p. 136); that is too simple a statement of a very complicated matter.

An interesting feature is Professor Grandgent's translation in the rhyme and meter of the original of most of the passages quoted. His rendering of some lyrics earlier than Dante's time is particularly welcome. The English reads smoothly, and is doubtless as faithful to the meaning as the use of an elaborate rhyme-scheme will permit; an attempt to reproduce the form necessarily sacrifices some of the substance. Thus in the following passage

the rhyme hardly compensates for the divergence of wording (p. 299; *Inferno*, XIII, 7–9):

> The savage beasts have forests none so thick,
> Those beasts which hate each cultivated spot
> In moist Maremma's lonesome bailiwick.

This is barely recognizable in the literal version of Longfellow:

> Such tangled thickets have not, nor so dense,
> Those savage wild-beasts, that in hatred hold
> 'Twixt Cecina and Corneto the tilled places.

It would be easy to multiply examples of inappropriate words used solely on account of the rhyme. In the case of Dante, prose or blank verse seems on the whole a better medium for translation. Nevertheless, Professor Grandgent's attempt is interesting and often felicitous; one of the most successfully translated passages is the final canto of *Paradiso*, with which his book closes.

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Italia dialettale. By G. BERTONI. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1916.

Students of Italian dialects should be greatly pleased at the recent appearance in the Hoepli series of this excellent book by Sig. Bertoni, which presents in compact form noteworthy contributions to the subject. The work is divided into three parts: I, "Lexicology," II, "Principal phonetic and Morphological Characteristics of the Dialects," III, "Syntactical Features." There is also a short appendix dealing with "Italian Dialectic Colonies."

The "Lexicology" is of unusual interest. First, the sources of dialectic words are discussed, then their occasional changes of meaning and migration from one dialect to another. Finally, we have a geographical division into dialect groups.

The writer classifies non-Latin words into the following groups: those of obscure origin, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Greek, Arabic, French, and Spanish. Among the words of obscure origin are mentioned several which are "pre-Romance" and "non-Latin," and consequently are classed as remnants of older languages which have disappeared. Several words from the Italic dialects are mentioned, some being good Italian, as *tufo*. In discussing these the writer makes the statement that they are easily detected by the presence of inter-vocalic *f* for Latin *b*, or by non-Latin suffixes. To the student who is acquainted with Oscan and Umbrian, no explanation of this is necessary, but it is hardly safe to assume that everyone who will read Sig. Bertoni's book has studied the Italic dialects, and a word of explanation would not have been out of place.

The Celtic words came into the vocabulary at an early date, and are, as is to be expected, especially numerous in the dialects of the north, although a great many of them have also found their way into literary Italian. Words of Germanic origin are also especially common in this region, and the literary language has a goodly number of them. It is often impossible to determine whether a word came into the vernacular from the Gothic or through the Lombard. In some cases, however (when we are dealing with words which have been differentiated from their earlier forms by the second Germanic sound-shift), we can distinguish whether the word has been borrowed from the Gothic or the Lombard. It. *biotto*, Lomb. *biot*, "lacking," "without," is certainly of Gothic origin, as appears from the preservation of *t*, while Emilian *bioss*, "nude," comes from the ancient Lombard form *blausz*. So also *tappo* is Gothic, while *zaffo* is Lombard. Germanic words in general may be divided into five principal groups or strata: (1) words, such as *borgo*, brought in before Romance differentiation (recognizable by the fact that they remained in all the Romance languages except Roumanian); (2) words of Gothic origin; (3) Lombard words; (4) words which came in later with the advent of the emperors; (5) modern words, such as *valzer*.

The Greek element, which is well represented in the literary language, is especially strong in the southern dialects and in those along the Adriatic as far north as Venice. Arabic words are not numerous in literary Italian, but occur in Sicilian and other southern dialects, and occasionally in Genoese.

During the thirteenth century the French influence was almost entirely literary. Many French and Provençal words were adopted, often in a slightly Italianized form, by the poets and even the prose writers, but with the decline of French literary influence most of these words disappeared. The Normans, however, left traces of their language in the southern dialects, while the Piedmontese, because of their geographic position, have borrowed much from the French. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, also, on account of close relations with France, both the literary language and the dialects have taken over many words. Spanish influence is to be noted especially in the southern districts, although there are some traces in the northern parts. It is not anterior to the fifteenth century and most of the borrowings were made during the sixteenth and seventeenth. There are also a few words from various other sources, such as Flemish, English, Persian, Turkish, American, Indian, etc.

Some of the changes of meaning studied by Sig. Bertoni are very interesting. The Modenese word for "flatiron" is *päś*, the reason probably being that it has the form of those relics called *paci* which in the churches are given to the faithful to kiss.

The dialects are divided geographically into four groups: (1) Italo-Gallo-Ladin, (2) Venetian, (3) central, and (4) southern. The chapter upon the Italo-Gallo-Ladin dialects is especially complete and satisfactory. In the section on the Venetian dialects the writer points out some striking

resemblances between the older dialects of the Veneto and Ladin, and discusses the connections between the two. The central dialects are not as exhaustively treated as those of Northern Italy. It is to be regretted that the writer has passed over the Livornese in silence; the rest of the territory is, however, well covered. The Corsican, spoken by about two-thirds of the population of the island, is really the cismontano, the oltremontano being ascribed to the Sardinian system. The southern dialects, Neapolitan, Abruzzese, Calabro-Sicilian, Pugliese, are unfortunately all grouped together. It would have been better if a separate chapter had been devoted to each of these headings.

In the chapter dealing with syntax, *ipse* as an article, the position of personal pronoun objects, the intensive *sic* with verbs, and the use of *a* before a direct object referring to a specific person, are of special interest.

In writing this book Sig. Bertoni has done a great service to all students of Italian dialects. It may truthfully be said that it contains more useful information than has ever before been put into one volume on the subject. It is to be regretted that it was impossible to include a series of charts which might have made more clear the exact districts covered by a given phenomenon, but, especially in the chapter on the Italo-Gallo-Ladin, the information is so clearly and definitely presented that it may be possible for the painstaking reader to construct his own charts with a fair degree of accuracy.

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CHAUCER AND DANTE

It is the purpose of this article to present a number of Chaucer's borrowings from Dante that have not (I believe) hitherto been pointed out. Even more, however, the paper is concerned with an attempt to weigh the significance of the phenomena observed. For one thing, a study of the way in which the borrowings seem actually to have come about affords, in a number of instances, peculiarly interesting results.[1] Some light is thrown, moreover, upon the sources of Chaucer's classical information. That information was undoubtedly derived, to a considerable degree, from his reading of the Latin classics themselves in the original. But some of it seems very clearly to have come through the medium of French;[2] part of it by way of the commentaries current in the Middle Ages;[3] and a good deal of it (as what follows will perhaps make clear)[4] underwent significant modification through the influence of Dante. Again, the recurrence, in two or more poems, of reminiscences of Dante in close conjunction with borrowings, in each instance, from the same writers may now and then carry chronological implications of some value. And finally, the distribution of the passages from Dante, both in the *Divine Comedy* itself and in Chaucer, is a subject of the first importance.

[1] See especially §§ 1, 4, 11 below.

[2] See *The Nation*, CIII, No. 2686 (December 21, 1916), pp. 2–3 (Supplement), for a preliminary statement of some of the considerations which underlie this conclusion.

[3] See especially § 11 below.

[4] See in particular §§ 1, 4–14, below.

It was my original intention to follow this paper with another, in which all the other borrowings from Dante that have been recognized should be brought together, and treated in a somewhat similar fashion. The materials, however, have far outgrown the limits of an article, and will instead be included in a brief volume. This paper becomes, accordingly, a preliminary study toward that.

§ 1

Probably the most characteristic fact about Chaucer's borrowings in general is the way in which he incessantly fuses recollections of two or more bits of his reading into a *tertium quid* of his own. The following passage affords an illuminating glimpse into his mental processes by disclosing the underlying association of ideas.

In the *Parlement of Foules* (ll. 288 ff.) Chaucer has reached, in his imitation of the long passage from the seventh book of the *Teseide*, Boccaccio's sixty-second stanza.[1] I shall set side by side with this stanza *Inferno*, V, 58–69, and Chaucer's own lines.

Videvi storie per tutto dipinte,
In tra le qua' con più alto lavoro
Della sposa di Nin vidde distinte
L'opere tutte, e vidde a piè del moro
Piramo e Tisbe, e già le gelse tinte:
E 'l grand' *Ercole* vidde tra costoro
In grembo a Jole, e *Bibli* dolorosa
Andar pregando Cauno pietosa.[2]

'Ell' è *Semiramis*, di cui si legge
Che succedette a *Nino, e fu sua sposa:*
Tenne la terra che il Soldan corregge.
L'altra è colei, che s'ancise amorosa,
E ruppe fede al cener di *Sicheo;*
Poi è *Cleopatras* lussuriosa.
Elena vedi, per cui tanto reo
Tempo si volse, e vedi il grande *Achille*,
Che con amore al fine combatteo.
Vedi *Paris, Tristano';* e più di mille
Ombre mostrommi e nominommi a dito,
Che amor di nostra vita dipartille.[3]

[1] See *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 72.

[2] *Tes.*, VII, 62. I am following here the text of the Moutier edition, not that which Skeat (sometimes incorrectly) gives.

[3] *Inf.*, V, 58–69. I quote from the *Oxford Dante.*

Semyramus, Candace, and *Ercules,*
Biblis, **Dido,** *Tisbe and Piramus,*
Tristram, Isoude, **Paris,** and **Achilles,**
Eleyne, Cleopatre, and Troilus,
Silla, and eek the moder of Romulus—
Alle these were peynted on that other syde,
And al hir love, *and in what plyte they dyde.*[1]

What has happened is clear at a glance, when one compares the three passages. Boccaccio, in his third line ("Della sposa di Nin"), is echoing Dante ("Che succedette a Nino, e fu sua sposa"). But Chaucer knew the passage in Dante, too, and Boccaccio's phrase served to recall it to his memory.[2] The result is that he combines Boccaccio's and Dante's lists into one. Not only is every lover in the *Teseide* stanza included (through one at least of each pair), *but every name in Dante's list as well.*[3] And the last line of Chaucer's stanza is drawn from Dante's sixty-ninth line.[4]

Dante's characterization of Semiramis has left its mark on at least two other passages in Chaucer, of which one has already been recognized, the other not. Carey pointed out that B 3667—

His lustes were al lawe in his decree—

translates *Inf.*, V, 56 (two lines before the passage quoted above):

Che libito fe' licito in sua legge.[5]

In this case the phrase is transferred by Chaucer from Semiramis to Nero. But there can be little doubt, I think, that another line in Dante's description suggested, by an interesting association of

[1] *PF.*, 288–94.

[2] A precisely similar association of ideas, leading to a corresponding transition from Boccaccio to Dante, occurs earlier in the same section of the *Parlement* (ll. 190–203), in which Chaucer is following *Tes.*, VII, 52–53. In lines 201–3 he passes over to *Purg.*, XXVII, 7–10, 14–18. See Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature,* p. 5, for note of the borrowing. I shall discuss its connections later.

[3] The names common to Chaucer and Boccaccio are in italics, those common to Chaucer and Dante in bold-faced type. Chaucer adds (from among the "più di mille ombre") Candace, Troilus, Scylla, and Rhea Silvia. Isoude, of course, belongs with Tristan. Toynbee (*Dante Studies and Researches,* p. 251) quotes Chaucer's stanza in illustration of Dante's linking of Paris of Troy and Tristan, without observing that Chaucer is himself directly drawing upon Dante.

[4] For the reason why Dante puts Semiramis among those who died for love, see Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches,* p. 321.

[5] See also Toynbee, *Dante in Eng. Lit.*, p. 12; *Dante Studies and Researches,* p. 128, n. 3. Chaucer's threefold "lustes . . . . lawe . . . . decree" corresponds to Dante's "libito . . . . licito . . . . legge," rather than to Orosius' twofold "libitum . . . . liberum" ("ut cuique libitum esset liberum fieret," *Hist. adv. Paganos,* I, 4, § 8).

ideas, a well-known phrase in the *Man of Law's Tale*. Semiramis, in the *Inferno*,

Tenne la terra, *che il Soldan corregge*.[1]

Chaucer's transition, accordingly, from

O *sowdanesse*, rote of iniquitee,

to

Virago, thou *Semyram the secounde*,[2]

is a natural one.[3]

§ 2

The words of Africanus in the *Parlement of Foules*—

. . . . hit stondeth writen in thy face,
Thyn errour, though thou telle it not to me[4]—

have long been felt to be a borrowing from Dante. Ten Brink remarked: "Die parallelstelle in der Commedia weisz ich augenblicklich nicht zu finden; doch wird deren eindruck jedem meiner leser gegenwärtig sein."[5] Klaeber refers the lines to *Par.*, XXIV, 41:

Non t' è occulto, perchè il viso hai quivi.[6]

But a glance at the context shows that all connection is wanting. Toynbee quotes the passage,[7] but gives no reference for these particular lines.

The words, of course, might well be Chaucer's response to a vague impression very similar to Ten Brink's, for Virgil's and Beatrice's trick of reading Dante's unspoken thoughts is one of the commonplaces of the *Commedia*.[8] But it is clear, I think, as has never been pointed out, that Chaucer had a very definite passage in mind. The stanza immediately preceding the lines of the *Parlement* is as follows:

Right as, betwixen adamauntes two
Of even might, a pece of iren y-set,
That hath no might to meve to ne fro—

[1] L. 60, above. [2] B 358–59.

[3] Skeat has already called attention to the probable connection of Chaucer's "Sitheo" in *Leg.*, 1005, and Dante's "Sicheo" in *Inf.*, V, 62 (above). And the possibility that Dante's form "Cleopatras" (l. 63) has influenced Chaucer's "Cleopataras" (*Leg.*, 582, 601), "Cleopatras" (*Leg.*, 604) should not be overlooked. See also below, § 8.

[4] *PF.*, 155–56. [5] *Studien*, p. 126.

[6] *Das Bild bei Chaucer*, pp. 156, 344. He also compares *Par.*, XXVI, 103 ff.

[7] *Dante in Eng. Lit.*, p. 4.

[8] See especially *Inf.*, XXIII, 25–29; *Purg.*, XV, 127–29.

For what that on may hale, that other let—
Ferde I, that niste whether me was bet
To entre or leve, til African my gyde
Me hente, and shoof in at the gates wyde,

And seyde, '*hit stondeth writen in thy face,*
Thyn errour, though thou telle it not to me.'[1]

Here are the opening lines of the fourth canto of the *Paradiso:*

Intra due cibi, distanti e moventi
D'un modo, prima si morria di fame,
Che liber' uomo l'un recasse ai denti.
Sì si starebbe un agno intra due brame
Di fieri lupi, egualmente temendo;
Sì si starebbe un cane intra due dame.
Per che, s'io mi tacea, me non riprendo,
Dalli miei dubbi d'un modo sospinto,
Poich' era necessario, nè commendo.
Io mi tacea, ma il mio disir dipinto
M'era nel viso, e il domandar con ello
Più caldo assai, che per parlar distinto.[2]

For the threefold figure of the man between two foods, the lamb between two wolves, and the dog between two hinds, Chaucer has substituted the figure of the iron between two magnets, followed by a close paraphrase of the immediately succeeding words in Dante—"thyn *errour*" harking back to "li miei *dubbi*" of Dante's figure, rather than to "il mio *disir*" of its application. And the connection of the lines with their respective contexts establishes definitely Chaucer's source.[3] This, in turn, it may be remarked, demonstrates Chaucer's knowledge of the *Paradiso* when he wrote the *Parlement of Foules.*[4]

[1] *PF.*, 139–56.

[2] *Par.*, IV, 1–12. Compare also ll. 16–18:
E disse: 'Io veggio ben *come ti tira*
Uno ed altro disio,' etc.

[3] In the lines that immediately follow (*PF.*, 157–58) Chaucer returns—as has not, I think, been observed—to the third canto of the *Inferno*, and recalls Virgil's reassurance of Dante in ll. 127–29. The same canto of the *Inferno* is also drawn upon, as has long been recognized, in *PF.*, 127–40 = *Inf.*, III, 1 ff.; *PF.*, 169–70 = *Inf.*, III, 19–20.

[4] The idea that Chaucer pegged slowly through the *Divine Comedy* for a period of months or even years has always seemed a rather curious one. It isn't likely that he read it at a sitting. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that, once having begun it, he would not go straight through it within a comparatively short time. I, for instance, have read it twice within the last two months (and the *Teseide* twice into the bargain) in the intervals of other more or less exacting occupations, and I am very sure that Chaucer knew Italian better than I.

§ 3

The following well-known lines from the *Troilus* should be added to Chaucer's borrowings from the *Convivio*:[1]

> Ye knowe eek, that *in forme of speche is chaunge*
> *With-inne a thousand yeer*, and *wordes tho*
> *That hadden prys*, now wonder nyce and *straunge*
> Us thinketh hem.[2]

The first two lines are clearly suggested by *Convivio*, I, v, 55–66:

Onde vedemo nelle città d'Italia, se bene volemo agguardare, a cinquanta anni da qua *molti vocaboli essere spenti e nati e variati; onde se 'l piccolo tempo così trasmuta, molto più trasmuta lo maggiore*. Sicch' io dico, che se coloro che partiro di questa vita, *già sono mille anni*, tornassono alle loro cittadi, crederebbono quelle essere occupate da gente *strana* per la lingua da loro discordante.[3]

The rest of the passage comes from Horace by way of the *Convivio:*

E luce or di qua or di là, in tanto quanto certi vocaboli, certe declinazioni, certe costruzioni sono in uso, che già non furono, e molte già furono, che ancor saranno; siccome dice Orazio nel principio della *Poetria*, quando dice: 'Molti vocaboli rinasceranno, che già caddero,' ec.[4]

Dante is quoting *Ars Poetica*, ll. 70–71:

> Multa renascentur, quae jam cecidere, *cadentque*
> *Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula*, si volet usus.[5]

The line (*T. & C.*, II, 21) immediately preceding the stanza under consideration—"A blind man can nat juggen wel in hewis"—also occurs in Dante, in direct connection with a discussion of *words*. It is in *De Vulg. Eloq.*, II, vi, 27: "Pudeat ergo, pudeat idiotas tantum audere deinceps ut ad cantiones prorumpant; quos non aliter deridemus *quam caecum de coloribus distinguentem*." Dante is discussing the arrangement of words in the *canzone* (which, as he has

[1] See the article of the present writer in *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, 19 ff.

[2] *T. & C.*, II, 22–25.

[3] Compare *De Vulg. Eloq.*, I, ix, 66–70. Ten Brink (*Studien*, p. 83) compares Chaucer's observation with the lines in *De Vulg. Eloq.* (I, ix, 60–66) immediately preceding those to which I have just referred. But the passage in the *Convivio*, quite apart from the identifying phrase "già sono *mille anni*," is far closer to Chaucer's idea.

[4] *Convivio*, II, xiv, 83–89.

[5] Skeat recognized the quotation (as have others), with the comment: "Probably borrowed at second hand." But he did not identify the source. See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, I, 197, for Dante's use of the same passage in *Par.*, XXVI, 137–38.

already stated in the fourth chapter, must deal with "salus, *amor*, et virtus"), and the succeeding chapter is the famous one which presents his classification of words. It is tempting, in view of the context, to suppose that Dante's use of the phrase suggested Chaucer's. But the line is a proverb of wide currency;[1] there is no conclusive evidence that Chaucer read the *De Vulg. Eloq.;* and without surer grounds the parallel cannot safely be regarded as more than a coincidence.

§ 4

In the stanza of Book III of the *Troilus* beginning with line 1373 Chaucer is translating *Filostrato*, III, 38:

Deh pensin qui *gli dolorosi avari*
Che biasiman chi è innamorato, etc.

The corresponding lines in Chaucer are:

Lord! trowe ye, a *coveitous*, a wrecche,
That blameth love and holt of it despyt, etc.

Chaucer follows Boccaccio through the next stanza (*T. & C.*, 1380–86 = *Fil.*, III, 39) and then leaves the *Filostrato* altogether for the moment. The lines which he interpolates (1387–93) are as follows:

As wolde god, the wrecches, that dispyse
Servyse of love, hadde eres al-so longe
As hadde *Myda, ful of coveityse;*
And ther-to dronken hadde as hoot and stronge
As Crassus dide for his affectis wronge, etc.

As in the case of the Semiramis passage,[2] so here a perfectly natural association of ideas has carried Chaucer from Boccaccio to Dante. "Gli dolorosi avari" recalls the Fifth Circle of Purgatory, in which the avaricious and prodigal expiate their sins. In Canto XX of the *Purgatorio* Hugh Capet gives, at the close of his long discourse, the list of examples of avarice which the weeping souls rehearse at night:

Noi ripetiam Pigmalion allotta . . . .
E la miseria *dell'avaro Mida*,
Che seguì alla sua domanda ingorda,
Per la qual sempre convien che si rida.[3]

[1] See Kittredge, *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 477–78.

[2] See above, § 1.

[3] *Purg.*, XX, 103, 106–8.

Achan, Ananias and Sapphira, Heliodorus, and Polymnestor are then named:

> Ultimamente ci si grida: "*Crasso,*
> *Dicci, chè il sai, di che sapore è l'oro?*"[1]

Without question, Chaucer had other sources of information regarding both Midas and Crassus. For Midas *RR.*, I, 360,[2] and *Met.*, XI, 100 ff., were available. But Professor Kittredge has pointed out[3] that *RR.* does not speak of the Golden Touch. On the other hand, although it is true, as Kittredge suggests, that covetousness appears in *Met.*, XI, 118–19, 132, 136, 141, it is there only *implied.*[4] In Dante it is both explicit and fundamental. And of course neither *RR.* nor Ovid places Midas and Crassus in juxtaposition. As for Crassus, Chaucer may well have known the account of his death in Florus:

> Aurum enim liquidum in rictum oris infusum est, ut cujus animus arserat auri cupiditate, ejus etiam mortuum et exsangue corpus auro ureretur.[5]

And there is evidence, the statement of which belongs to a later discussion, that Chaucer may also have known a passage in *Li Hystore de Julius Cesar* of Jehan de Tuim:

> Crassus fu envoies en Arrabe selonc l'usage de Rome pour conkester sour Turs et sour Arrabiiens; si avint k'il fu ochis ensi com vous ores: pour cou k'il estoit trop convoitous sour avoir, li Turc li fisent or fondut avaler ou cors parmi le bouche *si caut com il estoit,*[6] et en tel maniere fu Crassus ochis.[7]

Since, as it has been remarked, it is Chaucer's consistent habit to blend reminiscences of a variety of passages, he may of course have done so here.[8]

[1] *Purg.*, XX, 116–17. Klaeber (*op. cit.*, p. 193) compares these last lines with *T. & C.*, III, 1388–91, but only with reference to Crassus.

[2] Ed. Michel.

[3] *PMLA*, XXIV, 352, n. 14.

[4] It is explicit in Mythogr. III, cap. 10, § 8 (Bode, *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum*, I, 227).

[5] *Epitome*, I, 46, § 11. Cf. *Anticlaudianus*, II, v (*Satirical Poets of Twelfth Cent.*, Rolls Series, II, 300): "Non auri potum sitiens, non ebrius auro, Aurum potasset Crassus, male potus in auro."

[6] Cf. "And ther-to dronken hadde as *hoot* and stronge." But see also Florus' "ureretur."

[7] Ed. Settegast, pp. 5–6.

[8] Midas' ass's ears, for example, are not mentioned in Dante.

The juxtaposition of Midas and Crassus, however, under the head of Avarice, and the employment of Dante's form "Mida"[1] constitute strong presumptive evidence in favor of the dominant influence of Dante. Moreover, Chaucer draws upon a passage from the previous canto of the *Purgatorio* (XIX, 4–5) only twenty-six lines farther on (*T. & C.*, III, 1419–20).[2] And finally the phrase "for his *affectis wronge*" is conclusive. Not only is "affect" (which Chaucer seems to use only here)[3] a characteristically Dantean word, but it occurs twice (XVII, 111; XVIII, 57) in the fundamental discussion in Cantos XVII and XVIII of the *Purgatorio* concerning the nature of love. Crassus' "affectis wronge" represent love "*quando al mal si torce*" (XVII, 100), and Chaucer's use of the phrase shows his complete assimilation of Dante's doctrine. The passage has therefore an interest far beyond that of a mere passing recollection of a pair of names.

It is interesting to observe that this same passage in Dante influenced in similar fashion both Petrarch and Boccaccio. In the *Triumphus famae* (I, 55–57) occurs the following:

> Un Curio, ed un Fabritio, assai più belli
> Con la lor povertà *che Mida o Crasso*
> Con l'oro, onde a virtù furon rebelli.[4]

That Petrarch has Dante in mind is proved by the mention of Fabricius, who is the first example of poverty in Canto XX of the *Purgatorio* (ll. 25–27). The same juxtaposition occurs in the *Amorosa Visione* (XIII, 5–12):

> Vi vid'io *Mida*, in vista che sazia
> Saria di tutto appena possedente:
> Non bastandoli avere avuta grazia
> Dagl' iddii, che ciò che e' toccasse
> Ritornasse oro ver senza fallazia.
> Di dietro a lui parea che ne tirasse
> Giù *Marco Crasso* assai, avvegnadio
> Che della bocca ancor li traboccasse.

[1] See also D 951, 953. This form also occurs as a nominative in Mythogr. II, cap. 117 (Bode, I, 114): "Mida rex," etc.

[2] See *Oxford Chaucer*, VI, 404.

[3] This is also the only occurrence of the word in this sense recorded by the *NED* up to 1528. As contrasted with "chere" it occurs in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 5486. In the *Romaunt* Skeat has emended the manuscript, and reads "effect," which may be right. See his note on the line.

[4] Ed. Appel, Halle, 1901.

The inclusion of Polymnestor (l. 35) and Pygmaleon (l. 44) shows that Boccaccio is also following Dante (cf. *Purg.*, XX, 103, 115). There is, however, in neither case any verbal correspondence with Chaucer's lines.

§ 5

The Legend of Hypsipyle and Medea is drawn in the main from Guido and Ovid. But Chaucer had not forgotten (as it is difficult to think that he could forget) the Jason who appeared to Dante along the first valley of Malebolge—"nor appeared Less than Archangel ruined." Chaucer's reminiscences are colored by the scornful context in which he sets them, but they are unmistakable.

Il buon Maestro, senza mia domanda,
Mi disse: 'Guarda quel grande che viene,
E per dolor non par lagrima spanda:
Quanto aspetto reale ancor ritiene!
Quelli è Jason, che per core e per senno
Li Colchi del monton privati fene. . . . .
Ivi con senno e con parole ornate
Isifile ingannò, la giovinetta . . . .
Ed anco di Medea si fa vendetta.
Con lui sen va chi da tal parte inganna.[1]

Now was Jasoun a semely man with-alle,
And lyk a lord, and had a greet renoun,
And of his loke as real as leoun,
And goodly of his speche, and famulere.[2]

Compare also:

Thou madest thy reclaiming and *thy lures*
To ladies *of thy statly apparaunce*,
And of *thy wordes, farced with plesaunce*.[3]

Finally, the line:

Have at thee, Jasoun! *now thyn horn is blowe!*[4]

translates the fifth line of the next canto of the *Inferno:*

Or convien *che per voi suoni la tromba.*[5]

[1] *Inf.*, XVIII, 82–87, 91–92, 96–97.

[2] *Leg.*, 1603–6.

[3] *Leg.*, 1371–72.

[4] *Leg.*, 1383.

[5] *Inf.*, XIX, 5. This last parallel was pointed out by Klaeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 152, 380, and especially p. 405. The reference in Dante's phrase, as Scartazzini observes, is to

§ 6

Juno's anger against the Thebans and Trojans was a commonplace in many of the classical writers whom Chaucer knew. But (as has already been said) to a far greater degree than has been adequately recognized, Dante's concise and pregnant phraseology seems to have influenced Chaucer, even in his allusions to matters with which he was certainly familiar from his Latin reading. The following is a case in point.

Now, blisful lord, so *cruel* thou ne be
Unto the blood of *Troye*, I preye thee,
As Juno was un-to the blood Thebane.[1]

Nel tempo *che Junone era crucciata*
Per Semelè *contra il sangue tebano* . . . .
Ma nè di *Tebe* furie nè *Troiane*
Si vider mai in alcun *tanto crude*, etc.[2]

Whatever knowledge Chaucer may have had of the subject from other sources, his phraseology shows unmistakably the influence of Dante.

The same influence is also clear in *KT.*, 1329–31:

And eek thurgh Juno, *jalous* and eek *wood*,
That hath destroyed wel ny al *the blood*
Of Thebes.

There is no directly corresponding passage in the *Teseide.*[3]

§ 7

The phrase about "the blood Thebane" is of no great importance, except so far as it shows the unexpected ways in which one writer sets his stamp upon another's words. Dante's next line,

the trumpet "del banditore che strombazza i misfatti dei condannati a pubblica punizione." Chaucer's "Have at thee, Jasoun!" looks, however, as if he had understood the figure as referring to the *chase*, although the two lines preceding (*Leg.*, 1381–82) perhaps point to an understanding of its real significance. In any case, he has transferred the phrase from the Simonists to Jason, whose memory, however, persists in Canto XIX: "*Nuovo Jason* sarà" (l. 85).

[1] *T. & C.*, V, 599–601.

[2] *Inf.*, XXX, 1–2, 22–23. Wise (*The Influence of Statius upon Chaucer*, p. 23) refers the phrase "un-to the blood Thebane" to Dante, but does not note the extent of the parallel, which I had observed before reading his dissertation.

[3] Cf. *Tes.*, III, 1, ll. 1–2; IV, 16, ll. 6–7; V, 59, ll. 7–8. Chaucer's "jalous" recalls "crucciata *per Semelè*," and "wood" is probably suggested by "*insano*" in Dante's next line but one, where it refers to Athamas. See next section below.

however, affected Chaucer in a fashion more significant. The passage just quoted from *Inferno*, XXX, proceeds as follows:

> Nel tempo che Junone era crucciata
> Per Semelè contra il sangue tebano,
> Come mostrò una ed altra fiata,
> *Atamante divenne tanto insano*
> Che, etc.[1]

Lines 1534–40 of the fourth book of the *Troilus* are these:

> For thilke day that I for cherisshinge
> Or drede of fader, or of other wight,
> Or for estat, delyt, or for weddinge
> *Be fals to yow*, my Troilus, my knight,
> Saturnes doughter, *Juno*, thorugh hir might,
> *As wood as Athamante* do me dwelle
> Eternaly in Stix, the put of helle!

In the first three lines Chaucer is directly following Boccaccio.[2] Criseida's oath, however, is merely:

> Ma io ti giuro *per quelle amorose*
> *Saette* che per te m'entrar nel petto.[3]

The adjurations in this and the following stanzas of the *Troilus* are Chaucer's substitution for Boccaccio's rather inadequate seizing of his opportunity. Now Chaucer pretty certainly knew about Athamas from Ovid,[4] and it is possible to account for his form "*Athamante*" on the basis of the accusative *Athamanta* of *Met.*, IV, 467, 471.[5] Moreover, Ovid uses the phrase "Saturnia Juno" in l. 448.[6] But Athamas in Ovid does not "dwelle eternaly in Stix," and it is by no means obvious why, if Chaucer had Ovid alone in mind, he should have chosen to refer to Athamas at all in just this connection. Both points become clear by reference to the passage of the *Inferno*. Criseyde is swearing that *she will not be false to Troilus*, and is invoking upon herself the fate of Athamas, if she is. The reference to Athamas occurs in that part of the Eighth Circle where Justice "*punisce i falsator*,"[7] and introduces the account

[1] *Inf.*, XXX, 1–4.
[2] *Fil.*, IV, 146, ll. 7–8.
[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 5–6.
[4] *Met.*, IV, 447 ff.
[5] See Kittredge, *PMLA*, XXIV, 351, n.9.
[6] This, however, is a commonplace.
[7] *Inf.*, XXIX, 57.

(among others) of Myrrha and Sinon, and Potiphar's wife. The connection of Athamas with Criseyde's oath is accordingly clear, if we assume that the suggestion came through Dante. Otherwise it is not. Moreover, although in Dante Atamante himself is not represented as being in Hell, the context is amply sufficient to suggest it. It is, of course, perfectly possible that Chaucer remembered, as in the case of "Marsia,"[1] both Ovid and Dante.

The reference to Styx as the "put of helle" is also without question, I think, to be referred to the influence of Dante, especially through *Inf.*, VII, 100 ff. Since this article was written, however, I have discovered that I have been anticipated in this explanation by Dr. Wise, and I shall therefore content myself with referring to his discussion.[2]

§ 8

Of the curious fusion of sources that underlies Chaucer's ideas regarding Hell, and of the remarkable shifting of weight among the various influences that is manifest in his later work, I shall have more to say another time.[3] The suggestion, however, for one detail in the *Hous of Fame* is patent.

> This Eolus anon up sterte,
> And with his blakke clarioun
> He gan to blasen out a soun,
> *As loude as belweth wind in helle.*[4]

In the *Inferno*, Dante has entered the Second Circle:

> Io venni in loco d'ogni luce muto,
> *Che mugghia come fa mar per tempesta*
> *Se da contrari venti è combattuto.*
> La bufera infernal, che mai non resta,
> Mena gli spirti con la sua rapina,
> Voltando e percotendo li molesta.[5]

[1] See below, § 14.

[2] *The Influence of Statius upon Chaucer*, pp. 17–18. With reference to the following lines (*T. & C.*, IV, 1541–45) Dr. Wise has overlooked their real source in *Met.*, I, 192–93 (see Kittredge, *PMLA*, XXIV, 351, n. 7). And the suggestion for ll. 1548–54 came, not from Statius (see Wise, p. 19), but from Ovid (see Fansler, *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose*, pp. 46–47.) The borrowing from Ovid may in this case have been by way of the French. But the consideration of that problem must be left until later.

[3] See in part, the next section.

[4] *HF.*, 1800–1803.

[5] *Inf.*, V, 28–33; cf. 42, 49.

There can be no question of Chaucer's knowledge of this particular canto. The Semiramis passage (see § 1 above) is twenty lines beyond the lines just quoted. And it is from the episode of Paolo and Francesca (which also contains, of course, the famous "Nessun maggior dolore")[1] that Chaucer draws his so-called "favorite line."[2]

§ 9

Chaucer's conception of the Furies is marked by the recurrence of the idea of "*sorwing* ever in peyne,"[3] "*compleyning* ever in pyne,"[4] and "*languisshing*."[5] The stock adjectives associated with the Erinys, on the other hand, in the classical writers whom Chaucer knew, belong to an entirely different category. They are (taking them at random) *rabidus*,[6] *saevus*,[7] *ultrix*,[8] *inplacabilis*,[9] *infelix*,[10] *ferus*,[11] *horriferens*,[12] *insanus*,[13] *ater*,[14] *crudelis*,[15] *cruentus*,[16] *impius*,[17] *ferox*,[18] *malus*,[19] *torvus*,[20] and the like. In Jean de Meun the Furies are "en enfer justicières, Gardes félonesses et fières";[21] they are "Les trois ribaudes félonesses, Des félonies vengeresses," and their functions are clear: "Ces trois en enfer vous atendent; Ceus lient, batent, fustent, pendent, Hurtent, hercent, escorchent, foulent, Noient, ardent, greillent et boulent."[22] It is true that Chaucer must have been familiar, also, with the phrases "*tristis* Erinys,"[23] "*tristes* Dirae,"[24] "*tristes* Furiae,"[25] but the epithet *tristis* is scarcely sufficient to account for his significant emphasis upon the torture

[1] Compare *T. & C.*, III, 1625–28.

[2] *Inf.*, V, 100.

[3] *T. & C.*, I, 9.

[4] *T. & C.*, IV, 23.

[5] F 950.

[6] *Aen.*, VII, 451.

[7] *Aen.*, VII, 329; *Met.*, X, 350.

[8] *Aen.*, IV, 474; *Theb.*, VIII, 757.

[9] *Met.*, IV, 452.

[10] *Met.*, IV, 490.

[11] *Met.*, I, 241; *Theb.*, VII, 562.

[12] *Met.*, I, 725.

[13] *Met.*, XI, 14.

[14] *Her.*, XI, 103; *Theb.*, II, 282.

[15] *Theb.*, VIII, 686.

[16] *Theb.*, XI, 197.

[17] *Theb.*, IX, 149.

[18] *De Raptu*, II, 343.

[19] *Theb.*, XI, 208.

[20] *Theb.*, XI, 482.

[21] Ed. Michel, II, 200.

[22] Ed. Michel, II, 289. It is *possible* that Chaucer's "in peyne" may be due to a misunderstanding of Jean de Meun's phrase: "De son relief sunt *en grant paine* Les trois ribaudes," etc. ("to glut themselves they are at great pains"), which may have been taken to mean that the Furies are "in great torment." But that is unlikely, and in any case Jean de Meun says nothing about their endless *complaining*.

[23] *Aen.*, II, 337; *Her.*, VI, 45; *De Raptu*, I, 225.

[24] *Aen.*, VIII, 701.

[25] *De Raptu*, II, 219.

undergone by the Furies themselves and upon their lamentations under it. The explanation lies in the fact that Chaucer's conception of the Furies is colored throughout by Dante's.

Dante's unforgettable description is found in the ninth canto of the *Inferno:*

> Dove in un punto furon dritte ratto
> *Tre furie infernal*[1] di sangue tinte,
> Che membra femminili aveano ed atto,
> E con idre verdissime eran cinte:
> Serpentelli ceraste avean per crine
> Onde le fiere tempie eran avvinte.[2]
> E quei che ben conobbe le meschine
> *Della regina dell'eterno pianto:*
> 'Guarda,' mi disse, 'le feroci *Erine.*
> Questa è *Megera* dal sinistro canto:
> Quella *che piange* dal destro è *Aletto:*
> *Tesifone* è nel mezzo:' e tacque a tanto.
> *Con l'unghie si fendea ciascuna il petto;*
> *Batteansi a palme, e gridavan sì alto*
> Ch'io mi strinsi al poeta per sospetto.[3]

The Invocation at the beginning of Book IV of the *Troilus* is as follows:

> O ye *Herines,* Nightes doughtren three,
> *That endelees compleynen ever in pyne,*
> *Megera, Alete and eek Thesiphone.*[4]

The "endelees compleynen" paraphrases "dell'eterno pianto" (together with "che piange"); the "ever in pyne" is sufficiently accounted for by ll. 44–50; the order of the names is the same;[5]

[1] The "furie infernal . . . . from Pluto sent" of A 2684–85 is Chaucer's condensation of *Tes.*, IX, 4–9 (see especially 4, ll. 5–6, and 9, l. 7). The exact phrase may have come from Dante, but it is common both in French and in Italian. See, for instance, *Eneas*, l. 1919; *Filocolo* (ed. Moutier, II, 85, foot); *Bull. Ital.*, VII, 290; etc.

[2] It is rather interesting that at the very point where Dante, in ll. 40–42, most definitely follows the classical conception (see Moore, *Studies in Dante*, First Series, p. 245, for his source) Chaucer shows no signs of his influence.

[3] *Inf.*, IX, 37–51.

[4] *T. & C.*, IV, 22–24.

[5] Jean de Meun has:

> Alecto et Thesiphoné,
> Car de chascune le non é.
> La tierce r'a non Megera (ed. Michel, II, 289).

On the order of the Furies see Mythogr. III, cap. 6, § 23 (Bode, I, 187): "Harum secundum Fulgentium prima Alecto . . . . secunda Tisiphone . . . . tertia Megaera. . . . Alii tamen Megaeram secundam, Tisiphonen tertiam volunt." Chaucer's and Dante's order differs from both.

and "Alete" for "Alecto" seems to show the influence of the Italian form.[1]

At the beginning of Book I of the *Troilus* Chaucer invokes Tisiphone:

> Thesiphone, thou help me for t'endyte
> *Thise woful vers, that wepen as I wryte!*
>
> To thee clepe I, *thou godesse of torment,*
> *Thou cruel Furie,*[2] *sorwing ever in peyne;*
> Help me, that am the sorwful instrument
> That helpeth lovers, as I can, *to pleyne!*
> For wel sit it, the sothe for to seyne,
> A woful wight to han *a drery fere,*
> And, to a sorwful tale, a sory chere.[3]

Tisiphone is here, as in the classics, the "godesse of *torment,*" the "*cruel* Furie." But the Dantean conception is even more salient in the lines. Not only is Tisiphone "*sorwing ever in peyne,*" but she is also to help Chaucer "to *pleyne,*" and she is to be the "*drery* fere" to one who *weeps* as he writes. It is under that aspect that she is primarily invoked.

[1] Chaucer might readily enough have remembered "Herines" from his classical reading, e.g., *De Raptu*, I, 225; *Her.*, VI, 45; XI, 103; *Met.*, I, 241, 725; IV, 490; XI, 14; *Thebaid, passim* (see especially Wise, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13); etc. It also occurs in the *Teseide* (IX, 4, ll. 5–6; X, 75, l. 3). The essential point for this passage is the fact that Dante uses it. The note on the margin of Harl., 2392 (see *Oxford Chaucer*, II, lxxiii)—"Herine, furie infernales; unde Lucanus, me pronuba duxit Herinis"—by no means "proves that Chaucer really took the name from Lucan, *Phars.*, VIII, 90," as Skeat asserts. The context in Lucan is totally different, and the gloss is in all probability the comment of a too intelligent scribe. On the manuscript see Root, *The Textual Tradition of Chaucer's Troilus* (Chaucer Soc., 1916), p. 18.

The reference to the Furies as daughters of Night is probably due to *Met.*, IV, 451–52: "illa sorores *Nocte* vocat *genitas.*" *RR.*, 17872–73 (ed. Michel, II, 200) is scarcely what was in Chaucer's mind, for Jean de Meun's word is "Forseneries" (see Cipriani, *PMLA*, XXII, 581; Fansler, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51). But sources for Chaucer's information on this point were abundant. To Fansler's references (p. 50, n. 4) add Bocaccio, *Gen. Deor.*, III, vi–ix (where the statement is iterated and reiterated); Servius (ed. Thilo and Hagen), I, 380, l. 25; II, 152, l. 16; 645, l. 20; Mythogr. II, cap. 12 (Bode, I, 77).

[2] Wise (*op. cit.*, p. 136) remarks: "The gloss *fure d'enfer*, found on the margin of MS Harl., 2392 at *Troilus*, I, 6, may be Chaucer's own and may have been taken from *Thèbes*, 510, *Tesiphone, fure d'enfer.*" It is *not* likely to be Chaucer's own note. See above, note 1. The reference to the *Roman de Thèbes*, if it be such (which is doubtful), is pretty certainly the scribe's. I was thoroughly convinced, before I read Dr. Wise's monograph, of Chaucer's use of the *Roman de Thèbes*, but I do not believe that the gloss in Harl. 2392 affords evidence of it.

[3] *T. & C.*, I, 6–14.

No less striking is the Franklin's statement regarding Aurelius, who

> . . . . dorste nat his sorwe telle,
> But *languissheth, as a furie dooth in helle.*[1]

And with this belongs also F 1101:

> In *langour* and in torment *furious*
> Two yeer and more lay wreche Aurelius.[2]

This brings us to another group of passages that is significant. Proserpine, in the lines from Dante, is "*regina dell'eterno pianto.*" It has long been recognized that Chaucer has this passage in mind in the *Hous of Fame:*

> . . . . Proserpyne,
> That *quene is of the derke pyne.*[3]

There are, however, two other passages which show the influence of these same lines of the *Inferno*, either directly, or through Chaucer's recollection of his own phraseology.

> The deeth may wel out of my brest departe
> The lyf, so longe may this sorwe myne;
> But fro my soule shal Criseydes darte
> Out never-mo; but *down with Proserpyne,*
> When I am deed, I wol go wone *in pyne;*
> And then I wol *eternally compleyne*
> My wo, and how that twinned be we tweyne.[4]

Boccaccio has simply, for the lines that most concern us:

> Questi con lui la mia alma merranno
> Giù *nell' inferno all' ultimo martire;*
> Quivi insieme Griseida *piangeranno.*[5]

"Down with Proserpyne" and "eternally compleyne" are, therefore, Chaucer's own. "Piangeranno" (in its context) may perhaps have helped to recall the passage in the *Inferno* to his mind.

A few lines farther on in the same book occurs the following stanza:

> Myn herte and eek the woful goost ther-inne
> Biquethe I, with your spirit *to compleyne*
> *Eternally*, for they shul never twinne.

[1] F 949–50.

[2] Cf. F 448: "this *furial pyne of helle.*"

[3] *HF.*, 1511–12. See Toynbee, *Dante in Eng. Lit.*, p. 9.

[4] *T. & C.*, IV, 470–76.

[5] *Fil.*, IV, 54, ll. 4–6.

For though in erthe y-twinned be we tweyne,
Yet in the feld of pitee, out of peyne,
That hight Elysos, shul we been y-fere,
As Orpheus and Erudice his fere.[1]

In this case Chaucer has digressed for the moment from the *Filostrato*. But in the stanza of the *Filostrato* (IV, 91) which immediately follows the last one (IV, 90) that he did translate (in *Troilus*, IV, 778–79) occurs a phrase, "e *teco a lamentare* Il partir doloroso," which seems to have recalled "*insieme Griseida piangeranno*" in *Fil.*, IV, 54.[2] The result is a companion stanza to *Troilus*, IV, 470–76, above, with a repetition, in "compleyne Eternally," of Dante's "eterno pianto."

§ 10

I have quoted the last two stanzas in the preceding section at length because they have a possible bearing upon one of the most baffling problems in Chaucer. In the *Compleynte unto Pite*, Chaucer addresses Pity—or his lady regarded as pitiful—in the words:

Have mercy on me, *thou Herenus quene*,
That you have sought so tenderly and yore.[3]

Professor Skeat, identifying Cruelty in the poem with Tisiphone and Pity with Pietas, regards "the struggle between Pity and Cruelty in Chaucer's poem [as] parallel to the struggle between Pietas and the fury Tisiphone as told in Statius."[4] But the contest between Cruelty and Pity, as Skeat himself points out,[5] is a commonplace in the poetry of courtly love, and the whole content of the *Compleynte* is leagues away from the grim and savage struggle in the *Thebaid*. Dr. Fansler[6] has done notable service in bringing Chaucer's lines, on the other hand, into connection with the passage in the ninth canto of the *Inferno*. Certain considerations that arise out of what has been stated in § 9 may serve to strengthen his position.

[1] *T. & C.*, IV, 785–91. [2] See above. [3] Ll. 92–93.

[4] *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 62; cf. 459–61. The passage in Statius is *Theb.*, XI, 457–96. Skeat's view is restated by Wise, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–41.

[5] *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 459–60 (note on l. 64). [6] *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

In the first place, there can be no question that Chaucer identifies "Herenus quene" with *Pity*. The following lines are conclusive, if there were otherwise any doubt:

> Pite, *that I have sought so yore ago* [l. 1].
> For *I have sought hir ever ful besily* [l. 33].
> Have mercy on me, thou Herenus quene,
> *That you have sought so tenderly and yore* [ll. 92–93].

In the second place, there can be little question that, as Fansler suggests, "Herenus quene" is *Proserpine*. The Erine are "le *meschine Della regina* dell'eterno pianto."[1] Chaucer, therefore, somehow identifies *Proserpine* and *Pity*. Why?

As a tentative suggestion, I should like to point out that in *Troilus*, IV, 789 (see § 9), the Elysian fields are called "the feld of *pitee*." Chaucer is here following, as Kittredge observes,[2] *Met.*, XI, 61–66, and his "feld of *pitee*" is Ovid's "arva *piorum*." I have already called attention to the striking and obviously intentional parallelism between this stanza and *Troilus*, IV, 470 ff. (quoted in § 9). It would be going too far to assert that there is a designed equation between "down with *Proserpyne*" and "in the feld of *pitee*." The "*in* peyne" of the one stanza and the "*out of* peyne" of the other seem to distinguish between the two regions of the underworld. But it is clear that Chaucer must have known Proserpine as the queen, not only of the rest of the underworld, but also of *Elysium*,[3] and so of the realm of *mercy*. At all events, "Herenus quene" *is* also queen of the "feld of pitee."

It is possible, furthermore, that somehow Proserpine in her well-known guise of *Luna* or *Lucina* may have been in his mind. Precisely this identification Dante himself makes in the passage under discussion.[4] And certainly line 94, "Let som streem of your

[1] Cf. A 2299: "*Quene* of the regne of Pluto derk and lowe"; E 2038–39: "he, Pluto, and his *quene*, Proserpina"; E 2229: "the *quene* Proserpyne." And cf. A 2081–82; F 1074–75.

[2] *PMLA*, XXIV, 352, n. 14. It is not probable (although, of course, possible) that Chaucer's modification of the phrase is due to a misunderstanding of the Latin.

[3] He could have learned this (to mention one source only) from Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, II, 277–359. Indeed, ll. 302–4, in their context, might almost in themselves have given him the idea of Proserpina as "queen of pity."

[4] Cf. *Inf.*, X, 79–80, "Ma non cinquanta volte fia raccesa La faccia *della donna che qui regge*," with IX, 44.

light on me be sene," seems to point to such a possibility here. That Chaucer knew that Luna, Lucina, and Proserpine were one and the same is proved (if proof were necessary) by F 1045 ff. (especially 1074–75).[1] Finally, the form "Heren*us*" suggests that the word was new to Chaucer himself,[2] and I suspect that the phrase may be among the very first of his responses to the influence of Dante.[3] This feeling is strengthened by the relation between the *Compleynte unto Pite* and the so-called "Compleint to his Lady."[4] For I cannot agree with Skeat[5] that the "Compleint to his Lady" has nothing to do with the "Complaint of Pity." Even apart from the evidence of the manuscripts, the correspondences in phraseology and in spirit force one to the conclusion that the poems are companion pieces.[6] And it is in the "Compleint to his Lady" that Chaucer's sole attempt at *terza rima* occurs.[7] One may be fairly certain that Chaucer would not have waited long, after reading Dante, before trying his hand at the new meter. Both complaints are otherwise French through and through. It is at least a good guess, therefore, that the *terza rima* in the one and "Heren*us* quene" in the other represent Chaucer's first borrowings from Dante.

I doubt if a further fact (tempting as it is) has any bearing on the problem. But it *is* a fact that in the twentieth canto of the *Inferno* occurs the line:

Qui vive la pietà quando è ben morta.[8]

Dante, of course, did not mean what Chaucer means in the *Compleynte*. But the lay reader often enough misses Dante's point.

I have offered these tentative observations upon "Herenus quene" in the hope that they may perhaps afford a clue to someone else, who may completely solve the problem.

[1] Cf. also A 2081–85, 2296–99. He could have learned it from innumerable sources.

[2] Or to Adam Scrivener?

[3] If so, Chaucer *may* have misunderstood "pianto" as meaning "pity."

[4] No. VI among the Minor Poems in Skeat's edition.

[5] *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 526.

[6] Cf. II, 64–70, VI, 28–32; II, 99–101, VI, 47–49; II, 108, VI, 50; II, 110, VI, 56; II, 113, VI, 97 ff.; II, 114–15, VI, 118–19; II, 111–12, VI, 97 (and *passim*).

[7] VI, 14–43.

[8] *Inf.*, XX, 28.

§ 11

A peculiarly interesting convergence of reminiscences, involving once more a fusion of Boccaccio and Dante, occurs in the Proem to *Anelida and Arcite.* It has long been recognized that Chaucer's three stanzas are based on the first three stanzas (in reverse order) of the *Teseide.* But that is only part of the story. For it has not been observed that Chaucer has, for one thing, combined with the first stanza of the first book of the *Teseide* the sixty-third stanza of the eleventh book.[1] I shall quote the pertinent lines of each.

O *Sorelle* Castalie, che *nel monte*
Elicona contente dimorate
D'intorno al sacro gorgoneo fonte,
Sottesso l'ombra delle frondi amate
Da Febo. . . . .[2]

Un bello scudo e di molto valore,
Nel quale si vedea *Marsia* sonando,
Sè con Apollo nel sonar provando.[3]
Vedeasi appresso superar Pitone,
E quindi *sotto l'ombre graziose*
Sopra Parnaso presso all' Elicone
Fonte seder *con le nove amorose*
Muse, e cantar maestrevol canzone.[4]

Be favorable eek, thou Polymnia,
On Parnaso, that, *with thy sustres* glade,
By Elicon, not fer from Cirrea,
Singest with vois memorial *in the shade,*
Under the laurer which that may not fade,
And do that I my ship to haven winne.[5]

That the one passage in the *Teseide* should recall the other was inevitable,[6] considering their references in common to Apollo,

[1] This stanza describes the device on a shield included among the gifts that accompanied the funeral games in honor of Arcita.

[2] *Tes.*, I, 1, ll. 1–4. See *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 530. As before, however, I am following the Moutier text.

[3] I am quoting the last lines of stanza 62 for a purpose that will appear later.

[4] *Tes.*, XI, 62, ll. 6–8; 63, ll. 1–5.

[5] *A. & A.*, 15–20.

[6] There are some very significant borrowings from the *Teseide* on Chaucer's part that have passed unobserved, and a study of the way in which he draws upon the poem demonstrates his thorough familiarity with every part of it. I shall give very soon the evidence for the additional borrowings referred to.

Helicon, and the Muses, and the recurrence of the phrase "sottesso [sotto] l'ombra [l'ombre]." The conjunction of Parnassus and Helicon is therefore Boccaccio's, not Chaucer's.

But in all probability it was not Boccaccio's alone. For in neither stanza does Boccaccio refer to "Cirrea."[1] It is necessary to adventure for a moment among the amazing aberrations of mediaeval geography. For Chaucer's series of blunders in placing Helicon on Parnassus, and in confusing Cirra with Cirrhea[2] is not to be laid to his account. The recognized authorities of his day (including in this case Boccaccio) must bear the blame. For we err naïvely when we assume that Chaucer drew his classical information at all times directly from the fountainhead. Like most of his contemporaries, he was largely indebted to the mass of misinformation provided in the accepted commentaries, and through them, current in his century.[3] And the passage before us is a case in point. Servius, in his comment on *Aen.*, VII, 641, glosses "Helicone deae": "Parnasus, *mons Thessaliae*, dividitur in *Cithaeronum* Liberi et *Heliconem* Apollinis, cuius sunt musae."[4] Lactantius, commenting on *Theb.*, I, 62, remarks: "*Cirrhaea* ista enim civitas *juxta Parnasum* est montem, qui in duo juga dividitur, *in Heliconem et Cithaeronem.*"[5] Cirrha is also "*prope* Parnasum" in Lactantius.[6] Chaucer's "not fer from Cirrea" seems, therefore, to hail from some such source.[7] But Lactantius himself fails to stick to any of his three points, for his comment on *Theb.*, VII, 347 is as follows: "Parnasus mons est Phocidis, qui in duo juga dividitur id est in *Cirrham et Nysam. Cirrha* ergo etiam civitas dicitur circa montem Parnasum posita."[8]

[1] He does, however, mention "Parnaso Cirreo" in *Tes.*, VIII, 57, and it is barely possible that this was in Chaucer's mind.

[2] See below.

[3] Several of Chaucer's other slips go back to these "learned" sources.

[4] Ed. Thilo and Hagen, II, 176. So also: "'per Parnasi ardua' *Heliconem et Cithaeronem*, montes musis dicatos" (*ibid.*, III, 298).

[5] Ed. Jahnke, p. 8. Even Boccaccio recognizes Cithaeron as part of Parnassus: "Citheron boetiae mons est poetarum carminibus celeberrimus. . . . . Aliqui *partem Parnasi* putant a citherone quodam denominatum" (*De Montibus, s.v.* "Citheron").

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 167 (cf. also next quotation below). And see Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. Kopp, pp. 39–40, 533.

[7] See also p. 727, below.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 363. Cf. p. 395 (comment on "ceu te Cirrhaeo" of *Theb.*, VIII, 331): "monte Parnaso, quia in *Cirrha parte montis ipsius* hiatus terrae est, ubi responsa Delphica dabuntur." Boccaccio (*De Montibus, s.v.* "Cirra") describes Cirra as that peak of Parnassus which is sacred to Apollo. And so Dante (see below) obviously understands it.

In the thirteenth-century *I Fatti di Cesare* the confusion becomes worse confounded. Appius goes "in su uno alto monte di Grecia, che avea nome Parnasio, che v'à due poggi, *l'uno si chiamo Licons*, che è alto in fino a le nuvile, *e l'altro Cicero*. Apollo e Baccas, *due Dii de' Saracini*, vi s'adoravano."[1] We have already seen that Parnassus is "mons *Thessaliae*."[2] It is also "mons *Boeotiae*,"[3] and mons *Phocidis*."[4] Even Macrobius locates it in Boeotia: "item Boeotii Parnassum montem Apollini sacratum esse memorantes," etc.[5] Worse still, Boccaccio himself puts it there! In the *Teseide*, Arcita, *going from Athens to Thebes*, "cominciò ad entrare In quel che già felice assai poteo, *Cioè in Beozia;* e dopo alquanto andare, *Parnaso avendo dietro a sè lasciato*, Alla distrutta Tebe fu arrivato."[6] And since Lactantius recognizes it as in both Phocis and Boeotia,[7] he manfully cuts the Gordian knot: " 'Despectat Phocida' de jugo Cirrhae vidit bustum suum, quod fuerat *in Phocide*. Cirrha *Boeotiae* planities est. . . . . *Phocis ergo Boeotia est*"(!)[8] Finally, Junius Philargyrius places Aganippe in Thrace,[9] while Lactantius confounds Hippocrene and the Castalian fount.[10] "No wonder"—Chaucer might well exclaim to his modern critics—"No wonder is a lewed man to ruste!"

But the immediate *suggestion* for "Cirrea" in *Anelida* came probably from another source. Few pages of the *Divine Comedy* seem to have made a deeper impression upon Chaucer than the first part of the first canto of the *Paradiso:*

[1] Ed. Banchi (*Collezione di Opere Inedite o Rare*), p. 153. The pages that follow are no less remarkable.

[2] Not only in Servius, but also in one text of Junius Philargyrius. See ed. Thilo and Hagen (as above), III², 178.

[3] Lactantius, p. 145. So also in the other text of Junius Philargyrius, on the same page as above.

[4] Lactantius, p. 363; Probus, ed. Thilo and Hagen, III², 367.

[5] *Sat.*, I, xviii, 3.

[6] *Tes.*, IV, 12, ll. 4–8. In *De Montibus* Boccaccio gives it correctly as "phocidis mons." The *Ovide moralisé*, like the *Teseide*, places it "Entre Athenes et Thebes" (I, 1945–58). In Mythogr. III, cap. 15, §7 (Bode, I, 255) it is "juxta Thebas." So also in the *Ovide moralisé* (II, 385) it is "juste Thebes."

[7] See notes 3 and 4 above.

[8] P. 84. Accordingly, Lactantius makes *Cithaeron* (see above) "mons Boeotiae" (pp. 85, 264 ["juxta Thebes"]). Helicon, by the same token, must also find place there (p. 194). That he is this time right is accidental.

[9] Ed. Thilo and Hagen, III², 179. [10] P. 315.

O buono Apollo, all'ultimo lavoro
Fammi del tuo valor sì fatto vaso,
Come domandi a dar *l'amato alloro*.
Infino a qui *l'un giogo di Parnaso*
Assai mi fu, ma or con ambedue
M'è uopo entrar nell'aringo rimaso.
Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue
Sì come quando *Marsia* traesti
Della vagina delle membra sue. . . .
Venir vedra'mi *al tuo diletto legno*,
E coronarmi allor di quelle foglie
Che la materia e tu mi farai degno . . . .
Che partorir *letizia* in sulla *lieta*
Delfica deità dovria *la fronda*
Peneia, quando alcun di sè asseta.
Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda:
Forse retro da me con miglior voci
Si pregherà perchè *Cirra* risponda.[1]

Now to anyone familiar with Canto I, Boccaccio's "*frondi amate Da Febo*" must almost inevitably have recalled Dante's "l'*amato* alloro" and his "la *fronda* Peneia" (not to speak of "tuo *diletto* legno), while the reference to "Marsia" is common to both.[2] The passage once remembered, the insertion of "Cirrea" (however troubled by the contagion of the commentators)[3] is in the right Chaucerian vein. And the suggestion that the mention of "Cirrea" is immediately due to Chaucer's recollection of Dante is borne out by the fact that "glade" (which scarcely translates "contente")[4] seems to be transferred to the Muses from the "lieta" of *Par.*, I, 31, and that Boccaccio's "*frondi* amate" has become specifically "l'amato *alloro*" of *Par.*, I, 15.

[1] *Par.*, I, 13–21, 25–27, 31–36. Chaucer returns to the opening lines of the canto again and again in the *Hous of Fame*. *HF.*, 1091–93 = *Par.*, I, 13; 1101–3 = I, 22–24; 1107–8 = I, 25–27; 1109 = I, 19; 1229 ff. = I, 19–21; 524–25 = I, 11; cf. 505–6 = I, 62–63. And *T. & C.*, IV, 776 = *Par.*, I, 21. As for *Anelida and Arcite*, Skeat suggests tentatively, in his note on *A. & A.*, l. 17, that Chaucer may have had *Par.*, I, 16, 36 in mind, and Toynbee (*Dante in Eng. Lit.*, p. xvi, n. 1) also notes the possibility.

[2] I am not imagining all this. It is what happens constantly to everyone who reads at all, and in the case of a tenacious memory like Chaucer's it is inevitable. See § 1 above. Far too little attention has been paid, in studying Chaucer's borrowings, to the association of ideas that frequently led to them.

[3] Dante, of course, is referring to the peak of Parnassus so called.

[4] See below, p. 731, for Chaucer's actual rendering of "contente dimorate."

There is, however, still further evidence that the first canto of the *Paradiso* enters into Chaucer's fabric. The lines (7–9) just preceding those already quoted are as follows:

Perchè, appressando sè al suo disire,
Nostro intelletto si profonda tanto,
Che retro la memoria non può ire.

The second stanza of *Anelida* begins:

For hit *ful depe is sonken in my minde.*

And it ends:

Hath nigh *devoured out of our memorie.*

And what is between exemplifies once more how Chaucer's imagination hovered creatively over his remembered reading. Dante's eighth line ("nostro intelletto," etc.) has taken the place of the opening words of the *second* stanza ("E' m'è venuta voglia")[1] of the *Teseide*, the rest of which Chaucer now begins freely to translate:

E' m'è venuta voglia con pietosa
Rima di scriver *una storia antica,*
Tanto negli anni riposta e nascosa.[2]

But at once he is off on another track! For the words that I have italicized have recalled to him a passage from *Boethius*, which he proceeds to paraphrase:

But how many a man, that was ful *noble* in his tyme, hath the wrecched and nedy *foryetinge of wryteres* put out of minde and don awey! Al be it so that, certes, thilke wrytinges profiten litel; the whiche wrytinges *long and derk elde doth awey*, bothe hem and eek hir autours.[3]

That *elde*, which that al can frete and byte,
As hit hath freten mony a *noble* storie,
Hath nigh devoured out of our memorie.[4]

And in these last three lines Boethius (in "elde," "noble," and the general idea), Boccaccio (in the retention of "storia"), and Dante (in the emphasis upon "memoria") are all present.

[1] See *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 530. I am quoting from the Moutier edition of the *Teseide*. Skeat's "chê" seems to be a slip.

[2] See *A. & A.*, ll. 9–10.

[3] Bk. II, pr. vii, 95–102. The Latin text is: "Sed quam multos clarissimos suis temporibus viros scriptorum inops delevit oblivio! Quamquam quid ipsa scripta proficiunt, quae cum suis auctoribus premit longior atque obscura vetustas?" I am not aware that this parallel has been noted, but I have not access at the moment to all the editions of the Minor Poems.

[4] *A. & A.*, ll. 12–14.

But why should Chaucer invoke *Polyhymnia* among the Muses? For one thing, of course, because of Dante's "memoria" in the preceding line.[1] But there is probably an additional association of ideas. Toynbee[2] compares *Anelida*, 15–16 ("Polymnia . . . . with thy sustres") with *Par.*, XXIII, 56 ("Polinnia con le suore"). This tentative suggestion attains practical conclusiveness when we examine the contexts of the two passages. Chaucer has in mind, as he writes with Boccaccio and Boethius before him, the idea of stories *forgotten in old books*, and also the association with the "*Sorelle* Castalie" and the "*frondi amate.*" The twenty-third canto of the *Paradiso* opens with the line:

Come l'augello intra *l'amate fronde.*[3]

And the lines immediately preceding the mention of Polyhymnia are as follows:

Io era come quei che si risente
Di vision obblita, e che s'ingegna
Indarno di ridurlasi alla mente,
Quando io udi' questa profferta, degna
Di tanto grado, *che mai non si estingue*
Del libro che il preterito rassegna.
Se mo sonasser tutte quelle lingue
Che *Polinnia con le suore fero*, etc.[4]

Had he tried, Chaucer could scarcely have helped recalling the passage, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the appeal to "Polymnia . . . . with [her] sustres" represents the interweaving of another reminiscence of the *Paradiso*.[5]

[1] Cf. Boccaccio, *Gen. Deor.*, XI, ii: "Quinta Polymnia, quasi polim, id est, *multam memoriam faciens* dicimus: quia post capacitatem est *memoria* necessaria." Cf. "vois *memorial*" (l. 18). See also Mythogr. I, cap. 114 (Bode, I, 36), Mythogr. II, cap. 24 (Bode, I, 82), Mythogr. III, cap. 8, § 18 (Bode, I, 210).

[2] *Dante in Eng. Lit.*, p. xvi, n. 1.

[3] The *terzina* continues: "Posato al nido dei suoi dolci nati, *La notte che le cose ci nasconde.*" Cf. Boccaccio's "*negli anni* riposta e *nascosa.*"

[4] *Par.*, XXIII, 49–56.

[5] The figure of the ship in *Anelida*, 20, is, as Skeat rightly designates it, "a common simile." It is, however, at least worth noting that the second canto of the *Paradiso* opens with the same figure. And with it *Minerva* (who appears in Chaucer's fifth line), as well as Apollo and the *Muses*, is directly brought into connection (*Par.*, II, 1–3, 8–9). *Pallas* finds no place in any of the stanzas from Boccaccio, where instead it is *Venus* who is associated with Mars (see § 12 below). The substitution of Pallas for Venus *may*, accordingly, have been suggested by Dante. I should, however, lay little stress on this possibility, since the link in this instance is more likely to have been through the mediaeval confusion of Pallas and *Bellona* (l. 5). See Boccaccio, *Gen. Deor.*, V, xlviii: "Minerva . . . . a nonnullis Bellona appellata est: et soror Martis."

Finally, Dante appears at least once again in *Anelida*. For "the poynt of remembraunce"[1] is Dante's "la puntura della rimembranza."[2]

§ 12

Twice again in Chaucer occurs the same fusion of the same two stanzas of Boccaccio considered in the last section. And in both cases the lines are again interwoven with reminiscences of Dante.

The first is in *Troilus:*

> Thou lady bright, *the doughter to Dione,*
> Thy blinde and winged *sone* eek, daun *Cupyde;*
> *Ye sustren nyne* eek, *that by Elicone*
> *In hil Parnaso listen for to abyde.*[3]

It should be observed, in the first place, that this is not mere recollection on Chaucer's part of his own words in *Anelida*. For there is included here the invocation to Venus and Cupid from the third stanza of the *Teseide*, which does not appear in *Anelida* at all:

> E tu, Madre d'Amor, col tuo giocondo
> E lieto aspetto, e 'l tuo Figliuol veloce
> Co' dardi suoi possenti in ogni mondo.[4]

And Chaucer here translates Boccaccio's "contente dimorate"[5] ("listen for to abyde"), which he omits in *Anelida*.

But once again he has supplemented the *Teseide* by Dante. For Boccaccio's lines (perhaps through their juxtaposition of "madre" and "figliuol") have recalled another passage in the *Paradiso*, which in any case would have been likely to occur to Chaucer as he resumed at the close of the third book of the *Troilus* the invocation to Venus with which it opened:[6]

> Solea creder lo mondo in suo periclo
> Che la bella Ciprigna il folle amore
> Raggiasse volta nel terzo epiciclo. . . .[7]

[1] Ll. 211, 350.
[2] *Purg.*, XII, 20. See Toynbee, *Dante in Eng. Lit.*, p. xvi.
[3] *T. & C.*, III, 1807–10.
[4] *Tes.*, I, 3, ll. 3–5.
[5] See above, pp. 725, 728.
[6] "Lady bright" in l. 1807 looks back to "lady bright" in l. 39.
[7] Cf. *T. & C.*, III, 2.

Ma *Dione* onoravano e *Cupido,*
Questa per madre sua, questo per figlio,
E dicean ch'ei sedette in grembo a Dido.[1]

It should be remembered that the name Dione in *Ovid* (as in Dante, *Par.*, XXII, 144) is applied to Venus herself.[2] Chaucer could have guessed at the relationship, to be sure, from *Aen.*, III, 19 ff., or from *De Raptu*, IV, 102, and it is explicit in Boccaccio, *Gen. Deor.*, XI, iv. Servius, too, is sound on this point (I, 339). But the passage in Dante accounts for every detail, and Dante was very definitely in Chaucer's mind as he wrote this part of the *Troilus.*[3] "Lady bright," accordingly, harks back to *Troilus*, III, 39; "doughter to Dione" and "sone . . . . Cupyde" to *Tes.*, I, 3, ll. 3–5 and *Par.*, VIII, 7–8; the next line and a half to *Tes.*, XI, 63, ll. 3–5 and *Tes.*, I, 1, l. 1; and the remainder of the last line to *Tes.*, I, 1, l. 2. Chaucer, in a word, is doing here precisely what Milton does throughout *Lycidas.*[4] It is not necessary to suppose that either poet was fully conscious of the processes of association that were going on in his mind. Phrases, now from this familiar passage, now from that, recalled each other, came together, and coalesced. The phenomenon can be paralleled again and again.

The second instance of a similar fusion is in the *Hous of Fame:*

Now faire blisful, *O Cipris,*
So be my favour at this tyme!
And ye, me to endyte and ryme
Helpeth, *that on Parnaso dwelle*
By Elicon the clere *welle.*[5]

The invocation to Venus, in the light of what we have already seen, almost certainly recalls *Tes.*, I, 3. The last two lines are obviously from *Tes.*, XI, 63[6]—even to the "Elicone *fonte.*" For it

[1] *Par.*, VIII, 1–3, 7–9.

[2] See *Amores*, I, xiv, 33; *Ars Am.*, II, 593; III, 769; *Fasti*, II, 461–63; V, 309.

[3] Among other passages, see *T. & C.*, III, 1262–63 = *Par.*, XXXIII, 14–18; III, 1389–91 = *Purg.*, XX, 106–8, 116–17; III, 1419–20 = *Purg.*, XIX, 4; III, 1625–28 = (perhaps) *Inf.*, V, 121–23; III, 1693 = (perhaps) *Par.*, XIX, 8; IV, 22–24 = *Inf.*, IX, 43–48; IV, 25 = (perhaps) *Par.*, VIII, 131–32; IV, 225 ff. = *Inf.*, III, 112–14; IV, 473–75 = *Inf.*, IX, 43–48; IV, 776 = *Par.*, I, 21; etc.

[4] See a significant article by Sir John Edwin Sandys on "The Literary Sources of Milton's *Lycidas*" (*Transactions R. S. L.*, vol. XXXII).

[5] *HF.*, 518–22.

[6] For both, see above, p. 725.

is now plain that the *immediate* source of this particular error is not Dante, but Boccaccio.[1] Of course "Metamorphoseos" should have taught Chaucer better, since Ovid has: ". . . . virgineumque Helicona petit. *quo monte,*" etc.,[2] and in the following lines the distinction between the mountain and the spring is clear. But the notions of the mediaeval commentators covered the bright face of the classics with a cloud. It is Boccaccio and the commentators, accordingly, who have here led Chaucer astray. But the immediate context of this passage is steeped, like the rest, in reminiscences of Dante,[3] including two others of Dante's invocations to the Muses![4] Did Chaucer perhaps keep a Commonplace Book, and was there a crowded page *sub voce* "Musae"?

§ 13

The invocation to the "Herines," discussed in § 9, ends with an appeal to Mars:[5]

> Thou cruel *Mars* eek, *fader to Quiryne.*
> This ilke ferthe book me helpeth fyne.[6]

Skeat, in his note on the lines, refers to Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 419, 476, where Chaucer could have learned that Quirinus was Romulus, and that Romulus and Remus were sons of Mars. Kittredge[7] refers the line to *Met.*, XV, 863: "invicti *genitor Gradive Quirini.*" Wise[8]

[1] That Dante strengthened Chaucer in his erroneous belief, however, we may be sure. See for example, *Purg.*, XXIX, 40: "Or convien *ch'Elicona per me versi.*" Moreover, since it is now clear that Chaucer, like most of his contemporaries, identified Helicon and Parnassus, it is easy to see how he would misunderstand certain other passages in Dante, especially *Purg.*, XXXI, 140–41: "Chi pallido si fece *sotto l'ombra Sì di Parnaso, o bevve in sua cisterna;*" or *Purg.*, XXII, 64–65: "Tu prima m'inviasti Verso Parnaso *a ber nelle sue grotte.*" Cf. *De Vulg. Eloq.*, II, iv, 67: "prius *Helicone potatus.*" Lactantius (p. 358) makes Helicon a stream: ". . . . et commemorat *fluvios Musis dicatos: Heliconium*, Permessum, Olmium."

[2] *Met.*, V, 254.

[3] *HF.*, 524 = *Par.*, I, 11 (pointed out by Klaeber—*op. cit.*, pp. 113, 394—who also called attention to the association of ideas between *Par.*, I, 11 and *Inf.*, II, 8, in Chaucer's preceding line, through the word "mente"); *HF.*, 523 = *Inf.*, II, 8; 526 = *Inf.*, II, 9; 528 = *Par.*, XVIII, 87—the last three borrowings all noted by Skeat.

[4] *Inf.*, II, 7–9; *Par.*, XVIII, 82–87.

[5] Mars and the Furies are also associated in *Troilus*, II, 435–36. In this case, however, Chaucer is clearly recalling the phraseology of the *Teseide.* See Cummings, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccaccio* (University of Cincinnati Studies, Vol. X, Part 2, 1916), pp. 55, 71.

[6] *T. & C.*, IV, 25–26.

[7] *PMLA*, XXIV, 352, n. 2.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

observes that Mars is called *saevus* in *Theb.*, VII, 703, and also calls attention to *Met.*, XV, 863. There is, however, another possibility.

In the discussion of heredity in the eighth canto of the *Paradiso*, Carlo Martello declares:

> Quinci addivien ch'Esaù si diparte
> Per seme da Jacob, *e vien Quirino*
> *Da sì vil padre che si rende a Marte.*[1]

There can be no question that Ovid's phrase in *Met.*, XV, 863, is sufficient in itself to account for Chaucer's line. But I am inclined to think that Dante's words were in Chaucer's mind—perhaps, as so often, along with Ovid's[2]—because another phrase of the discourse in the *Paradiso* seems to have clung to his memory.

In the explanation of the mystery of heredity Carlo refers to *the active virtue of the spheres* as "the seal upon the mortal wax":

> La circular natura, ch'è *suggello*
> *Alla cera mortal.*[3]

The Wife of Bath, it will be remembered, expatiates in characteristic vein upon *the influence of the heavens*—the "vertu of my constellacioun"—that made *her* what she was.[4] And the famous line:

> I hadde the *prente* of seynt Venus *seel*,

seems, in the light of its context, to hark back to Dante's figure.[5] It is from this same canto, it should be observed, that Chaucer drew the phraseology of his reference to the daughter of Dione and Cupid her son.[6]

§ 14

In the somewhat notorious account in the *Hous of Fame* of "Marcia that lost her skin," Chaucer has left out Dante's most vivid and characteristic phrase. He is combining, as it happens, Dante and Ovid.[7] The three passages are as follows:

> Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue
> Sì come quando *Marsia traesti*
> *Della vagina delle membre sue.*[8]

[1] *Par.*, VIII, 130–32.

[2] See, for example, the next section below.

[3] *Par.*, VIII, 127–28. Cf. *Purg.*, XXXIII, 79.

[4] D 604–20.

[5] Professor Barnouw's extremely interesting communication in the *Nation* of Dec. 7, 1916 (vol. 103, no. 2684, p. 540) on "The Prente of Seinte Venus Seel" deals with an entirely different aspect of the subject.

[6] See § 12 above. [7] See Kittredge, *PMLA*, XXIV, 352, n. 11. [8] *Par.*, I, 19–21.

Clamanti *cutis est* summos *direpta* per artus,
nec quicquam nisi vulnus erat; cruor undique manat,
detectique patent nervi, trepidaeque *sine ulla*
pelle micant venae. . . . .[1]

And *Marcia that lost her skin,*
Both in face, body, and chin,
For that she wolde envyen, lo!
To pypen bet then Apollo.[2]

The reminiscence of Ovid has displaced the supremely Dantesque "traesti *della vagina delle membre sue.*"

But the phrase stuck in Chaucer's memory. For it appears (as does not seem to have been noted) in the *Troilus:*

Than shal no mete or drinke come in me
Til I my soule *out of my breste unshethe.*[3]

There are a few other parallels which I shall have to reserve for treatment later, and I feel sure that the list is by no means complete. My present object is attained if I have made it clear that the influence of Dante upon Chaucer is even more pervasive and significant than has been commonly supposed.

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[1] *Met.*, VI, 387–90. [2] *HF.*, 1229–32.

[3] *T. & C.*, IV, 775–76. The *Filostrato* (IV, 89) has simply: "E se per sè non sen va la smarrita Anima fuor del corpo."

CHAUCER'S *NONNE PRESTES TALE* AND THE *ROMAN DE RENARD*

There seems to be a reaction at present, among literary historians, against the folklorist theory of literary development which would explain away the art of the individual writer of the Middle Ages by reducing his original contribution both in matter and in art to a minimum, making of an extant piece of literature the last term in a long series of *remaniements* by unknown authors, and not only the last but often the worst. This theory or method was more or less imposed upon literary historians by Wolf's theory of the composition of the Homeric poems; and has since been reinforced by students of folklore. Becker, in recent times, in his discussions of the epic cycle of William of Orange, first showed signs of revolt against the easy assumption of *cantilenae* and lost versions. Bédier in his *Légendes épiques* makes the systematic attempt to wipe away the accumulated mass of hypothetical ancestral literature for the French epic, to restore their own to the French poets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and to explain the existing monuments of French epic poetry "by what we know of the eleventh century rather than by what we don't know of the ninth." We now find Professor Foulet doing the same thing for the *Roman de Renard.*[1]

For those of us who have felt a certain dissatisfaction and irritation at the systematic application of methods, justifiable no doubt in the study of certain types of naïve and primitive literature, to the products of men whose work shows them to have been deliberate and conscious artists, the books of Bédier and Foulet bring a feeling of both pleasure and relief; and to those who love their Chaucer and are inclined to

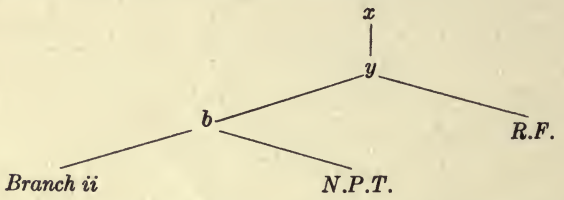
> Take the fruyt and lat the chaf be stille

Foulet's book is peculiarly welcome.

[1] *Le Roman de Renard* (Paris, 1914) (fascicule 211 of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études).

In 1898 Miss Kate Petersen published in the *Radcliffe College Monographs* a study of "The Sources of the *Nonne Prestes Tale.*" After a painstaking application of the traditional method of the folklorist to the question of Chaucer's sources, she arrives at this result (pp. 87–88):

> Chaucer's original, therefore, seems to have been a version of the epic story which was very similar to the original of *R.F.* [i.e., *Reinhart Fuchs*], but which, at the same time, treated certain abridgments of the present *R.F.* version with the greater fullness that is found in the *Renart* account. A diagram may put the case more clearly:



Here *y* represents the source of *R.F.*, and *b* that of *N.P.T.*, and through one or more elaborations, that of Branch ii.

The original of Chaucer's Cock and Fox story may, therefore, be reconstructed, in part, by retaining (1) such features as are common to all three versions and (2) such as are common to *N.P.T.* and *Ren.* or to *N.P.T.* and *R.F.* The story would then run as follows:

2. Beside a grove (*Ren.*, *N.P.T.*, *R.F.* [implied]), dwells a woman (*R.F.*, *N.P.T.*, *Ren.* [implied]).

3. She is content with her property (*Ren.*, *R.F.*, *N.P.T.*) and with her provision of grain (*Ren.*, *R.F.*, *N.P.T.*) and bacon (*Ren.*, *N.P.T.*).

And so on for two pages.

Now Foulet, in the most exhaustive and penetrating study that has yet been made of the *Roman de Renard*, comes to these conclusions:

1. Branch II, which contains the Cock and Fox story, is not a *remaniement* at all (as Sudre and Voretzsch would have us think), but part of an original work of art by Pierre de Saint-Cloud, inspired by the Latin *Ysengrimus* and based upon this and other *learned* sources.

2. Martin was right in his original claim and later protests that the *Reinhart Fuchs* was based on the *existing* versions of the *Roman de Renard.* In short, if Foulet is right, *x*, *y*, *b*, and their like never

existed, and the lost version that Chaucer knew becomes a dream of nineteenth-century scholars and not the tangible creation of a twelfth-century *trouvère*. We are once more out of the bewildering maze of theme and motive *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., and are forced to the old and simple conclusion that when Chaucer wrote his *Nun's Priest's Tale* he knew the existing version of the story in Branch II of the *Roman de Renard*, and probably Marie de France's fable; and it becomes once more a legitimate undertaking to use the existing version of the tale and study in Chaucer's work the method and skill of a great literary artist in the handling of his material.

But Professor Foulet does not discuss Chaucer in his book;[1] he merely puts him aside in a very brief note of two lines. Perhaps he has thus unwittingly left a dangerous weapon for the hands of those who would attack him. Let us briefly examine the question.

Why has it seemed necessary to assume some other source than the *Renart* that we know for Chaucer's version of the Cock and Fox story? The answer is simple. Chaucer does not slavishly follow Branch II. (Of course that is the last thing that a student of Chaucer should expect him to do, but we mention that only by the way, with no intention of insisting upon it here.) He makes changes in the story. Some of these changes bear a certain resemblance to variations from the Renart story that appear in the *Reinhart Fuchs*. Hence there must have been an earlier version to account for this agreement between Chaucer and the *Reinhart Fuchs* against the *Renart* version. Hence *x*, *y*, *b*, etc. But this solution is not imposed upon us if we once refuse to admit the application of the consecrated method to Chaucer and Heinrich der Glîchezâre. There is still the alternative that Chaucer and Heinrich, both working as independent men of letters with the same material—the existing Branch II—reached results that have a remote resemblance at certain points.

Let us examine some of Chaucer's changes with this thought in mind. These changes fall into two classes: (1) changes that exist in Chaucer alone; (2) variations from the *Renart* story in Chaucer

[1] It is interesting to note that Foulet reviewed Miss Petersen's monograph in *Rom.* XXVIII (1899), 296–303, and found then that "Les conclusions auxquelles arrive Miss P. sont parfaitement justifiées par la discussion précise et excellemment conduite qui les précède, et elles nous semblent solidement établies." He mentions this review in his recent book only by the remark, "Nous avions autrefois apporté notre petite pierre à l'édifice construit par le critique allemand" (p. 395).

which seem to have resemblances or suggestions in the variations in *Reinhart Fuchs*. It is the second class that interests us here, since it is this second class that would seem to forbid us to explain all Chaucer's changes as his own. I now follow Miss Petersen's list of points of agreement of *N.P.T.* and *R.F.* in opposition to *Renart*:

1. Their brevity and simplicity.—Miss Petersen says (p. 83):

> Now the important question is: Where did this agreement in simplicity between *R.F.* and *N.P.T.* originate? One point is practically settled. The *R.F.* form of the story is an earlier form than the elaborate version of *Ren.* Did Chaucer, then, have for his source this earlier, simpler type, or did he have the elaborated one and himself reduce it to the same degree of simplicity which is found in *R.F.*?

The question is clearly put, but we must erase the "one point practically settled." Foulet "practically settles" it quite the other way. How then explain this agreement in simplicity and brevity? Let us allow Professor Foulet to speak for us, remembering that he is speaking with no thought of Chaucer.

> Il faut renoncer, croyons-nous, à voir dans le *Reinhart Fuchs* un poème de saveur archaïque qui pourra nous tenir lieu de nos anciennes branches disparues; et où sera le mal, si rien du tout n'a disparu? L'originalité de l'œuvre est certainement ailleurs: c'est la première tentative qu'on ait faite dans une langue moderne pour grouper en un tout cohérent les aventures si nombreuses et si variées de Renard et d'Isengrin. De l'*Ysengrimus* de Nivard, du *Romulus*, de la *Disciplina clericalis*, d'ailleurs encore probablement, une légion de trouvères français avaient comme à l'envi extrait contes et historiettes où toujours sur le devant de la scène revenaient nos deux héros: et quelques-uns des poèmes ainsi composés faisaient preuve d'un art déjà singulièrement avancé. Mais si l'on pouvait rassembler en un recueil factice ces différentes compositions, il était impossible d'en former un corps harmonieusement organisé. Chaque poète avait travaillé à sa fantaisie, et il y paraissait. Il y avait beaucoup de branches, mais pas de tronc. Voulant faire connaître à ses compatriotes une matière si nouvelle et si diverse, le Glichezâre aurait pu prendre une des branches les plus caractéristique, II ou I par example, et se borner à traduire ou adapter ce spécimen de choix: c'est ce que fera plus tard le Flamand Willems. Le poète allemand, avec moins de talent sans aucun doute, fut plus ambitieux. Il se donna pour mission d'écrire une histoire complète de Renard et d'Isengrin, qui embrassât les principaux événements de leur vie et qui eût un commencement, un milieu et une fin. De plus il voulait que cette histoire fût courte.

Condenser et unifier, telle était la double tâche qui s'imposait dès lors à lui. La première était relativement aisée. Il ne s'agissait, dans cette abondante frondaison des branches françaises, que de tailler et d'élaguer. Chaque poème pourrait y perdre en intérêt et en charme, mais les grandes lignes du récit n'en subsisteraient pas moins.[1]

We have then a case of two men of letters who have condensed and simplified the same story for different reasons: Chaucer because his shorter form is more artistic for one telling that story alone, and because it better suits his satirical purpose; Heinrich, because condensation and simplification were the natural result of a plan of bringing the different Renard stories into a connected whole.

2. The arrangement at the very beginning.—"*R.F.* and *N.P.T.* agree, in the second place, in the way in which the story opens. The first lines in *Ren.* are devoted to the fox, but *R.F.* and *N.P.T.* begin by describing the proprietor and the home of Chantecler and the hen" (p. 84). This statement of the case does not put the matter in all its bald simplicity, and seems to complicate the problem, if problem there is. Let us put it just as accurately but somewhat differently: Both Chaucer and Heinrich omit the first 26 lines of Branch II and begin the story with verse 27. Why? In the first place, Chaucer does it for the same reason that the reader of this article would begin there today. It is the natural place for one to begin who is going to tell the story of the Cock and Fox alone, not from the point of view of the fox but from the point of view of the cock and hens, as Chaucer tells it; or, if he were condensing and unifying his material, as Heinrich was.

Pierre de Saint-Cloud[2] is telling, not merely the story of the Cock and Fox, but

> . . . la guerre
> Qui tant fu dure de grant fin
> Entre Renart et Ysengrin. [ll. 10–12.][3]

He writes a prologue of 23 verses in which he tells us that we have heard many a tale of Paris and Helen, and of Tristan, and many

[1] *Le Roman de Renard*, p. 427.

[2] I use this name as a convenient way of saying "the author of Branch II"; not as an indication that I accept Foulet's theory of the identity of Perrot and Pierre de Saint-Cloud as proved. Cf. Nitze, *Modern Lang. Notes*, XXX (1915), pp. 189 ff.

[3] I quote from the edition by E. Martin, Vol. I (Paris, 1882).

another tale, but never did we hear of this *guerre* of the fox and wolf. He has introduced his hero, the fox. He naturally begins his first story, which forms only a part of his poem, with the words:

> Il avint chose que Renars,
> Qui tant par fu de males ars
> E qui tant sot toz jors de guile,
> S'en vint traiant a une vile. [ll. 23–26.]

These are the "first lines in *Ren.* . . . . devoted to the fox" which Chaucer omits. What a blunderer he would have been to have included them, when he was going to tell this story only, throwing the emphasis entirely upon the cock and his wives, with that wonderful picture of the domestic relations and characters of Chantecler and dame Pertelote! But why should Heinrich omit them too? Heinrich writes a ten-line prologue of his own:

> Vernemet vremdiu maere,
> diu sint vil gewaere,
> von einem tiere wilde,
> dâ man bî mac bilde
> nemen umbe manegiu dinc.
> *ez kêret allen sînen gerinc*
> *an triegen und an kündecheit,*
> des quam ez dicke in arbeit.
> *ez hâte vil unküste erkant*
> und ist Reinhart fuhs genant. [ll. 1–10.][1]

It is evident that the author of Reinhart has here included in his short prologue the substance of the description of the fox in the four verses omitted by Chaucer:

> Qui tant par fu de males ars
> E qui tant sot toz jors de guile.

Why should he repeat them when he begins the first story? Had he done so, we should, I suppose, be forced to conclude that the "earlier version" repeated the same thing within the short space of ten lines, a repetition which hardly makes for brevity and simplicity. We should also have to give Pierre de Saint-Cloud the credit of having the sense to remove the blunder.

[1] I quote from the edition by K. Reissenberger (Halle, 1886).

Let us omit for the moment variation 3, and take up 4, which seems to me much more important: the character of the woman, her age, and her importance in the story. In *Renart* the owner of the cock and hens is a rich *vilain*. In Chaucer we find no mention of him, but of

A poure wydwe somdel stape in age.

Why? As a last resort we might plead that Chaucer, if he wished to avoid a slavish following of his source, would naturally have changed "rich man" into "poor old woman." But we are not driven to this last resort. The old woman is there in Branch II. It is she who discovers the loss of the cock when she calls her hens:

La bone feme del mainil
A overt l'uis de son cortil.
Car vespres ert, por ce voloit
Ses jelines remetre en toit.
Pinte apela, Bise et Rosete.
L'une ne l'autre ne recete.
Quant voit que venues ne sont,
Molt se merveille qu'elles font.
Son coc rehuce a grant aleine.
Renart regarde qui l'enmeine.
Lors passe avant por le rescore
Et li gorpils commence a core.
Quant voit que prendre nel porra,
Porpense soi qu'el criera.
'Harou!' escrie a pleine gole,
Li vilein qui sont a la coule,
Quant il oent que cele bret,
Trestuit se sont cele part tret.
Si li demandent, que ele a.
En sospirant lor reconta
'Lasse, con m'est mal avenu!'
'Coment?' font il. 'Car j'ai perdu
Mon coc que li gorpil enporte.' [ll. 369–91.]

Now arrives Constant, the rich *vilain*, who has entirely dropped out of the story, and calls her a *pute vielle orde*. We have, then, not only a woman, but an old woman playing the important part in the action of the story. Chaucer makes her a widow by quietly suppressing her useless husband, and presents her in his stead with

"doghtren two." Chaucer's change seems thus satisfactorily explained without recourse to any older version. Unfortunately, however, "in *R.F.* the wife of Lanzelîn is made conspicuous; it is old Ruotzela who calls the hens hers." It is, by the way, the *pute vielle orde* who calls the hens hers in the French version. But let us see just how conspicuous *R.F.* does make the woman. After his prologue Heinrich describes the rich man and his possessions, and then says (19 ff.):

der was geheizen Lanzelîn.
bâbe Ruotzela daz wîp sîn.
er hâte eine grôze klage:
er muoste hüeten alle tage
sîner hüener vor Reinharte.
sîn hof und sîn garte
was niht beziunet ze fromen.
dâ von muost er dicke komen
ze schaden, den er ungerne sach.
bâbe Ruotzela zuo im sprach
"*alter gouch, Lanzelîn,*
nû hân ich der hüener mîn
von Reinharte zehen verlorn.
daz müet mich und ist mir zorn."
meister Lanzelîn was bescholden,
(daz ist noch unvergolden)
doch er des niht enliez,
ern taete, als in Ruotzela hiez. [ll. 19–36.]

Behold the only mention of woman, old or young, in the *R.F.* version of the Cock and Fox story. It is Lanzelîn who discovers that Chantecler is stolen:

den schal vernam Lanzelîn.
er sprach, "owê der hüener mîn!" [ll. 139–40.]

The old Ruotzela has said her few lines and left the stage for good and all. She appears no more; she takes absolutely no part in the action of the story. If either is conspicuous, it is the man Lanzelîn. I leave it confidently to the unprejudiced reader to decide in which poem, *Renart* or *Reinhart*, the woman plays the more prominent part in the action, and whether or not the woman in *R.F.* makes it necessary to abandon the explanation of Chaucer's change given

above and justifies us in assuming a common source for Chaucer and Heinrich other than our Branch II. The facts are before us: discussion seems idle.

We now skip to No. 7, which Miss Petersen calls "another likeness between *R.F.* and *N.P.T.* which may with still greater probability [than 5 and 6, which we have omitted for the moment] be held to have characterized the source of each" (p. 86). The likeness is this: To quiet Chantecler's fears Chaucer makes his fox address him in the following terms,

> . . . 'Gentil sire, allas! wher wol ye gon?
> *Be ye affrayed of me that am youre freend?*
> . . . . . .
> *My lord youre fader—God his soule blesse!*
> *And eek youre mooder, of hire gentilesse,*
> *Han in myn hous y-been, to my greet ese;*
> And certes, sire, ful fayn wolde I yow plese.
> [ll. 464–65, 475–78.][1]

The fox continues with an account of the wonderful singing of Chantecler's father. Now in *Reinhart* we find that Reinhart, unable to reach Chantecler, addresses him thus:

> ". . . . wer ist, der dâ ûf stât?
> bist dû daz Sengelîn?"
> "nein ich," sprach Schanteclêr, "ich enbin,
> alsô hiez der vater mîn."
> Reinhart sprach, "daz mac wol sîn,
> nû riuwet mich dîns vater tôt,
> wan der dem minnesten êre bôt.
> wan triuwe under künne,
> daz ist michel wünne.
> dû gebâres zuo undâre,
> daz sag ich dir ze wâre.
> dîn vater was des mînen vrô.
> ern gesaz sus hôhe nie alsô,
> gesaehe er den vater mîn,
> ern vlüge ze im und hieze in sîn
> willekomen. . . . ." [ll. 106–21.]

We have here, it would seem, in Chaucer and Heinrich a common emphasis upon the hospitable relations between the Cock and the

[1] I quote from the Oxford Chaucer.

Fox families which is not to be found in *Renart*. In Pierre de Saint-Cloud's account we read:

'Chantecler' ce li dist Renart,
'Ne fuïr pas, n'aies regart!
Molt par sui liez, quant tu es seinz:
Car tu es mes cosins germeins.'
Chantecler lors s'asoüra.
Por la joie un sonet chanta.
Ce dist Renars a son cosin
'Membre te mes de Chanteclin,
Ton bon pere qui t'engendra?
Onques nus cos si ne chanta. [ll. 303–12.]
. . . . . .
Dist Chantecler, 'Renart cosin,
Voles me vos trere a engin?'
'Certes,' ce dist Renars 'non voil.
Mes or chantez, si clinnies l'oeil!
D'une char somes et d'un sanc.
Meus voudroie estre d'un pie manc
Que tu eüses maremenz:
Car tu es trop pres mi parenz.' [ll. 319–26.]

Thus, in *Renart*, the fox claims that he and Chantecler are cousins, that they are of the same flesh and blood, that Chantecler is his *parenz*. Chaucer makes a sly, Chaucerian joke by having the fox say:

My lord youre fader—God his soule blesse!
And eek youre mooder, of hire gentilesse,
Han in myn hous y-been, to my greet ese.

Heinrich sticks by the point of relationship which he found in his original:

wan triuwe under künne,
daz ist michel wünne.

One must be indeed under the spell of a particular method to find reason here for assuming a common source for Chaucer and Heinrich other than the existing Branch II.

In No. 8 we arrive at something more concrete, something which, if proved, we are accustomed to accept as final and unanswerable—"word resemblances" (p. 82):

i. The cock beats his wings with delight:

Die vitech begund er swingen. (129.) This Chauntecleer his winges gan to bete. (502.)

ii. The fox runs toward the wood:

Rehte hin gegen dem walde. (139.) And on his bak toward the wode him beer. (516.)

Now Pierre de Saint-Cloud, either through negligence or of deliberate intent, failed to have Chantecler beat his wings at any point in his story. Nor does he tell us that the fox ran toward the wood. He simply ran. He does tell us in the beginning that there was a *bos* near by, but he fails to mention it again when Renart runs. Must we have a common source for these "word resemblances"? If so, Miss Petersen furnishes it to us herself in a note at the foot of the page referring to Marie de France's fable:

> Les eles bat, . . .
> Vers la forest tut dreit s'en va.

I have referred above to the oft-repeated statement that Chaucer probably knew Marie's fable. Foulet thinks that Pierre de Saint-Cloud probably knew it too. There is no reason why Heinrich should have been ignorant of it. If he was, we shall have to add these two lines to the other 342 (out of the total of 2,262) which by common consent his critics allow him to have invented out of his own head.[1]

We have now examined the more important of Chaucer's changes that are in any sort of agreement with the *Reinhart Fuchs* against the *Renart* version of the Cock and Fox story. They are the more important because they are the more tangible and at least offer some hold for critical analysis. It is on these differences and supposed agreements that the argument for an earlier version of the story, based upon a comparison of the works of Chaucer and Heinrich with the existing *Renart*, must finally rest its chief weight. I hope to have convinced the reader, or allowed him to convince himself, that they offer no real support for such an argument.

Let us now turn to the three points that we have omitted—Nos. 3, 5, and 6, remembering that they have lost the prestige that comes of being part of an imposing list, and must now stand on their own merits.

[1] Cf. Foulet, *Roman de Renard*, p. 403.

3. The time of day.—"In *R.F.* and *N.P.T.* the action of the story begins at daybreak." It begins at daybreak in *Renart* too, although this is not expressly stated. Pinte tells Chantecler,

> Ainz que voiez passé midi,
> Vos avandra, ce est la voire. [ll. 252–53.]

But when the *bone feme* comes to call her hens and finds the fox, her coming is explained by the lines

> Car vespres ert, por ce voloit
> Ses jelines remetre en toit. [ll. 371–72.]

"There is plainly a discrepancy here and no doubt the original form of the story agreed in its definition of time with *R.F.* and *N.P.T.*" Yes, if we have other sufficient reasons for assuming this hypothetical "original form," but not otherwise. Discrepancy there is. But suppose that Chaucer and Heinrich both found the discrepancy in their common source: they would both unhesitatingly remove it by paying no attention to the two verses

> Car vespres ert, por ce voloit
> Ses jelines remetre en toit.

Their agreement is as well explained by the presence of the discrepancy in their original as by its absence. Whether the faulty chronology in *Renart* be due to the negligence of Pierre de Saint-Cloud or to the need felt by some later copyist of giving motive for the opportune appearance of the woman, we have no means of knowing. If we assume an earlier "original form," we offer another and no better explanation of the agreement of Chaucer and *R.F.*, and we leave the discrepancy in the work of Pierre de Saint-Cloud unexplained.

We have still left Nos. 5 and 6. The first of these is that in both *N.P.T.* and *R.F.* "the cock has a sense of humor and in both he shows it at the expense of women." The second point is this (p. 85):

> The poet of *R.F.* shows the same tendency to treat his cock and hen as human personages that Chaucer shows throughout. Pinte begs Schantecler to take care of himself for his children's sake and pictures her distress as a bereft wife if his recklessness leads him to destruction. The cock's sense of humor which has just been mentioned is in the same strain. This peculiarity of style, like the other resemblances, is a trait which Chaucer's original may have shared with the original of *R.F.*

Evidently Miss Petersen feels the weakness of these two arguments, even when their flanks are protected by Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7, 8, for instead of "doubtless," "no doubt," and "highly probable" we have here "quite possible" and "may have been." An adequate discussion of these points would demand a consideration of Chaucer's peculiar type of humor and of the question why he should put his good-natured satire on women in the mouth of the Nun's Priest—a discussion which we do not care to undertake here. It would further require a discussion of the animals as human beings, not merely in the Cock and Fox story of Branch II, but in all the branches of the *Roman de Renard* that were sources for Heinrich. The results even then would depend largely upon a subjective element that would weaken their value in any event. Furthermore, we agree with Miss Petersen's evident doubt as to the convincing power of these two arguments. Unless the other points are established they have none at all.

It would seem, then, that there is no sufficient reason to be found in a comparison of Chaucer, Heinrich, and Pierre de Saint-Cloud for assuming earlier French versions of the Cock and Fox story. Foulet draws his arguments against the existence of such versions from other sources. As far as his conclusions are concerned, there is nothing in a study of Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale* to make us question their accuracy. They must be attacked on other grounds, if at all. As for Chaucer, it would, perhaps, be more fruitful to adopt a saner method of research which would not put his literary product more or less upon the same level as a folk-tale, and would grant him somewhat more of that large measure of intelligence and understanding of the story-teller's art that his work shows him to have possessed.

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IVORY CASKET IN THE MORGAN COLLECTION

A PHANTOM TALE OF FEMALE INGRATITUDE

Several years ago I learned of an unidentified scene on some French ivory caskets of the early fourteenth century which had baffled the scholarship of many antiquarians and students of literature. Since then I have met with a number of other reflections in art of the same motif, some of them so elaborate and so fully explained as to give us practically the whole story. Although that story, popular as it must have been in its own day, does not seem to have survived in a literary form, yet I think that we may definitely point to it as the purest form of the "Maiden and the Dogs" episode, and perhaps as the source of the more corrupt forms which survive in the *Chevalier a l'Espee*, the *Vengeance Raguidel*, the prose *Tristan*, and the Dutch *Lancelot*.

Caskets on which a scene from this story is carved are to be found at Cracow Cathedral and in the Pierpont Morgan collection in this country; a panel from a similar casket is in the British Museum.[1] These carvings show a knight, mounted or on foot, killing with lance or sword a "wodehouse," or wild man of the woods. On the two caskets the wodehouse is represented as carrying in his arms a damsel, who holds up her hands in supplication to the knight.

The vogue of this scene as an artistic motif is confirmed by the detailed inventory made for Louis, Duke of Anjou and Regent of France, in the years 1364 and 1365.[2] There are three objects which are described as adorned with this subject. The first description runs:

> Une coupe toute esmailliee . . . ou fons de la coupe qui est cizelee a un esmail azure, ou quel a un chevalier qui veut tuer d'un glaive un homme sauvage qui enmaine une dame.[3]

[1] *Romanische Forschungen*, V, 256; *Art in America*, V, 19; O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Ivory Carvings in the British Museum*, p. 127. In all three caskets the scene with which we are concerned is juxtaposed to another scene derived from the *Queste del Saint Graal*, with which it has no clear connection.

[2] *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, L, 168.

[3] Marquis de Laborde, *Notice des Émaux*, II, 21.

The second runs:

Un bacin a deux biberons, dore dedens et dehors, et ou fons a un esmail d'azur ou quel a une foreste ou il a un chevalier qui se combat en estant a un homme sauvage qui a derriere lui une dame a genolz qui joint les mains.[1]

The third runs:

Un hanap couvert . . . ou fons du dit hanap a un esmail d'azur, et ou dit esmail a un homme a cheval qui ist d'un chastel, et tient en sa main destre une espee nue pour ferir sur un homme sauvage qui emporte une dame, et ou couvecle par dedens a un austre esmail azure, ou quel est une dame qui tient en sa main une chayenne dont un lyon est lyez, et sur ledit lyon a un homme sauvage.[2]

This last feature is of special interest in relation to an obscure painting at the Alhambra, called to my attention by Dr. H. W. L. Dana. In the Hall of Justice there is a ceiling of leather, elliptical in shape, on which between 1380 and 1400 a Christian artist of the school of Seville painted several scenes of combat and the chase.[3] It is a striking fact that this painting must have been done for the Moslem sultan of Granada in defiance of the laws of the Prophet against the representation of human or animal figures. The painting displays among various other scenes the charging knight, the wounded wodehouse, and the captive damsel whom we have found on the ivory caskets. But there appears also the incongruous feature of a sleepy lion, which the damsel holds in leash by a chain. We shall presently see that the lion does not belong in this scene at all. A reference to the last quotation from the inventory of Louis of Anjou accounts for the interloper. The motif of the rescue of the lady from the wodehouse must have been blended by the Spanish painter with the motif of the lady with the pet lion, and such a *hanap* as that described in the inventory was perhaps the source of the confusion.

We are no nearer, however, to an understanding of this scene or to a knowledge of the story of which it forms a part. That information, curiously enough, we derive from an English book of hours, dating from about 1325, in the possession of Mr. H. Yates Thompson, of London.[4] The lower margins of this book, known as the

[1] Marquis de Laborde, *Notice des Émaux*, II, p. 96. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[3] Goury and Jones, *Alhambra*, I, Pl. XLVIII; A. Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, III, Part 2, p. 754.

[4] H. Y. Thompson, *Fifty Manuscripts, Second Series*, No. 57, pp. 50 ff.

Taymouth Horae, are filled with illuminations of considerable spirit and artistic merit, depicting scenes from romances and legends of the saints, quite irrelevant to the text above them; and among them are those which illustrate our story. In another manuscript of approximately the same date, the *Smithfield Decretals* at the British Museum (MS 10 E IV), a similar irrelevant use is made of the bottom margins, and here too we find eighteen scenes from our tale.[1] Luckily in the case of the *Taymouth Horae* the illuminations which concern us have been distinguished above the rest by a series of explanatory inscriptions in Anglo-Norman. Accordingly, while the story itself in literary form has not been preserved, we have full information concerning it.

The inscriptions run as follows:

Fol. 61 verso: Ci uount les damoyseles au boys dedure.

62 recto: Ci uient le Wodewose et rauist lun des damoyseles coillaunt des fleurs.

62v.: Ci porte il la damoysele en ses bras.

63r.: Ci uient enyas vn viel chiualer et rescout la damoysele. [This is, of course, the scene which enjoyed an extraordinary vogue.]

63v.: Cy le viel chiualer meyne auant la damoysele.

64r.: Cy uient un ioene chiualer de chalanger la damoysele.

64v.: Cy met le uiel chiualer la damoysele en milu el chemyn entre li et le ioene chiualer.

65r.: Cy refusa la damoysele le uiel chiualer et sen ua au ioene chiualer.

65v.: Cy uient le ioene chiualer a chalenger le levrer au uiel chiualer.

66r.: Cy est le leurer mys de suz un arbre en milu el chemin dentre li .ii. chiualers. et par couenant taille. si cornunt li chiualers et au quel deaux le leurer sen ua. si en joyt le leurer.

66v.: Cy uient le leurer au uiel chiualer sun mestre et li ioene chiualer irrousement sen uoet combatre od le uiel chiualer et dit quil uoet auoir le leurer od la damoysele.

67r.: Cy sen combatent li .ii. chiualers et li uiel chiualer en ocist li ioeuene chiualer.

67v.: Cy sen ua li uiel chiualer od sun leurer et guerpist la damoysele seule par sa desnaturesce.

The condign fate which overtakes the lady left alone in the wood is vividly suggested in the last of the illuminations in the *Smithfield Decretals*. As she sits disconsolate in her red dress, wringing her

[1] Fols. 69v., 72r., 72v., 73r., 74r., 74v., 101r., 101v., 102r., 102v., 103r., 103v., 104r., 104v., 105r., 105v., 106r., 106v.

hands, a brown bear walks up on his hind legs from one side and clutches her shoulder with his paws, and from the other a grizzly approaches and takes a large nip out of her elbow.

From the consideration of this artistic evidence, then, we learn that this moral tale must have been well known in England and France in the first half of the fourteenth century. Its literary life, however, seems to have been brief, for, as we have seen, in 1364 or 1365, Louis of Anjou's cataloguer, a man who gives evidence of wide acquaintance with literary sources, was unable to identify a scene from it, and in the last quarter of the century the Spanish painter by the introduction of the chained lion displays a similar ignorance.

The name of the old knight, Enyas, suggests a connection with Aeneas or Helyas, Knight of the Swan, whose name at times was spelled with an *n* instead of the *l*, but mediaeval literature relates no such adventure of either hero. An analogue to the first half of the story, however, is found in chapter 117 of the *Gesta Romanorum*.[1] It tells of the rescue of a lady from a tyrant, who had ravished her and was about to slay her, and then of her surrendering herself to her ravisher while her rescuer was away making preparations for their marriage. The story concludes, like ours, in retribution upon both the evildoers, which in this case takes the form of hanging.

The chief interest of our story lies in its clear relationship to a similar episode to be found in the *Chevalier a l'Espee*,[2] the *Vengeance Raguidel*,[3] the prose *Tristan*,[4] and the Dutch *Lancelot*.[5] A comparison of these versions shows that our exemplum is not only the most neatly pointed, but the only logically developed, form of the episode; and therefore it may be regarded as perhaps the source, or at least the closest descendant of the source that is preserved to us.[6] The point of the motif obviously lies in three factors: the claim of the knight on the maiden's gratitude, the claim of the knight on the dog's fidelity, and the contrast between the fidelity of the dog and

[1] Ed. Oesterley, p. 459.

[2] Ed. E. C. Armstrong, ll. 861–1191.

[3] Ed. M. Friedwagner, ll. 4482–4785.

[4] Ed. Loeseth, pp. 128 ff.

[5] Ed. Jonckbloet, II, pp. 89 f.

[6] In fact, the exemplum is uncannily like the hypothetical source sketched by Gaston Paris in the *Histoire Littéraire*, XXX, 63 f.

the woman's ingratitude. In the *Chevalier a l'Espee* and the prose *Tristan* the hero of the episode has no particular claim on the woman's gratitude. In the *Chevalier a l'Espee*, moreover, since the dogs belong to the maiden, the fact that they choose Gawain in preference to her rather creates an ignominious resemblance between their conduct and that of the lady than exhibits a glorious contrast between canine and feminine fidelity. Finally, in the case of the *Vengeance Raguidel* and the Dutch *Lancelot* the climax of the tale is never reached, since the dogs are not given the opportunity to choose. Only in our phantom exemplum are all three essential features found.

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A NOTE ON THE *PROVERBS OF PROPHETS, POETS, AND SAINTS*

It will be remembered that the *Prouerbes of diuerse profetes and of poetes and of oþur seyntes* are found in the Vernon MS with a French text running parallel to the English.[1] The following quotations will show that the French version is identical with the Anglo-Norman *Proverbe de bon enseignement* found by Paul Meyer in seven manuscripts, and ascribed by him to the Friar Minor, Nicholas Bozon (author of the *Contes Moralisés*), on the strength of a conclusion found in one copy.[2]

The beginning is as follows:

Chier amis, recevetz de moi	*Cher amys, receuez de moy*
Un beau present qe vous envoi:	*Vn ben present ke vous enuoy,*
Noun pas de or ne de argent,	*Nunpas de or ne de Argent,*
Mès de bon enseignement . . .	*Mes de bon enseignement . . .*
[*Romania*, XIII, 540].	[E.E.T.S., No. 117, p. 522].

The three proverbs selected by M. Meyer for publication are all found in the Middle-English; but the text "Brevis oratio penetrat celum," which is the last one found in the text described by M. Meyer, is followed in the version of the Vernon MS by one from Cato. In both versions the last proverb is followed by these lines:

Pur ceo voil issi lesser	*Purce voyl ieo ici lesser*
De plus proverbes translater,	*De plus prouerbes translater,*
Qe ceux qe lisent cest escrit	*Ke ceus ky lysent cest escrit*
En breve parole aient delit	*En countre* (?) *parole eyent delyst*
[*Romania*, XIII, 540].	[E.E.T.S., No. 117, p. 552].

The Selden MS used by M. Meyer then gives a unique ending, as follows:

Ore priez tous pur Boun
Ki vous presente ceste lessun
K'il par vostre oreisun
Viengne a bone salvacion.

Qui pro aliis orat, pro se laborat
[*Romania*, XIII, 451].

The Vernon text, probably following one of the anonymous Anglo-Norman copies to which M. Meyer refers, ends as follows:

[1] E.E.T.S., No. 117, pp. 522–53. [2] *Romania*, XIII, 539–41; XXIX, 2–3.

AUGUSTINUS

Qui pro alijs orat, pro se ipso laborat.[1]

Ore priez tous pur le houm
Ke vus presente ceste lessoun,
Ke il par vostre oreisoun
Vygne a bone sauuacioun.
Ore deu, ky est pleyn de cen,
Nous doyne bone fyn, Amen

[E.E.T.S., No. 117, p. 553].

The popularity of this collection of "Proverbs" may be seen from the facts, noted by Max Förster,[2] that it probably received a translation into Dutch, and that it is also found in a Middle-English version later than that of the Vernon MS.

In both copies of this later version the author declares

Myn auctor and I both bien named John [*Archiv*, CIV, 308].

It would therefore appear that the original before him bore the name of an author which he read as "John." It must remain uncertain whether he misread "Boun," as found in the Selden copy (a reading which, as Meyer points out, bears distinct resemblance to the signature of another work ascribed to Bozon), for some form of "John"; or, whether, on the other hand, the scribe of the Selden manuscript wrote "Boun" for "Joun." In any case Bozon's claim to the piece seems slightly weakened by the evidence drawn from the Middle-English version, since another ascription has been found in a form of which the unique reading of the Selden text may easily be a corruption.

The *Proverbs* are followed in the Vernon MS by the *Cato* of the Anglo-Norman monk Everard, together with the Latin original and an English translation of the same work. The *Proverbs* as well as the *Cato* can now be seen to illustrate the continuance into Middle-English times of the popularity of works of native production written in Anglo-Norman.

HOPE EMILY ALLEN

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[1] This *dictum*, here ascribed to St. Augustine, seems to have been popular in Anglo-Norman times in England. It is quoted by Frère Angier (*The Dialogues of Gregory the Great, Translated into Anglo-Norman French by Angier*, ed. by T. Cloran, Strasburg, 1901, p. 10), and forms the conclusion to the *Manuel des pechiez* (ed. with *Roberd of Brunne's Handlyng Synne*, by F. J. Furnivall, for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1862, p. 414).

[2] Herrig's *Archiv*, CIV, 304–9.

AN ELIZABETHAN EGLAMOUR PLAY

In "Some Evidence for Early Romantic Plays in England," an article published in *Modern Philology*, August and December, 1916, I pointed out in connection with the dramatization of the romance *Sir Eglamour of Artois* in 1444 that Sidney in attacking popular drama shortly after 1580 gives a formula for a typical popular play which almost exactly fits the Eglamour story, and that the Eglamour theme, always popular among the folk, had a possible influence on a nineteenth-century mummers' play. I overlooked at that time a dramatic treatment of the romance which seems to have acquired considerable popularity in Germany through the English comedians. This play furnishes further evidence of the vogue of the Eglamour theme in English drama.[1]

A number of records show the performance of the play in Germany, where it was usually called by the name of the heroine, Christabella. In 1626 Green's troop of English players presented at Dresden a *Comedia von der Christabella*.[2] In 1651 the play at Prague is described as a comedy "von den zwei streitbaren Rittern Etelmor und Trauenmor";[3] and between 1681 and 1685 it is called at Munich *Die beständige Christabella*.[4] Cohn mentions a performance of *Christabella* at Torgau in 1672,[5] which I do not find recorded by Creizenach or Herz. The play was presented at Dresden again in 1678, and we have a full account of the plot given by Tzschimmer.[6] His résumé, which shows considerable variation from the romance, explains the presence of the knight Trauenmor (i.e., Treamor) and the epithet "beständige" as applied to Christabella.

[1] Creizenach, *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten*, p. lxvi, notes the derivation of the play from the English romance and classifies it among "verloren gegangene englische Dramen, auf deren Existenz aus den deutschen Bearbeitungen zurückgeschlossen werden kann."

[2] Herz, *Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel in Deutschland*, p. 31; Creizenach, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii. This company's repertoire of twenty-nine plays given at Dresden is made up very largely of old English plays.

[3] Creizenach, *op. cit.*, p. xxix.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

[5] *Shakespeare in Germany*, p. cxix.

[6] *Die durchlauchtigste Zusammenkunft* (Nürnberg, 1679), pp. 209 ff. Quoted by Creizenach, pp. 341 ff.

For the fairy-tale motives of the first half of the romance, where the Count of Artois imposes upon Eglamour the task of slaying a giant and a boar as a condition of winning his daughter's hand, the play has substituted a story of rivalry in love and knightly adventure. The father determines that Christabella shall marry Prince Constantius. Eglamour with the help of his brother Treamor forces Constantius to renounce his suit to Christabella until he finds a knight able to overcome Treamor. Eglamour, banished by the Count, joins with the Moors and performs prodigies of valor, but finally falling into the hands of Constantius without being recognized, he is chosen for his valor to joust with Treamor. Treamor recognizes his brother, however, and lays down his arms. Then Constantius, touched by the constancy of Christabella, surrenders his claim. From this point the play follows the general lines of the romance. Eglamour is banished; Christabella with her young son is committed to the sea in a rudderless boat by her still obdurate father; mother and child become separated; and after a lapse of years a tourney is held for the hand of Christabella where Eglamour and his son are conspicuous, and the reunion of the family follows. Many details differ, however. In particular Christabella does not come so near as in the romance to becoming the wife of her own son.

The source of the part of the drama dealing with Treamor and Constantius I have not found. The name, but not much in the way of incident, may have been suggested by the romance of *Triamour*. The elaboration of such motives as constancy in love, knightly combat, and Moorish wars is suggestive of the last two decades of the sixteenth century, when *The Arcadia*, *The Faerie Queene*, and popular romantic plays were exploiting such features. Probably at this period some English dramatist, discarding the fairy-tale motives of the old romance or of an old Eglamour play, produced the *Christabella* which had a vogue in Germany through most of the seventeenth century.

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